













The Department of Public Instruction, Bombay.

THE

# PARIBHĀSHENDUŚEKHARA

OF

NÂGOJÎBHATTĀ

EDITED AND EXPLAINED

BY

F. KIELHORN. PH. D.,

SUPERINTENDENT OF SANSKRIT STUDIES AND ACTING PRINCIPAL,  
DECCAN COLLEGE.

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## Part II.

TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

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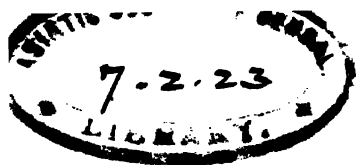
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**DEDICATED**  
**TO**  
**PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER**  
**BY**  
**HIS GRATEFUL PUPIL AND FRIEND.**

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## PREFACE.

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The 133 grammatical Paribhāshās which have been collected and explained by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his Paribhāshendus'ekhara,<sup>1</sup> are maxims intended to guide and assist in the interpretation and application<sup>2</sup> of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar.

According to the introductory remark of Nāgojibhaṭṭa these maxims have been taken from the Bhāshya and the Vārttikas. This statement, though correct with regard to by far the greatest number of Paribhāshās, cannot be taken in its literal sense ; for not only are some Paribhāshās in the Paribhāshendus'ekhara (a) read slightly differently from what they are in the Bhāshya ; not only has Nāgojibhaṭṭa given and commented on Paribhāshās which, though their existence may (b) be suggested by a parti-

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1. परिभाषा एवेन्दुरर्थप्रकाशत्वात्स शेषरे यस्येति ग्रन्थपक्षे । तत्र तासामेव व्याख्येयत्वेन वन्द्यत्वान्मस्तकभृतत्वमारोप्यते । यद्वा स शेषरो भूषणं यस्य । यद्वा तस्य शेषर आश्रयः । यद्वा तासां प्रकाशकोऽलंकारः ॥ P.

2. It will suffice here to instance Par. XXXVIII.-LXV. which, as they treat of the relative force of Pāṇini's rules, are perhaps the most important of all the Paribhāshās contained in the Paribhāshendus'ekhara.—There are a few Paribhāshās which assist us neither in interpreting nor in applying the rules of grammar, but which rather lay down some of the principles followed by Pāṇini himself in the formation of his rules ; I allude to Paribhāshās like CXXII.—Par. I. refers us for the solution of any doubt or the removal of any ambiguity which cannot be solved or removed otherwise, to the interpretation of the learned..



cular passage of the Bhâshya, or though they (c) may have been tacitly applied, have nevertheless not been distinctly enunciated in the latter; but he has (d) admitted into his work even such Paribhâshâs of other grammarians as according to his own showing are contrary to the Bhâshya and consequently void of validity.

(a) Instances of (a) are:

Par. XI.; in Paribh. यदागमास्तद्वृणी<sup>०</sup>; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20 अर्थवतो ह्यागमस्तद्वृणी<sup>०</sup>; see Transl. pag. 66.

XVIII.; see Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 25 and VI., 1, 93, Transl. pag. 103 and 104.

XX.; in Paribh. भाव्यमानोऽप्युपकारः सवर्णान्गृह्णाति; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185 भवत्युपकारेण भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 110, note 2.

XXIV.; in Paribh. प्रत्ययग्रहणे...; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 प्रत्ययग्रहणं ••; Transl. pag. 125, note 1.

XXV.; in Paribh....न तदन्तग्रहणम्; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 50....रूपग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 129, note 2.

XXVI.; see Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13; Transl. pag. 134, note 2.

LXXIII.; in Paribh. सूत्रे लिङ्गवचनमन्तम्; in Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 18 and IV., 1, 92 नाल निदेशस्तन्त्रम्; Transl. pag. 375, note 1.

LXXXIV.; in Paribh. समासान्तविधिरनित्यः; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 2, 197 विभाषा समासान्तो भवति; Transl. pag. 409.

CXI.; in Paribh. पर्जन्यवृक्षक्षणाप्रवृत्तिः; in Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 9 and VI., 1, 127 कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत्; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII.; in Paribh. निषेधाश्च बलीयांसः; in Bhâshya प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्ति; Transl. pag. 505, note 5.

. CXVII.; in Paribh. पूर्वज्ञासिद्धीयमद्वित्वे; in Bhâshya on P.

VIII., 1, 1 पूर्वज्ञासिद्धीयमद्विचने; Transl. pag. 511, note 1.

CXIX.; see Transl. pag. 513, note 1.

(b) The existence of the following is merely suggested in the Bhâshya :

Par. X.; Text pag. 9, l. 2, द्विचनेऽचि [१.१.५२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये धनितैषा ;  
Transl. pag. 53, note 4.

XC.; Text pag. 92, l. 2, धनिता चेयं परिभाषा यस्य विभाषा [७.२.१५]  
इत्यत्र भाष्ये, and l. 8 कण्ठस्तु भाष्य एषा क्वापि न पठिता; Transl.  
pag. 433, note 2.

CXXII.; Text pag. 115, l. 12, ए ओङ् ऐ औचसूत्रयोर्धनितैषा भाष्ये.

(c) The following have been applied in, or are at any rate not contrary to, the Bhâshya, although they may not have been actually enunciated in the latter :

Par. XVII., Transl. pag. 104, note 1, at the bottom ; XXXVIII.;  
XLIV., Transl. pag. 213, note 2; XLV., Transl. pag.  
215, note 1; XLVI.; LXIV., Transl. pag. 342; LXV.;  
XCI., Transl. pag. 436, note 3; XCVII., Transl. pag.  
467; XCVIII.; C., Transl. pag. 474, note 3; CIII.,  
Transl. pag. 479, notes; CIV., Transl. pag. 483, note 3;  
CXIV.; CXV.; CXVI.

(d) The following do not occur in, and are contrary to, the Bhâshya :

Par. LVI. अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः, Text pag. 65, l. 3 किंचैषा भाष्ये न दृश्यते ;  
see Kaiyâṭa, Transl. pag. 311, note 2.

LXXVIII.; Text pag. 82, l. 5 and 6 भाष्यविरुद्धा.

XCIH., 1-10; Text pag. 94, l. 9, तत्र भाष्येऽदर्शनात्; pag. 95,

l. 7, भाष्यानुक्तम्; l. 13 भाष्येऽदर्शनात्; pag. 96, l. 17 भाष्यानुक्तत्वात्.

CXX., 1-3; Text pag. 112, l. 5, भाष्याव्यवहृतत्वात्; pag. 113,

l. 13, भाष्यानुक्तत्वात्.

CXXI.; Text pag. 115, l. 8 भाष्यासंमता, भाष्यविरुद्धा च.

We are told by Nāgojibhaṭṭa that the Paribhāshās which have been explained in his work, are in Pāṇini's grammar ज्ञापकन्याय-सिद्धानि; and Pāyaguṇḍa when commenting on the latter expression says : ज्ञापकन्यायस्य प्रायेणेत्यादिः । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां संग्रहः । . . . तत्रैतच्छास्त्रायलिङ्गं ज्ञापकम् । एतच्छास्त्रलोकेतन्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धयुक्तिर्न्यायः ॥ From this it appears that there are three classes of Paribhāshās : 1) Paribhāshās which are *Jnāpaka-siddhā* ; 2) Paribhāshās which are *Nyāya-siddhā* ; and 3) such as are *Vāchanikā*. This division is perfectly correct ; but the second class may again be subdivided according to the meaning conveyed by the word *Nyāya* ;<sup>1</sup> for this word may either be taken in the sense of लोकन्याय 'a maxim from ordinary life,' and if a Paribhāshā be established by

1. The term न्याय in the above expression न्यायसिद्ध should not be confounded with न्याय where this word is used as a synonym of परिभाषा. It will appear from the following quotations that any Paribhāshā, whether it be *Jnāpakasiddhā*, or *Nyāyasiddhā*, or *Vāchanikā*, may also be termed *Nyāya* i. e. 'a maxim' or 'axiom'.

Par. XI., is called *Nyāya* by Nāgojibhaṭṭa p. 10, 5; 46, 12.

XII; p. 12, 16.

XV; p. 15, 5; 17; 16, 3; 17, 1.

XVIII; p. 18, 6.

XXXVII; p. 33, 15; 34, 5; 56, 12.

XL; p. 11, 4; 35, 1.

L; p. 64, 2.

LII; (*Jnāpaka-siddhā*); p. 55, 14; 56, 4; 6.

LVII; p. 50, 14; 58, 13; 65, 13; 68, 3.

LVIII; p. 68, 10.

LX; p. 70, 9.

LXI; p. 70, 9; 12.

LXV; p. 71, 5.

LXXIV; p. 79, 8.

LXXXIX (*Jnāpaka-siddhā*); p. 12, 16.

XOIV (*Vāchanikā*); p. 97, 12.

• OXVIII; p. 111, 5.

such a maxim, it will be 2a) *Lokanyāya-siddhā*; or *Nyāya* may be understood in the more general sense of 'reasoning, argumentation,' and in this case a *Paribhāshā* will be 2b) simply *Nyāya-siddhā* or, which is the same, *Yukti-siddhā*. *Vāchanikī* are all those *Paribhāshās* which are neither *Jnāpaka*- nor *Nyāya-siddhā*; they too may be subdivided into two classes, viz. 3a) *Paribhāshās* which have been based on, or are directly deduced from, one or more of Pāṇini's rules; and 3b) *Paribhāshās* which are entirely independent maxims or *Vāchanikī* in the narrower sense of the word.

(1). The existence and validity of nearly half the number of the *Paribhāshās* collected by Nāgojibhaṭṭa is indicated and proved by *Jnāpakas*, (*Jnāpaka-siddhā*). *Jnāpaka* is that which teaches or suggests something; and the term *Jnāpaka*,<sup>1</sup> in the sense in which it is used here, is applicable to any term employed by Pāṇini, or to any rule given by him, or in short to any proceeding of his,<sup>2</sup> which would be meaningless or superfluous (*vyartha*), or for which it would be absolutely impossible to assign a reason, if a particular *Paribhāshā* did not exist, but which appears necessary and serves a purpose<sup>3</sup> (i. e. is *charitārtha*)

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Cf. also p. 7, 10, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति न्यायान्; p. 8, 3, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमन्याय; p. 54, 9 उत्सर्गसमानदेशा अपवाद इति न्यायेन; p. 99, 5 and 108, 8 लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायेन; p. 38, 10; 72, 10 etc.

Par. XCIII, 10 is called *Pravāda*, p. 97, 3.

1. Instead of *Jnāpaka* we sometimes find the term *Linga*; see Text pag. 96, 14; 102, 1.

2. In the case of Par. LII. even to the *Anuvṛitti* or *validity* in P. VII., 2, 98 of the word मपर्यन्तस्य.

3. It appears that according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa we are allowed to apply the term *Jnāpaka* only to that which not only would be *vyartha* if a particular *Paribhāshā* were not adopted, but is also absolutely ne-

as soon as and only when that Paribhāshā has been adopted, and which on that account indicates the existence of that Paribhāshā and proves that the latter was adopted and acted upon by Pāṇini in the composition of his Sūtras.<sup>1</sup> In case the Antaranga-paribhāshā had not existed in Pāṇini's time or had not been adopted by him, the presence of the term ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132 would have been absolutely superfluous; on the other hand, as soon as and only when that Paribhāshā is adopted, is ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132 absolutely necessary; hence the fact that Pāṇini has employed the term ऊङ् in his rule VI., 4, 132, shows that the Antaranga-paribhāshā did exist when he composed his grammar and was adopted by him, and ऊङ् becomes thus the *Jnāpaka* of the Antaranga-paribhāshā.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would have served absolutely no purpose, had Pāṇini not adopted Par. LIII.; on the other hand, it is necessary as soon as and only when we adopt that Paribhāshā; accordingly the circum-

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cessary and serves a purpose (*i. e.* is *charitārtha*) when that Paribhāshā has been adopted. The employment of the same Anubandha ॠ in two S'iyasūtras may suggest to us the existence of such a maxim as is expressed in Par. I.; nevertheless it should, properly speaking, not be called the *Jnāpaka* of that Paribhāshā, because Pāṇini was by no means obliged to employ the same Anubandha twice even when he had adopted Par. I. The same remark applies in the case of Par. CXV. (See also Transl. pag. 108, 1; 443, 2). The author of the Bhāshya however employs the word ज्ञापयति in a less limited sense, for he says *c. g.* with regard to Par. I.: 'किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते । एतद्व्यापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानत इत्यादि.'

1. Nevertheless we are, according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, not authorized to consider as correct any maxim established by a *Jnāpaka*, when that maxim is not given in the Bhāshya. See Transl. pag. 443.

2. See Transl. pag. 235.

stance that Pāṇini has laid down the rule VII., 3, 22, indicates the existence and validity of Par. LIII., or in other words, P. VII., 3, 22 is the *Jnāpaka* of that Paribhāṣhā.<sup>1</sup> Or, to give another instance, when Pāṇini lays down the two separate rules V., 2, 86 पूर्वोदिनिः and V., 2, 87 सपूर्वोच्च instead of giving only the one rule पूर्वोच्चपूर्वोदिनिः, his doing so can be accounted for only on the supposition that he knew and had adopted Par. XXXII., and the fact that he has given the two separate rules indicates therefore the existence and validity, or is the *Jnāpaka*, of Par. XXXII.

The following are the Paribhāṣhās the existence of which is in this manner indicated by *Jnāpakas* :

Par. VI, by शित् in P. I., 1, 55.

VII, by माङ् in P. III., 4, 19.

VIII, by विभाषा in P. III., 1, 139.

IX, by अतिशदन्तायाः in P. V., 1, 22.

XIX, by आत् in P. VI., 4, 160 ; (also proved by अप्रत्ययः in P. I., 1, 69).

XX, by the त् of उत् in P. VI., 1, 111 and 131.<sup>3</sup>

XXII, by कंस in P. VIII., 3, 46.

XXV, by छेख in P. VI., 3, 50.

XXVII, by भन्त in P. I., 4, 14.

XXVIII, by अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49.

XXXI, (equivalent to part of a Vārtt. on P. I., 1, 72), by the rule P. V., 2, 87.

1. See Transl. pag. 289.

2. See Transl. pag. 164.

3. There is no reason why the existence of one and the same Paribhāṣhā should not be indicated by two or even more different *Jnāpakas*; nor can there be any cause why the existence of a Paribhāṣhā the validity of which may be established otherwise than by a *Jnāpaka*, should not at the same time be indicated by a *Jnāpaka*.

XXXII, by the fact that P. has made the two separate rules V., 2, 86 and 87 instead of uniting both in one rule.

XXXIV, by बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63; (also *Nyāya-siddhā*; see below).

XXXVI, by the form क्षियः in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46.

XLI, (rejected), by the rule P. I., 3, 92.

L., by ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132; (in one sense also by आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95; in certain cases also *Lokanyāya-siddhā*.)

LI, (rejected), by तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86.

LII, by the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98; (according to others by the rule P. VII., 2, 98; according to others *Vāchanikī*).

LIII, by the rule P. VII, 3, 22.

LIV, by ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36.

LV, by the rule P. VI, 4, 78; (according to others by असवर्णे in that rule).

LVI, (rejected), by समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82.

LXVI, by भक्तिः in P. VII, 4, 83.

LXVII, by the monosyllabic roots निन्द् etc. in P. III, 2, 146.

LXVIII, indirectly by the rule P. III., 3, 169 which shows that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid.

LXIX, by ऊङ् in P. III., 2, 116.

LXXI, by the feminine words श्रमण etc. in the Gāṇa on P. II., 1, 70.

LXXV, indirectly by अनिङ् in P. II., 2, 19.

LXXVIII, (rejected), by णमुञ् in P. III., 4, 59.

LXXIX, by अर्गथोरोद्धतूषमन्धिषु in P. VI., 2, 142.

LXXX, by अनवः in P. VI., 1, 213.

LXXXI and LXXXII, by the ड् of डग् and डग्न् in P. IV., 2, 9.

LXXXIII, by स्त्रियाम् in P. V., 4, 14.

LXXXIV, by राजन् in the Gaṇa on P. VI., 2, 193.

LXXXVI, by डस्य in P. VI., 4, 153; (in some cases also *Lokanyāya-siddhā*).

LXXXVII, by कर्म in P. VI., 4, 172.

LXXXVIII, by भौणह्य in P. VI., 4, 174.

LXXXIX, by अक्तेः in P. VII., 1, 11.

XCI, by भचङि in P. VII., 3, 56.

XCII, (rejected?), by आन् in P. VI., 4, 160, and जा in P. VII., 3, 79.

XCIII, 1. (rejected), by गुणः in P. VI., 4, 146.

— 2. (rejected), by the आ of आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16.

— 3 (rejected), by कृन् in P. III., 1, 79.

— 4. (rejected), by the Anubandha ड् of चक्षिङ्.

— 5. (rejected), by वर्जम् in P. VI., 1, 158.

— 6-7 (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by P. I., 1, 62.

— 8. (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by the च in P. VII., 2, 12.

— 10. (rejected), by स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46; (also *Nyāya-siddhā*).

CVI, by the Anubandha त् of the root देप्.

CIX, by उदाचः in P. VII., 1, 75.

CXIX, (rejected), by उभयेषाम् in P. VI., 1, 17.

CXX, 3 (rejected), by एकाचः in P. VII., 2, 10.

(2a). There is another class of Paribhāshās the existence of which is not or at any rate need not be indicated by *Jñāpaṭas*,



because their validity rests, so to speak, on a broader foundation. They are universally accepted maxims so worded as to suit the exigencies of grammar. They must be considered as valid and binding, because their truth is established by the general practice of mankind; in short, they are *Lokanyāya-siddhā*. As in ordinary life a dog does not cease to be called a dog because its tail may have been cut off, so in grammar a word which may have been partly changed must still be considered to be the same word which it was before the change had taken place.<sup>1</sup> Or, as in ordinary life several people who may have been appointed to the same office, have all to act in one and the same manner, so must in grammar several words of a rule which may be mutually connected, either *all* be regarded as valid in a subsequent rule, or *none* of them can be allowed to be valid.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to find also for some Paribhāshās of this class *Jñāpakas* which show that Pāṇini in the composition of his Sūtras had followed the maxims of ordinary life which are expressed in those Paribhāshās or on which the latter are based; these *Jñāpakas* however are by no means necessary to establish the validity of such Paribhāshās, because it is sufficiently established by the practice of ordinary life.

Of the Paribhāshās collected in the Paribhāshendus'ekhara the following are *Lokanyāya-siddhā* :—

Par. X.; see the Text pag. 8, l. 13, वस्तुतः समवायिकारणनिमित्तकारणयोर्भेदस्य सकललोकतन्त्रप्रसिद्धतया तस्य तत्त्वेनाश्रयणाभावेन नैषा ज्ञापकसाध्या. (*Jñāpakas* शयितृ in P. IV., 2, 15, etc.; Transl. pag. 51, note 1.).

XI.; Text pag. 9, l. 8, लोकेऽपि....दृश्यते. (See also Transl. pag. 60, note 1.).

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1. Par. XXXVII.

2. Par. XVII.

XV. ; see Transl. pag. 91, note 1, Kaiyaṭa : लौकिक एवायं न्यायः शास्त्र आश्रीयते.

XVII. ; Text pag. 18, l. 1, एककार्यनियुक्तानां बहूनां लोके तथैव दर्शनात्.  
(See also Transl. pag. 100, and note 4).

XXX. ; Text pag. 29, l. 1, लोकन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag. 158, note).

XXXVII. ; Text pag. 33, l. 11, छिन्नपुच्छे शुनि श्वत्वव्यवहारवन्मान्ते तत्त्वं लोकन्यायसिद्धम्. (*Jñāpaka* दीव्यतः instead of दीव्यते: in P. IV., 1, 83. See also Transl. pag. 181, notes.)

L. in certain cases ; Text pag. 49, l. 10, इदमन्तरङ्गत्वं लोकन्याय-सिद्धमिति....भाष्ये स्पष्टम्.

LVII. ; see Transl. pag. 323, note 1, Bhāṣhya : लोके हि... भवति.—Based on this is also Par. CX ; see Transl. pag. 500, note 2.

LXXIII. ; Text pag. 78, l. 12, धान्यपलालन्यायेन नान्तरीयकतया तयो-रुपादानम्, and Transl. pag. 376. (*Jñāpaka* नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2).

LXXIV. ; Text pag. 79, l. 5, न ब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते लोटमानीय कृती भवति. (See also Transl. pag. 378, note 1).

LXXVI. ; Text pag. 81, l. 4, तच्चद्वचनसामर्थ्यन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag. 386, note 2).

LXXVII. ; Transl. pag. 390, note 1, Bhāṣhya : सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसं-विज्ञानात्याणिनेर्यथा लोके.

LXXXV. ; Text pag. 85, l. 18, उपजीव्यविरोधस्यायुक्तत्वमिति न्याय-मूलैषा. (See also Transl. pag. 411, note 1.)

LXXXVI. in certain cases ; Text pag. 89, l. 18, समुच्चयार्थक-चशब्दयोगे तु विधेययोरैककालिकत्वैकदेशत्वनियमान्न्यायसिद्धाधीयम् ;  
Transl. pag. 425, note, Kaiyaṭa : लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः.

XCVII. ; Transl. pag. 467, note 2.

XCVIII. ; Text pag. 100, l. 15, रथकाराभिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थः.

CIII. ; Transl. pag. 479, note 2, P. : अस्या लोकसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति.

CVII. and CVIII. ; Text pag. 105, l. 13, देवदत्तादयो भोव्यन्ता-  
मिष्यन् भुजिष्यन्, and l. 16. गर्गाः...दण्डनवत्; Transl. pag. 491,  
note 2; and pag. 492, note 2.

CXI. ; पर्जन्यवक्त्रक्षणप्रवृत्तिः ; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII. ; Transl. pag. 505, note 4 : इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्ध्यन्यायमू-  
लिका. Bhairavamis'ra.

(2b). Some Paribhāshās again are neither *Jnāpaka-* nor *Loka-  
vyāya-siddhā*, but their validity is as it were self-evident, because  
they teach us nothing but what every one must admit to be rea-  
sonable or natural, or because the course they direct us to fol-  
low in the interpretation or application of the rules of grammar,  
is the most obvious or the simplest course that could be taken  
or is less beset with difficulties than some other course which  
possibly might be suggested. As their validity is dependent  
neither on *Jnāpakas* nor on the existence of generally adopted  
maxims of ordinary life, but can be demonstrated from the  
nature of what is taught in them, they are justly called  
*Nyāya-* or *Yukti-siddhā*. When a certain combination of letters  
*can* convey a meaning, it is only reasonable that it should  
convey that meaning.<sup>1</sup> When two rules of which the one would  
take effect under any circumstances while the other under cer-  
tain circumstances would not take effect, are both applicable  
simultaneously, it is natural to assume that the former possesses  
greater force than the latter rule.<sup>2</sup> When there arises the ques-  
tion as to whether a particular rule enjoins something new or  
contains merely a restriction regarding something which is en-  
joined in another rule, it is natural to answer this question in  
favour of the former alternative because every one must admit

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1. Par. XIV.

2. Par. XXXVIII., परान्नित्यं बलवत्.

that a rule which enjoins something new is less cumbrous than a restrictive rule.<sup>1</sup> When Pāṇini employs *e. g.* the term ण, it is reasonable to suppose that he meant to denote by it only the root ण which is immediately denoted by that term, and that he did not mean to denote by it also the root णै, although the latter occasionally likewise assumes the form ण.<sup>2</sup> Or when we see him adopt in his grammar, the great object of which is brevity, so long a technical term as *Pratyaya*, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that that term was chosen by him in order to show that what is denoted by it must, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the word *Pratyaya*, necessarily convey a meaning.<sup>3</sup>

The Paribhāṣhās which may be classed under this head, are :

Par. IV. (rejected), and V. ; see Transl. pag. 30, note 1.

XIV. ; Text pag. 14, l. 2, विशिष्टरूपोपादाने...त्यागे मानाभावोऽस्य मूलम्. (Also proved by the interpretation of P. I., 1, 68 ; see Transl. pag. 85, note 1.)

XXXIV. ; Text pag. 32, l. 1, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः...न्यायसिद्धेयम् ; Transl. pag. 171, note 5. (Also established by a *Jñāpaka*).

XXXVIII. परान्नित्यं बलवत् ; Text pag. 38, l. 16, तत्र...तत्कल्पनमुचितमिति नित्यस्य बलवत्त्वे वैजम् ; Transl. pag. 210, note 1, P. : न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धम्.

LIX. ; Text pag. 69, l. 6 अवश्यं...वैजम्.

LX. ; Text pag. 69, l. 14, पूर्वोपास्थितवाचिन...वैजम्.

LXI. ; Transl. pag. 337, note 1 at the bottom ; see also pag. 338 and 339.

LXV. ; Text pag. 73, l. 8 निरवकाशत्वरूपस्य वाधकत्ववैजस्यभावात्.

LXX. ; in some cases ; in others proved by P. I., 4, 2. See Transl. pag. 362, note 1.

1. Par. C.

2. See Par. CV.

3. See Par. CXIII.

XCIIL., 9 (rejected); Text pag. 95, l. 11, षाष्टाद्वित्यस्य...न्यायसिद्धम्.

XCIIL., 10 (rejected); Text pag. 96, l. 10, विध्यङ्गभूतानां...

मानाभाव इति तर्कमूल्यम्. (Also established by a *Jnāpaka*).

C.; Text. pag. 101, l. 8, नियमे...जाघवादिभिरेवेति बोध्यम्.

CI.; Text pag. 101, l. 14, सामान्योपस्थितिकाले... वीजम्.

CIV.; Text pag. 103, l. 16, प्रकरणादितः श्रुतेर्वैलवत्तात्; Transl. pag. 482, note 3.

CV; Text pag. 104, l. 13, इदमेव ह्येतपरिभाषावीजम्; Transl. pag. 488, and note 1. (लौकिकलाघवगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः P.)

CXIII.; Text pag. 109, l. 15, महासंज्ञा...वीजम्; Transl. pag. 506, note 4 (भस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वमाह महेति).

CXIV.; Text pag. 110, l. 2, तत्तत्समानं...मेतद्वाजम्.

CXVI.; Text pag. 110, l. 7.

CXVIII.; Transl. pag. 511, note 2 : तथा च लौकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिलाघवमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम्. P.

CXXI. (rejected); Text pag. 115, l. 8, प्रतिवाक्यं...गौरवं स्पष्टमेव.

(3). A Paribhāshā the existence of which has not been suggested by Pāṇini himself by means of a *Jnāpaka*, and the validity of which can neither be proved by showing that it is in reality nothing but a universally adopted maxim from ordinary life, nor demonstrated from the nature of what is taught in it, is termed *Vāchanikī i. e. Vachanarūpeṇa pathitā*; in other words, it is an independent statement the authority and validity of which can be ascertained only by an examination of the individual cases in which it may be applicable. Such independent Paribhāshās may, as has been stated already above, be divided again into two classes, viz. 3a) Paribhāshās which either are considered equivalent to or are directly deduced from or developed out of particular rules of Pāṇini's; and 3b) Paribhāshās which

are completely independent maxims or *Vāchanikī* in the narrower or, we may say, stricter sense of the word. *Paribhāṣhās* which may be enumerated under 3a), are:

Par. XII., equivalent to P. I., 1, 49; see Transl. pag. 68, and note 1; pag. 76, note 2.

XIII., deduced from P. I., 1, 50; Transl. pag. 78; 81, note 1.

XXI., from P. I., 1, 62; Transl. pag. 111; 113, note 1.

XXIII., made up of part of P. I., 4, 13 and of P. I., 1, 72; Transl. pag. 117.

XXIX., Text pag. 26, l. 13, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यस्यायं प्रत्यक्षः.

XXXV. is formed by taking छन्दसि वा of P. I., 4, 9 as a separate rule; or by taking छन्दसि of P. III., 1, 84 and बहुलम् of P. III., 1, 85 as one rule.

XXXVIII. पूर्वोत्तरं बलवत्, is equivalent to P. I., 4, 2.

XXXIX. and XL. are derived from two different interpretations of the same rule P. I., 4, 2.

LXX. is in some cases proved by P. I., 4, 2, in others *Nyāya-siddhā*.

Those which may be enumerated under 3b), are:

Par. XVI.; Text pag. 17, l. 7 : येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये वचनरूपेण पठिता. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the alleged fact, that Par. XIV. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 98.)

XXIV.; Text pag. 22, l. 11, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये....पठ्यते. See Transl. pag. 120, note 4.

XXVI.; Text pag. 24, l. 12, इयं च वाचनिक्येव व्युत्पत्तिः [६.१.१३] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टा.

XXXIII.; Text pag. 31, l. 6, वाचनिक्येषा येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये पठिता.

LII., according to some; Text pag. 55, l. 11, 'भाष्यरीत्या तु वाचनिक एवायमर्थः.' But see above pag. viii.

LXXII.; Text pag. 78, l. 6, सद्य चेयं युक्तेरनाक्तौ [७.१.१] इत्यत्र भाष्ये. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the fact that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 373).

XCIV.; Text pag. 97, l. 11, इयं च वाचनिक्येव. See Transl. pag. 454. (According to some based on more general maxims).

XCV.; Text pag. 99, l. 9, वाचनिक्येवैषा.

XCVI. (rejected); Text pag. 100, l. 1, एषाक्तोऽन्यात्सूत्रे भाष्ये सद्यः...प्रत्याख्याता च.

XCIX.; Text pag. 101, l. 6, भाष्ये सद्यः.

CII. (rejected); Text pag. 102, l. 6, इयं चाक्तस्य [६.४.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये पठिता; l. 11, एकदेशिनोक्ता.

CXVII.; Text pag. 110, l. 18, सर्वस्य द्वे [८.१.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टेयम्.

There remain nineteen Paribhāshās which have not been mentioned under any of the above heads, viz. Par. II. and III.; XVIII.; XLII.—XLIX.; LVIII.; LXII.—LXIV.; XC.; CXX., 1 and 2; and CXXII. Of these, the truth of Par. II. and III. follows from the nature of, and from the relation which obtains between, Samjñā-rules and Paribhāshās on the one hand, and the rules in which those Samjñās occur or for which those Paribhāshās are necessary, on the other. For Par. XVIII. see Transl. pag. 103, note 2. Par. XLII.—XLIX. contain definitions of the terms *nitya* and *anitya*, some of which are *Vāchanika*, while others are *Lokanyāya-siddha*; (see Transl. pag. 218, note 2). Par. LVIII. is a statement of some modern grammarians the substance of which is given under Par. LVII. The truth of Par. LXII.—

LXIV. may be said to result from the relation which exists between *Apavādas* and the general rules of which the former are *Apavādas*. Par. XC. is according to Kaiyaṭa established by a *Jñāpaka* (सूतिसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44), while according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa its existence is suggested merely by a passage of the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 2, 15 ; (see Transl. pag. 434). The validity of Par. CXX., 1 and 2 cannot be proved in any way, and they are accordingly rejected. The existence of the last Par. CXXII. is suggested as was stated above by a remark that occurs in the Bhāṣhya on the S'ivasūtras 3 and 4.

We now proceed to inquire, (a) whether the Paribhāṣhās which have been collected by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his Paribhāshendus'ekkhara, have all been adopted by him ; (b) whether those which have been adopted are considered universally valid ; and (c) whether such Paribhāṣhās as are met with in the present work, are at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar.

(a). We have stated above that amongst the Paribhāṣhās collected by Nāgojibhaṭṭa there are sixteen for the validity of which no proof whatsoever can be adduced from the Bhāṣhya, and which accordingly have to be rejected at once. They are : Par. LVI. ; LXXVIII. ; XCIII., 1-10 ; CXX., 1-3 ; and CXXI. It is true, the grammarians who have adopted these maxims, have tried to establish the validity of at any rate the greater number of them likewise by means of *Jñāpakas* ; not only however have most of the *Jñāpakas* adduced by them been refuted individually, but it has also been stated generally that ' we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jñāpaka*, when that rule is not given in the Bhāṣhya.'<sup>1</sup> Moreover it

1. Transl. pag. 443.



has been shown that these so-called Paribhāshās not only do not occur in the Bhāshya, but are actually contrary to it.

In addition to the above, six other Paribhāshās have likewise been distinctly rejected by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, although they are met with in the Bhāshya; viz. Par. IV., XCVI., and CXIX., because they have been rejected already in the Bhāshya (see Transl. pag. 31; pag. 466, note 3; and pag. 513, note 1); Par. LI. and CII., because they are stated to have been quoted in the Bhāshya by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter and are in reality superfluous (see Transl. pag. 277, note 2; and pag. 477 and note 3); and Par. XLI., because all that is supposed to follow from it, can really, as has been shown in the Bhāshya, be accounted for in a simpler manner without it (see Transl. pag. 203).

In the case of Par. XCII. Nāgojibhaṭṭa has left it doubtful whether he agrees with or differs from those grammarians who reject that Paribhāshā as superfluous, but as he has omitted to bring forward any cogent reason in favour of its adoption, it can hardly be incorrect to assume that that maxim too was rejected by him.

(b). There remain then only 110 Paribhāshās of which it is certain that they have been adopted by Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Among these there are some, regarding which it would be superfluous to ask whether they have been considered universally valid or not, because the maxims enunciated or the principles laid down in them are such that if it be considered at all necessary to adopt them, they must be adopted once for all. Such is the case with Par. I., V., XXII., XXXV., LXII.—LXIV., LXXVI., LXXXIII., LXXXIV., CXI., CXIII.—CXVI., and CXXII.

' Nor can the question as to their universal validity be raised

in regard to those Paribhâshâs which, while they allow a choice between several alternatives, leave the decision as to what course should be followed in individual cases, either to the interpretation of the learned, or to our own judgment guided as it must be by the particular forms of the language which it may be desirable to form, or for the formation of which we may wish to account, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar. Paribhâshâs to which this remark appears to be applicable, are :

Par. II. and III. ;

IX. ; Text pag. 7, l. 17, तत्र कौभयगतिः क्वाकृतिमस्यैव क् कृत्रिमस्यैवेत्य-  
त्र लभ्यानुसारि व्याख्यानमेव शरणम्.

XVII. and XVIII. ; Text pag. 18, l. 17, तावन्मानांशे स्वरि-  
तत्त्वप्रतिज्ञाबलाभ्यमिदम्.

XXXIX. and XL. ; Text pag. 36, l. 8, लभ्यानुसारात्क्वचिच्छास्त्री-  
यदृष्टान्ताश्रयणं क्वचिन्नौकिकदृष्टान्ताश्रयणम्.

XLII.—XLVIII. ; Text pag. 40, l. 11, सर्वे चेदं लभ्यानुरोधाद्वच्य-  
स्थितम्.

LX. and LXI. ; Text pag. 70, l. 10, लभ्यानुरोधाच्च व्यवस्था.. |  
तत्रतत्र क्वचित्स्वरितत्त्वप्रतिज्ञासामर्थ्येन वा वाध्यतेऽयं न्यायः |

LXXVII. ;

XCIX. ; Text pag. 101, l. 5, लभ्यानुसाराद्वच्यवस्था बोध्या.

CVII. and CVIII. ; Text pag. 105, l. 17, लभ्यानुरोधेन च  
व्यवस्था.

Setting aside then the 36 Paribhâshâs enumerated in the above, we may first remark that the 74 which remain should be regarded as valid only so far as their validity may not be restricted by other Paribhâshâs. The validity of Par. XIV. namely is restricted by Par. XVI. which is an exception to the former ; that of XIX. by XX. ; of XXIII. by XXIV.—XXVIII. ; of XXX. by XXXII. ; of XXXVIII. by LII.—LV., LXV., and LXVI. ; of

LXXI. by LXXII. ; and that of LXXXI., XC., and CV., by CVI.—Further we find that in the case of eleven Paribhāshās Nāgojī-Bhaṭṭa has stated in a general way that they are not universally valid, while in the case of ten others he has told us distinctly under what particular circumstances only they are (either applicable or) not applicable. The eleven Paribhāshās where the former is the case, are :

Par. XI.; Text p. 9, l. 10, आने मुक् [७.२.८२] इति मुग्धिभानसामर्थ्यदेशानित्या. (l. 15. उक्तज्ञापकात्).

XXXVI. ; p. 33, l. 2, तल्लैव प्रातिपदिकत्वनिबन्धनविभक्तिकरणादनित्या.

XXXVII. ; p. 34, l. 5, क्वचिन्नु लभ्यानुरोधात्रयायानाश्रयणम्.

XXXVIII., पूर्वान्तरं बलवत् ; p. 37, l. 2, क्वचिदिष्टानुरोधेन पूर्वशास्त्रे स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञाबलात्— पूर्वमेव भवति.

L. ; p. 53, l. 4, एतद्भाष्यकेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वबोधनस्यैव न्याय्यत्वात्. (*Jñāpaka* तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86).

LV. ; p. 61, l. 3, इयं चानित्या च्छेः [६.४.१९] इति सनुभिर्देशात्.

LXVII. ; p. 74, l. 16, सूददीपदीक्षश्च [३.२.१५३] इत्यनेन दीपैर्युग्मिन्-षेवेनोक्तार्थस्यानित्यत्वात्.

LXXV.; p. 80, l. 3, अस्या अनित्यत्वात्... | अन्ये त्वनित्यत्वे न मानम्... |

CI. ; p. 101, l. 15, इयमनित्या न न्यपि [६.४.६९] इति लिङ्गात्.

CIII. ; p. 10 l. 3,9, द्विस्त्रिंशतुः [८.३.४३] इति सूत्रे... कृतोऽर्थग्रहणा-देशानित्या.

CV. ; p. 104, l. 16, अनित्या चेयं भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः [८.२.७१] इति महाव्याहृतिग्रहणात्.

The ten where the latter is the case, are :

Par. XIV.; p. 14, l. 4, इयं वर्णग्रहणेषु नेति लस्य [३.४.७७] इत्यल भाष्ये स्पष्टम्.

XXIX.; p. 27, l. 4, पादस्य पदाक्याति [६.३.५२] इत्यल न तदन्तग्रहणं लभ्यानुरोधात्.

LXXI. ; p. 77, l. 9, एतावन्स्वेवानित्यत्वादप्रवृत्तिर्दोषाः खल्वपि साकव्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः.

LXXXI. and LXXXII. ; p. 84, l. 8, वर्णग्रहणे चानयोरप्रवृत्तिरिति स्यट्मौढ भाषः [७.१.१८] इत्यत्र भाष्ये.

LXXXV.; p. 87, l. 13, कष्टाय [३.१.१४] इति निर्देशेनैतस्या भनित्यत्वात् ; p. 88, l. 13, न यास्योः...दोषाः खल्वपि साकव्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः.

LXXXVIII.; p. 91, l. 3, इयन्नादिविभो तु नैषा न भूसुभियोः [६.४.८५] इति निषेधेनानित्यत्वात्.

XCI.; p. 92, l. 15, इयं च कुलविषयेव.

CVI.; p. 105, l. 9, गतिस्था [२.४.७७] इति सूत्र इणादेशगाग्रहणमेवेष्ट्यते.

CIX.; p. 107, l. 6, विभेयाण्विषये त्वप्रत्यय इति निषेधान्न गुणाभेदकत्वेन सवर्णग्रहणम्.

From the above quotations it will be clear that as there are *Jñāpakas* which indicate the existence of particular Paribhāṣhās, so there are other *Jñāpakas* in Pāṇini's work which indicate that certain Paribhāṣhās are not universally valid,—in other words, terms or expressions employed by Pāṇini for which there would have been absolutely no occasion, had Pāṇini in every case adopted a particular Paribhāṣhā, and which, as they have been employed by Pāṇini, indicate therefore that that particular Paribhāṣhā cannot have been regarded by him as universally valid. The quotations show besides that the special statements regarding the want of universal validity of some Paribhāṣhās have in most cases like the Paribhāṣhās themselves been taken by Nāgojībhaṭṭa from the Mahābhāṣhya.

To infer from Nāgojībhaṭṭa's silence regarding the now remaining 53 Paribhāṣhās, that each of them has been considered by him absolutely valid and binding under any circumstances, would be incorrect ; for not only do we see him state distinctly

that what is established by a *Jñāpaka* is not universally true, and that we are not to derive from a *Paribhāshā* which is established by a *Jñāpaka* or *Nyāya* any results that might be undesirable,<sup>1</sup> a sentiment which appears to have been held already by Kaiyaṭa,<sup>2</sup> but we also find that his commentators, professing to give Nāgojibhaṭṭa's own views, have stated in individual cases that a particular *Paribhāshā*, about which Nāgojibhaṭṭa himself is silent, cannot be regarded as universally valid. (See Transl. pag. 288, note 2 ; 352, note 2 etc). The test of the universal validity of a *Paribhāshā* is after all to the Hīndū grammarian only this, whether or not its adoption in all cases in which it may be applicable would lead to the correct forms of the actual language, and a *Paribhāshā* is accordingly considered valid so long as correct forms only result from its application, and not valid as soon as its application would give rise to incorrect forms.

(c). Are such *Paribhāshās* as we meet with in the present work at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar? In other words, has Pāṇini himself adopted them and has he been guided by them in the composition of his *Sūtras*? Though we are unable at present to answer this question satisfactorily in regard to every *Paribhāshā* which has found a place in the *Paribhāshendus'ēkhara*, nay though we have to admit that there are among the *Paribhāshās* which have been adopted by Nāgojibhaṭṭa at least a few<sup>3</sup> which may have been invented by later grammarians 'either to palliate the shortcomings of Pāṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend from the time at which

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1. Transl. pag. 508.

2. Transl. pag. 183, and note 2.

3. Such as, to give only one instance, Par. CXIV.

he lived down to a period of linguistic development which could not but find them defective in many respects<sup>1</sup>—yet we feel sure and may state at least so much that any one who will work his way through the Paribhâshendus'ekhara at the hand of the author of the 'Great Commentary', can arrive at no other conclusion but this that by far the greatest number of the Paribhâshâs which have been collected and explained here and by far the most important of them must, either consciously or unconsciously, have been adopted already by Pâṇini and must therefore be adopted also by us when we wish to explain and apply the rules of that great grammarian, or to ascertain the value and accuracy of their traditional interpretation. To test independently the bearing and validity and to ascertain the authorship of every single Paribhâshâ will necessitate an amount of labour which we can only hope to go through in years of patient and wearisome study ; to do so at present would oblige us to defer still longer the publication of this translation which has been delayed already so long, and which, with all its shortcomings and defects, may not, we trust, be quite unacceptable to the student of Sanskrit grammar.

In addition to the commentaries of Vaidyanâthabhaṭṭa Pâyagunḍa, Bhairavamis'ra, and Râghavendrâchârya, which have been mentioned already in the preface to my text of the Paribhâshendus'ekhara, I have used for the translation an excellent commentary entitled Chitprabhâ which has been composed by Brahmânanda-Sarasvatî and appears to have been based chiefly on Pâyagunḍa's Paribhâshendus'ekhara-kâs'ikâ.<sup>2</sup> But with all the

1. Goldstücker's Pâṇini, pag. 112.

2. A portion (Par. I.—XLIX.) of another commentary entitled *Sarvamangalâ* and composed by S'eshas'arman I purchased three years ago for the Library of Deccan College. Another commentary, the *Paribhâshârtâmanjari*, by Bhîma, son of one Mâdhavâchârya, has lately been

valuable help afforded by these works, I should hardly have been able to accomplish my task, had I not been assisted in it by my learned friends and colleagues, Chintāmaṇi S'āstrī Thatte, Ananta S'āstrī Pendharkar and the late Viṭṭhal Rāṅ Gaṇeś' Patvardhan.<sup>1</sup> There is not a page, I might almost say, not a line in my whole translation the contents of which have not been submitted again and again to their criticism, and though I have honestly tried to form my own opinion and to judge independently in every difficulty, though I am ready to bear the blame for any errors and inaccuracies which I cannot hope to have escaped altogether, yet it would be wrong not to acknowledge here the great and invaluable benefit which I have derived from the learning and intelligent discussion of my fellow-teachers. It is sad to see the number of great S'āstris, distinguished no less for their humility and modesty than for their learning and in-

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lent to me by my colleague Prof. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar. I need hardly say that many more commentaries could have been acquired, had it been thought necessary.

A comparison between Nāgojibhaṭṭa's Paribhāshās and those collected by his predecessor Śīradeva (for so the name is spelt in the MSS. which I have seen) in his *Paribhāshāvr̥tti*, has been given in an Appendix at the end of this volume. Of Śīradeva's work I have used two MSS., one belonging to the Library of Deccan College, the other to myself. The College Library possesses also a short work entitled *Śīradeva-brihaṭparibhāshāvr̥tti-tippaṇi vijayākhyā*, by S'rimānas'arman.

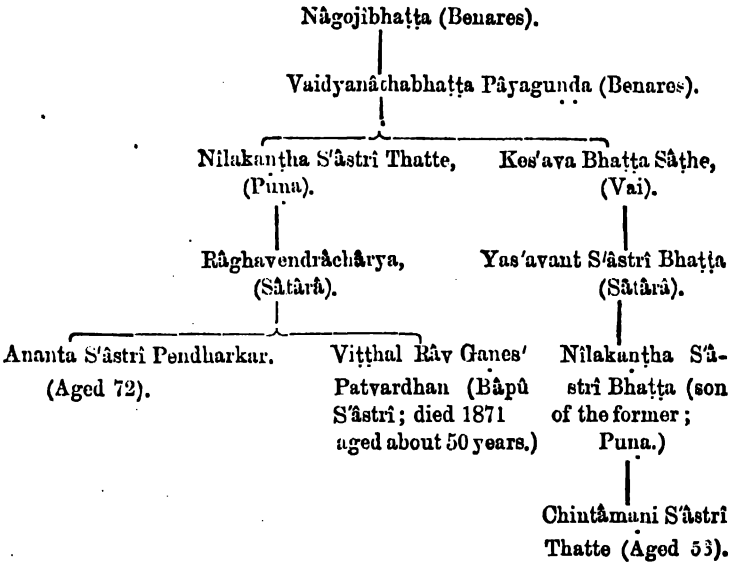
Another independent collection of Paribhāshās, more modern than that of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, is entitled *Paribhāshāpradīpārchiḥ*; to judge from the College copy of this work, which seems to be incomplete, the name of its author appears to be Udayankara; but in a MS. Catalogue of the Sanskrit works extant in the Central Provinces the author of the *Paribhāshāpradīpārchiḥ* is called Nāna-pāṭhaka.

1. The subjoined table shows the spiritual relationship of my friends with Nāgojibhaṭṭa himself by giving the names of the intermediate teachers:

telligence, diminish year after year, and to feel that with them there is dying away more and more of that traditional learning which we can so ill dispense with in the interpretation of the enigmatic works of Hindû antiquity, but it appears to me all the more to be the duty of both Native and European Sanskrit scholars to save as much as can still be saved, and to fix in writing what in less than half a century will otherwise be irreparably lost.

*Deccan College, March 1874.*

F. KIELHORN.



Rāghavendrāchārya died nearly 20 years ago. Nilakanṭha S'āstri Thatte and Kes'ava Bhaṭṭa Sāthe were fellow-students of V. Pāyagunda at Benares and the former when about 80 years old was known to Ananta S'āstri who then was quite a young man.

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## CORRECTIONS.

### TEXT.

- P. 6, 14. ° जन्तस्यात्त्वं.  
P. 38. Par. XLII. is not परान्नित्यं बलवत्, but कृताकृतप्रसङ्गे नित्यं तद्वि-  
परीतमनित्यम्. See Transl. pag. 209, note 1.  
P. 50, 13. Om. समानाश्रयस्य. See Transl. pag. 265, note 2.  
P. 65. Par. LVII. is not अन्तरङ्गादप्ययवादी बलीयान्, but येन नाप्राप्ते यो  
विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति. See Transl. pag. 320, note 1.  
P. 67, 12. कचिदपवादविषये.  
P. 72, 16. शेषग्रहणमनर्थकं.  
P. 77, 9. ४.१.२५.  
P. 77, 14. नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकसुबन्तोत्तर°.   
P. 79, 5. ज्ञेय.  
P. 92, 5 and 6. शक्तिकरणस्य. See Transl. pag. 434, note 5.  
P. 97, 11. २.३.३७.  
P. 109, 7. अन्यथा.

### TRANSLATION.

- P. 1, 8 and p. 509, 1. See Preface pag. iv. etc.  
P. 52, 4. Read नु instead of न.  
P. 97, 4. Read 'as an independent rule' instead of 'in the form  
of a Vārttika.'  
P. 128, 11. Om. 1 after VI., 3.  
P. 160, 2 from the bottom, and p. 180, 2 from the bottom. Read  
'Chitprabhā' instead of 'Sarvamangalā'.  
P. 171, 13. Read 'is naturally established as correct', instead of  
'is established by a maxim accepted in grammar'. And  
in note 5 omit the words 'it is established—for'.  
P. 492, 3 from the bottom, Read 2 instead of 1.

## HOMAGE TO GAṆES'A !

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Having paid homage to S'iva who, though united with Ambâ, is the supreme object of meditation, the learned Nâges'a composes the Paribhâshendus'ekhara, that students may learn (the Paribhâshâs) with ease.

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(In this work) are explained the Paribhâshâs which in the works of older grammarians<sup>1</sup> were given as Sûtras but are in this grammar of Pâṇini's (mostly) established by Jnâpakas and Nyâyas, provided<sup>2</sup> they are contained in the Bhâshya and the Vârttikas.

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### PARIBHÂSHÂ I.

The same letter ॠ is made use of (as Anubandha) both in (the sixth S'ivasûtra) ॠ and in (the first) अ इ उ ॠ; there arises consequently the doubt whether (the Pratyâhâras) अ ॠ and इ ॠ, when they are employed (in Pâṇini's grammar, are formed with the ॠ of the former or with the ॠ of the latter Sûtra), and one might (on that account) consider it impossible to ascertain (what

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1 I. e., Indra and others.

2 Hereby Nâgojibhatta intimates that those Paribhâshâs which are actually given in Pâṇini's grammar, will not be explained, and that some Paribhâshâs of the older grammarians are not authoritative.

Pāṇini intends to denote by अण् and इण् when he employs these terms. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. I: The precise (meaning of an ambiguous term) is ascertained from interpretation, for (a rule), even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach (something definite).

*I.e.*, the precise (meaning of an ambiguous term), *i.e.*, what particular meaning out of the two or more (meanings which an ambiguous term may convey) it actually does convey (in a particular rule), is ascertained from the interpretation<sup>1</sup> given by the learned,<sup>2</sup> for a rule must necessarily teach something (definite) even though (one of its terms) be ambiguous; the reason being that a rule ought to teach something which does not admit of any doubt. In other words: the object of this grammar (of Pāṇini's) is to teach something that does not admit of any doubt; if Pāṇini then employs in it terms which are ambiguous (and on that account give rise to doubt) he informs<sup>3</sup> us thereby that inter-

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1. *I. e.*, by traditional instruction of such kind as is described in the verse

पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिर्विग्रही वाक्ययोजना ।

भाक्षेवोऽथ समाधानं व्याख्यानं षड्विधं मतम् ॥

'interpretation is considered to be concerned with the following six points, viz., the separation of the words, the rendering the meanings of the words, the analysis of the words formed by means of affixes or by composition, the construction of the sentences, the raising of objections, and afterwards the removal of them.'

2. *I. e.*, the author of the Blāshya and others.

3. Nāgojibhatta purposely uses the word बोध्यते (and not ज्ञायते) in order to show that the employment of the same Anubandha ण् in two S'ivasūtras, although it suggests the existence of the Paribhāshā under discussion, can nevertheless not be called its *Jnāpaka*. A *Jnāpaka*, meaningless and superfluous before the Paribhāshā the existence of

pretation is the only means required for the removal of their ambiguity. Accordingly<sup>1</sup> (we learn from interpretation that) the term अण्, except in P. I., 1, 69, is formed by means of the (ण् of the) first (S'ivasūtra अ इ उण्), and that the term इण् is formed by means of the (ण् of the) subsequent (S'ivasūtra लण्). All this is found in the Bhāṣhya on the Sūtra लण्.

which it indicates has been established by it, becomes necessary and significant, as soon as that Paribhāṣhā has been accepted. Such is however not the case with the employment of ण् in the two S'ivasūtras.

1 तेन, i. e., व्याख्यानैव. P.—The ambiguity being removed by the interpretation of the learned, it is useless to take the trouble to seek for Jñāpakas that might remove it.

Bhāṣhya on S'ivasūtra 6, लण् ॥ अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्व-  
 श्चैव परश्च । तत्राणग्रहणेष्विणग्रहणेषु च संदेहो भवति पूर्वेण वा स्युः  
 परेण वेति । कैतरस्मिंस्तावदणग्रहणे संदेहः । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः  
 [६.३.१११] इति । असंदिग्धम् । पूर्वेण न परेण । कुत एतत् । पराभा-  
 वात् । न हि ढ्रलोपे परेऽणः सन्ति । ननु चायमस्ति । आतृढ इति । आवृ-  
 ढ इति<sup>२</sup> । एवं तर्ह्यणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यादणग्र-  
 हणमनर्थकं स्यात् । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथैतदपि न  
 ब्रूयात् । अचो ह्येतद्भवति इस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति ॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यणग्रहणे संदेहः ।  
 केऽणः [७. ४. १३.] इति । .....refuted as before. ॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्य-  
 णग्रहणे संदेहः । अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः [८. ४. ५७.] इति ।  
 .....similarly refuted. ॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यणग्रहणे संदेहः । उरण् रपरः  
 [९. १. ५१.] इति । असंदिग्धम् । पूर्वेण न परेण । कुत

एतत् । पराभावात् । न ह्युः स्थाने परेऽणः संभवन्ति<sup>१</sup> । ननु चाय-  
मस्ति । कर्त्तर्यम् हर्त्तर्यमिति । किं च स्यात् । यद्यत्र रपरैः स्याद्वयो  
रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत । हलो यमां यमि [ ८. ४. ६४. ] इत्येवमेक-  
स्यान्न लोपो भविष्यति<sup>३</sup> । विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत ।  
अयं तर्हि नित्यो लोपो रो रि [ ८. ३. १४. ] इति । पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः ।  
न शक्यः पदान्तस्येति<sup>४</sup> विज्ञातुम् । इह हि लोपो न स्यात् । जर्गधैर्लङ् ।  
अजर्घाः । पास्पर्थेः । अपास्पा इति । इह तर्हि मातृणां पितृणामिति  
रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवति यदयमुत्  
इद्धाताः [ ७. १. १००. ] इति धातुग्रहणं करोति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञाप-  
कम् । धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् । इह मा भूत् । मातृणां पितृणामिति ।  
यदि चात्र रपरत्वं स्याद्धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् । रपरत्वे कृतेऽनैन्त्यत्वा-  
दित्त्वं न भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो  
धातुग्रहणं करोति । इहापि तर्हि<sup>५</sup> न प्राप्नोति । चिकीर्षति जिहीर्ष-  
तीति । मा भूदेवम् । उपधायाश्च [ ७. १. १०१. ] इत्येवं भविष्यति ।  
इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति । मातृणां पितृणामिति । तस्मात्तत्र धातुग्रहणं  
कर्तव्यम् । एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् । अण्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण ।  
यदि हि<sup>६</sup> परेण स्यादण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् । उरज्जपर इत्येव ब्रूयात् ॥  
अस्मिस्तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणे संदेहः । अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः [ १. १. ६९. ]  
इति । असंदिग्धम् । परेण न पूर्वेण । कुत एतत् । सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं तपरं  
ह्युक्तम् [ ७. ४. ७. ] । यदयमुक्तमिति तपरं<sup>७</sup> करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः

1. Ed. सन्ति. 2. Ed. रपरत्वं. 3. Ed. भविष्यतीति. 4. Ed. शक्यः  
स पदान्तस्येत्येवं. 5. Ed. भन्त्यत्वात्. 6. Ed. om. इत्त्वं. 7. Ed. om.  
अण्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्. 8. Ed. om. हि. 9. Ed. सवर्णेऽण्. 10. Ed. ऋकारस्य  
तपरकरणं.

परेण न पूर्वेणेति ॥ इण्ग्रहणेषु तर्हि संदेहः । असंदिग्धम् । परेण न पूर्वेण । कुत एतत् । खोरन्यत्र (cf. VI, 4, 77) परेणेण् स्यात् । यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण संमृद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति खोरिति । तद्गुरु भवति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्य ग्रहणे चार्धचतस्रो मात्राः प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्तिस्त्रो मात्राः । सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्वरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेणेति<sup>3</sup> ॥ किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादलक्षणमित्यणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वेणाण्ग्रहणं परेणेण्ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

Nāgojibhaṭṭa on सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं तपरं •• ॥ यदुर्गुत्सूत्रे तपरं करोति तज्ज्ञापकं सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं परणकारकमिति वार्त्तिकाक्षरार्थः ॥

The same on संमृद्य ॥ आदेशेन तौ निवर्त्येत्यर्थः ॥

Kaiyaṭa on अर्धचतस्र इति ॥ अर्धेन चतस्रः । चतुर्थी हि मात्रा तत्रार्धमिति ॥ किं पुनरिति । वर्णोत्सत्तिर्वर्णोच्छेदः । वर्णान्तरमनुबन्धः किं न क्रियत इत्यर्थः ॥ व्याख्यानत इति । न्यायादागमाद्वा शब्दशक्तिरनुसरणीयेत्यर्थः ॥

Nāgojibhaṭṭa on the last words of Kaiyaṭa : ननु ज्ञापितेऽपि प्रवर्तकतया निवर्तकतया वा नास्य चारितार्थ्यमत आह । न्यायादिति । उक्तो न्यायः । आगम उपदेशपरंपरा तत्सिद्ध एवायमर्थो णकारानुबन्धनरूपस्वव्यवहारेण बोध्यत इत्यर्थः । एवं च व्याख्यानेनैव पूर्वणकारेण केचित्परणकारेणेति निर्णये ज्ञापकानुसरणश्लेशो वृथेति सूचितम् ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀS II. AND III.

In order to show that there are two alternatives under which Samjñās, (*i. e.*, technical terms or rules teaching them), and Paribhāshās may be viewed in this<sup>1</sup> (grammar of Pāṇini's, the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. II : Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.

P. III : Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, (or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain) operations, (provided the Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them).

यथोद्देशम् (is an Avyayibhāva-compound, meaning) 'not going beyond the उद्देश'; and this (word उद्देश)<sup>2</sup> denotes 'the place where (a Samjñā or a Paribhāshā) is taught.' Samjñās and Paribhāshās are everywhere in grammar employed with that force and in that sense which is assigned to them by the meaning of a sentence in that place in which they are taught. 'Place' however we call in grammar simply the time of utterance, (*i. e.*, the time when a Samjñā-rule or a Paribhāshā is given).

According to Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11 this (first) alternative refers to those scholars who accept what they are taught as they hear it, and who, when they have understood the meaning of a parti-

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1. In order to establish a connection with the preceding, Nāgojībhaṭṭa says तत्र 'in this,' *i. e.*, 'in this S'āstra,' the word लक्षणे being supplied from the last word अलक्षणम् of Paribhāshā I.

2. अधिकरणसाधनश्चायम्, *scil.* उद्देशशब्दः.

cular sentence (in which a Samjñā or a Paribhāṣhā is taught) rest satisfied with the general knowledge<sup>1</sup> that what they have learned will be of some use on a future occasion.

Some<sup>2</sup> however (give the following explanation of the Yathoddes'apaksha). They maintain in regard to the Paribhāṣhās that, as soon as one has learned the meaning *e. g.* of the sentence P. I., 1., 66. तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (which is a Paribhāṣhā), one has to ascertain in which (rules) a term is exhibited in the Locative case, has to place all these rules near the Paribhāṣhā, has further, in order to construe each of them properly,<sup>3</sup> to repeat the (Paribhāṣhā, which is) subservient (to them), as often as there are

1. ज्ञानमालेखः ; P. मात्रपदेन विशेषज्ञानव्यावृत्तिः ; they know generally that what they have learned will be useful, but they have not the special knowledge how it will be useful.—Of. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11 : यथोद्देशपक्षाश्रयेण परिहारः । कथं पुनरयं पक्षो यावता कार्यार्थत्वात्संज्ञापरिभाषस्य कार्यकालतैव न्याय्या । नैष दोषः । यदानुद्दिश्य प्रयोजनविशेषं प्रयोजनमालमभिसंभाय भविष्यति किञ्चिदनेन प्रयोजनमिति संज्ञापरिभाषं प्रणीयते तदा संभवत्येतायं पक्षो यथाश्रुतग्राहिप्रतिपक्षपक्षः । महावाक्यार्थपर्यालोचनप्रवृत्तप्रतिपक्षपक्षस्तु कार्यकालपक्षः ॥

2. In order to show that Kaiyaṭa's view of the Yathoddes'apaksha is not merely open to objections, but is quite inadmissible, and to indicate his own dissent from Kaiyaṭa which he had already hinted at by saying कैयटः, Nāgojibhatta now gives from कैचित्तु—आहुः (on pag. 4, 1), the established view of the Bhāṣhya; he does not however entirely approve even of this view (see below).—कैचित् ; *i. e.*, भाष्यतत्त्वविदः 'those who know the real meaning of the Bhāṣhya.'

3. P. संस्कारो विशिष्टवाक्यार्थनिश्चयः ; *e. g.*, after one has placed the rule VI., 1, 77 इको यणचि near the Paribhāṣhā तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, one construes the former rule by the help of this Paribhāṣhā thus : अचि परतः पूर्वस्याव्यवहितस्येको यण भवति.—गुणभेदम्, *i. e.*, परिभाषाभेदम् ; the Paribhāṣhās are given for the sake of other rules and are therefore subservient to them.



rules (containing a Locative), and to form (of each rule with the Paribhāshā that has thus been assigned to it) *one* sentence. The difference (between the Yathoddes'a- and Kāryakālapaksha according to this view is this, that on the Yathoddes'apaksha the rules given in P. VIII, 2-4 cannot be placed near the Paribhāshās contained in or indicated by a Jnāpaka in P. I.-VIII., 1, because they so far as the latter are concerned do not exist, whereas) on the Kāryakālapaksha (the Paribhāshās) are also placed (near those rules which are given) in P. VIII., 2-4.<sup>1</sup>

With a view to this very circumstance, (that the Paribhāshās become united with the rules which they concern, on the Yathoddes'apaksha as well as on the Kāryakālapaksha,) it has been said in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. I., 1, 49 : '*Adhikāras*, as is well known, are of three kinds ; some elucidate, though standing in *one* place, the whole grammar, just as a bright-shining lamp illuminates a whole house.' Kaiyaṭa remarks on this passage, that the word *Adhikāra* denotes also a Paribhāshā because the latter (like an *Adhikāra*) is given for the sake of other (rules), and that the word 'some' means 'the Paribhāshās.'—The drift of all this is, that a Paribhāshā by conveying its meaning becomes of service to the whole grammar just as a lamp illuminates with its light

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1. On the Kāryakālapaksha, therefore, a Paribhāshā forms one sentence with any rule in Pāṇini's grammar, which it concerns, but on the Yathoddes'apaksha only with the rules in P. I.-VIII., 1. In both cases the meaning of the Paribhāshā is learned in the place where the Paribhāshā is taught.

2. Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 49 : अधिकारो नाम त्रिप्रकारः । कश्चिदेकदेशस्थः सर्वशास्त्रमभिन्नलयति यथा दीपः । सुप्रबलितः सर्वे वैश्वमभिन्नलयति ॥ ; Kaiyaṭa : अधिकारो नामेत । पारार्थसाम्यात्परिभाषाप्यधिकार इत्युच्यते ॥ कश्चिदिति । परिभाषा-रूप इत्यर्थः ॥

• 1. Ed. सर्व शास्त्र°. 2. Ed. प्रदीपः.

a whole house. And the above (passage from the) Bhāṣhya refers equally to both alternatives (the Yathoddes'a- and the<sup>1</sup> Kāryakālapaksha), because we learn from it that under both alternatives (a Paribhāṣhā unites itself and) forms one sentence with each of the rules (which it concerns.) Regarding this (union, however,) there is this difference. On the Yathoddes'apaksha, all rules (that are concerned by particular Paribhāṣhās) being present to the mind at the time when those Paribhāṣhās are met with, each Paribhāṣhā is understood so often as there are rules (concerned by it) and unites itself severally with all of them. This has been stated by Kaiyaṭa<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 5 : 'on the Yathoddes'apaksha the main rules are for their own proper construction placed near the rules subservient to them and cause the latter to be

1. Cf. Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 5 : अथवा कार्यकालं हि<sup>१</sup> संज्ञापरिभाषम् । यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणो भवतीत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति क्विति नेति ॥ अथवा यदेतस्मिन्योगे क्विद्ग्रहणं तदनवकाशम् । तस्यानवकाशत्वाद्गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ॥ Kaiyaṭa : यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयेते तत्र क्विति नेत्युपतिष्ठत इत्येवमियं परिभाषा भवति । तत्र पुगन्तलघूपधस्येत्यत्रास्या उग्रस्थाने सति येन नाव्यवधानमिति भिन्नमित्यादौ निषेधो भविष्यति ॥ अथवेति । मा भूत्परिभाषा । तथापि प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेध्यापेक्षायां यावन्तो यादृशाः प्रतिषेद्धव्यास्तावन्ति प्रतिषेधसूत्राणांति पुगन्तलघूपधगुणे प्रतिषेधेऽनवकाशः प्रतिषेधो व्यवहितेऽपि प्रवर्तते ॥ अथवा यथोद्देशपक्षाश्रयेण भाष्यम् । तथा हि प्रधानान्यात्मसंस्काराय संनिधीयमानानि गुणभेदं प्रयुञ्जत इति यदेतस्मिन्नित्युक्तम् ॥

This passage refers in the first instance to the relationship between Nishedhas or rules forbidding something and Vidhis or rules enjoining that which the Nishedhas forbid. In the present case all rules that enjoin the substitution of Guna (c. g., P. VII., 3, 86 पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च) have on the Yathoddes'apaksha to be placed near the Nishedha P. I., 1, 5 क्विति च; and the latter has to be repeated as many times as there are rules enjoining Guna, so that each of the latter rules may be taken together with, as it were, one copy of the Nishedha. See below.

1. Ed. om. हि.

understood as many times as there are main rules.' On the Kārya-kālapaksha however the Paribhāshā is understood whenever any of the rules (concerned by it) is met with, and unites itself (with each of these rules.) In the above (quotation from the Bhāshya Patanjali) employs the phrase 'standing in one place' in order to show that, although the various (Paribhāshās on the Kāryakālapaksha) are understood whenever any (rules which they concern) are met with, they nevertheless do not actually assume a new position near these rules. The case is the same with people engaged in business transactions; although they visit various countries in pursuit of their vocations, they are nevertheless not called residents of those countries but inhabitants of the places in which their ancestors have been settled.

Rules<sup>1</sup> which forbid anything, as they require something particular that should be forbidden by them, must be taken together with the rules which enjoin (what they themselves forbid); and as they in this respect resemble the Paribhāshās (which likewise unite themselves with the rules to which they relate), they also are called *Paribhāshās* in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 5. They either form actually one sentence (with the rules that enjoin what they forbid) by entering them as limitations; or when they are added separately as exceptions to the rules, their meaning and the meaning of the rules of which they are exceptions are joined together so as to form one meaning.<sup>2</sup>

1. In the passage from the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 5, quoted above, Nishedhas are comprised under the term *Paribhāshā*; this requires an explanation which is given here.

2. The terms पर्युदास and प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध are explained in the S'loka

पर्युदासस्तु विज्ञेयो यत्रोत्तरपदेन नञ् ।

प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधस्तु क्रियाया सह यत्र नञ् ॥

A Samjñā-rule however does on the Kāryakūlapaksha not by itself convey any meaning but does so only in conjunction with the meaning of a rule (in which the Samjñā occurs). As therefore (the Samjñā-rule) P. I., 1, 12 (by which the vowels ई and ऊ of अमी and अम् are termed *pragrihya*.) unites itself (on the Kāryakūlapaksha) with P. VIII., 4, 57 (in which the term *pragrihya* occurs), the substitution of मु etc. (for the द of अदस which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 80, etc.), is not (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha*, (i. e., considered as not having taken place) in regard to it. For as (an operation) is *asiddha* in regard to (another) operation, (the meaning of P. VIII., 2, 1 being पूर्वस्मिन्कर्तव्ये परमसिद्धम्), it can be *asiddha* only after the (other) operation has become known; (in the present case), however, the (other) operation (viz., the application of the term *pragrihya* to the ई and ऊ of अमी and अम्) becomes known only when the rule (P. VIII., 4, 57 in which the term *pragrihya* occurs) is being taught, and as this rule and everything connected with it is (itself) *asiddha* (in regard to the preceding rule VIII., 2, 80) it cannot be included in the term पूर्व (of P. VIII., 2, 1 पूर्वसिद्धम्. In other words, the substitution of मु which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 80, cannot be

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In the Nishedha P. I., 1, 5 कृति च Guna and Vridhhi are forbidden, गुणवृद्धि being valid from one of the preceding rules. As soon as we, therefore, learn this Nishedha we have to place all rules that enjoin Guna or Vridhhi, (e. g., P. VII., 3, 84 सर्विधातुकार्धधातुकयोः) near it, and have to combine the Nishedha severally with each of these rules. This union may be effected in two ways. We may either unite the words of the Nishedha with those of, e. g., P. VII., 3, 84 and form one sentence of both rules, thus: अङ्गित्सर्विधातुकादौ i. e. कृद्विद्वन्नसर्विधातुकादौ गुणः; or we may place one rule close by the other, e. g., thus, सर्विधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (परयोगुणः), कृति (परे गुणो) न (भवति), and unite the meanings of both.

asiddha in regard to the application of the term *pragrihya* taught in P. I., 1, 12, because P. I., 1, 12 does not precede, but follows upon, P. VIII., 2, 80, its position being near the rule P. VIII., 4, 57).

In like manner the question whether a Samjñā-rule or another rule that applies simultaneously with it, ought to take effect, can only be decided after the meaning of the Samjñā-rule has become known (in the place where a rule that contains the Samjñā is taught), and consequently (the Samjñā-rule) must, so far as the working of the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2.) is concerned, be considered as subsequent (to all rules that precede the rule in which the Samjñā occurs). This is the reason why it has been said in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 12, that on the Kāryakālapaksha the term *pragrihya* (or the rule which teaches the application of this term) is subsequent to (the substitutes) अय् etc. (taught in P. VI., 1, 78 etc.).<sup>1</sup>

In regard, however, to the terms *Bha*, *Pada*, etc., taught in P. I., 4-II., 2 (where of several Samjñās 'that apply simultaneously the subsequent one supersedes the preceding one) there exists only the Yathoddes'apaksha, and whenever therefore the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2 is brought

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1. Because, although the Pragrihya-Samjñā-rule in Pāṇini's grammar precedes the rule which teaches the substitution of अय्, etc., the meaning of the Samjñā-rule is not learned in the place where the Samjñā-rule is taught. With regard to Samjñā-rules, therefore, it is clear that they on the Kāryakālapaksha are *para* in reference to all rules that precede a rule in which the Samjñā occurs or is valid. The Paribhāshās, on the other hand, are even on the Kāryakālapaksha *para* only in regard to such rules as actually precede them (or their Jñāpakas) in Pāṇini's work.—See below.

to bear on them, they are subsequent to (and supersede consequently) only such rules as actually precede them (in Pāṇini's grammar).<sup>1</sup> The terms *pada* etc. are also in P. VIII., 2-4 employed with that force which the meaning of the rules in which they are taught assigns to them. (As these terms) therefore (are on the Yathoddes'apaksha beyond any doubt valid also in P. VIII., 2-4), it has in the Bhāshya on P. VIII, 2, 1<sup>2</sup> only in

1. If the Kāryakālapaksha were admitted for the Samjñā-rules which teach the meaning of *bha*, *pada*, etc., then the Pada-Samjñā-rule I, 4, 17, for instance, would in the manner described before take its position near the rule P. VIII., 2, 7, in which the word पद is valid. Rule I, 4, 17 would then stand in P. VIII., 2-4 and being therefore asiddha in regard to the Bha-Samjñā-rule I, 4, 18, would not be superseded by the latter rule. In the formation of *e. g.* the Accusative Plur. of राजन् (from राजन् + अस्), राजन् would consequently by P. I., 4, 17 be termed *Pada*, and would be subject to the substitution of Lopa for its final न् by VIII., 2, 7. On the Yathoddes'apaksha, on the other hand, the Bha-Samjñā-rule follows upon and supersedes therefore the Pada-Samjñā-rule.—P: When in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13 the Kāryakālapaksha of the Samjñā *bha* is spoken of, then that must be considered as the statement of one who is only partly acquainted with the opinions of the author of the Bhāshya. Cf. note on Paribhāshā XXXVII.

2. Bhāshya on P. VIII., 2, 1:

पूर्वज्ञासिद्धम् ॥ येयं सपादासप्ताध्याय्यनुक्रान्तेतस्यामयं पादोनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्धो  
वेदितव्यः । यदि सपादायां सप्ताध्याय्यामयं पादोनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्ध इत्युच्यते य इह  
सप्तमीनिर्देशाः पञ्चमीनिर्देशाः षष्ठीनिर्देशाश्चोच्यन्ते तेऽप्यसिद्धाः स्युः । तत्र को दोषः ।  
झलो झलि [८. २. २६] ह्रस्वादङ्गात् [८. २. २७] संयोगान्तस्य लोपः [८.  
२. २३] इत्येतेषां निर्देशानामसिद्धत्वान्नस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य षष्ठी  
स्थानेयोग्येतेषां परिभाषा न प्रकल्येरन् । नैष दोषः । यद्यपीदं तत्रासिद्धं तच्चिह्नं सिद्धम् ।  
कथम् । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत् कार्यं तत्रैवोपास्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् । झलो झलि ह्रस्वा-

regard to the Paribhāshās been questioned whether they apply (also to rules) in P. VIII., 2-4; subsequently (the doubt thus raised) is removed by the adoption of the Kāryakālapaksha.

The Yathoddes'apaksha<sup>1</sup> has been treated of in the Bhāshya in the chapter on the term *pragrikhya*.

The word कार्यकालम्, on the other hand, means 'attracted by an operation' (or rather, by a rule that teaches an operation. The meaning of Paribhāshā III. is consequently) in other words this, that (a rule which teaches) an operation requires for its own construction the Paribhāshās that are indicated by certain peculiarities in the rule.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it has been said in the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 2, 1, after it had

दङ्गात् संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । उपस्थितमिदं भवति तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य षष्ठी स्थानेयोगेति ॥ यदि कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमित्युच्यत इयमपि परिभाषास्ति विप्रतिषेधे परमिति सार्पादीपतिष्ठेत । तत्र को दोषः । विस्कोर्यमवगोर्यमिति गुणादीर्घत्वं स्याद्विप्रतिषेधेन । अत उत्तरं पठति । पूर्वत्वासिद्धे नास्ति विप्रतिषेधो ऽभावादुत्तरस्य । पूर्वत्वासिद्धे नास्ति विप्रतिषेधः । किं कारणम् । अभावादुत्तरस्य । द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति न च पूर्वत्वासिद्धे परं पूर्वं प्रति भवति ॥ यद्येवं दोग्धा दोग्धुं पत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भुत्वं प्राप्नोति । काष्ठतट् संयोगादिलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपः प्राप्नोति । अपवादो वचनप्रामाण्यात् । अनवकाशावेतौ विधौ तौ वचनप्रामाण्याद्विष्यतः । तस्मात्कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमिति न दोषः ॥

For Kaiyaṭa's comment on the words तच्चिह्नं सिद्धम् see pag. 16.

1. P: Nāgojibhaṭṭa adduces this proof for the existence of the Yathoddes'apaksha, because this alternative is weak.

2. E. g. In order to construe the rule इको यणचि, we must know the Paribhāshā तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य which is indicated to us by the Locative case अचि; and we must likewise know the Paribhāshā षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा indicated by the Genitive इकः.

1. By P. VIII., 2, 77. 2. By P. VIII., 2, 31. 3. By P. VIII., 2, 23.

previously been questioned whether the Paribhāshās<sup>1</sup> contained in P. I.-VIII., 1 apply to the rules in P. VIII., 2-4, considering that these latter rules are asiddha (in regard to what precedes them in Pāṇini's grammar): 'although what is taught in P. VIII., 2-4 is asiddha in regard to that which is taught before, nevertheless that which is taught in P., I.-VIII., 1 is siddha in regard to the rules in P. VIII., 2-4;' and when (the opponent) asks 'how is this?' intimating thereby that it is nevertheless (impossible for the Paribhāshās in P. I.-VIII., 1 to get near the rules in P. VIII., 2-4, so long as the latter are) asiddha, he is answered thus 'कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्' *i. e.* 'Samjñā-rules and Paribhāshās must be considered to take their position near (the rules that enjoin) an operation (when they occur or are valid in, or concern, those rules).'<sup>2</sup>

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1. The Samjñā-rules have been spoken of before.

2. The meaning of कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् is not 'Samjñā-rules and Paribhāshās are effective in the formation of a word at the same time (*kāla*) with (a *kārya*, *i. e.*,) a rule that teaches a certain operation.'—Samjñā-rules and Paribhāshās take their position by the rules that teach an operation (provided the Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them), because they are postulated by the latter rules. A rule which teaches an operation postulates for its own completion or construction a certain Paribhāshā; the Paribhāshā, likewise, postulates as something to be completed or construed by it, the rules which it concerns. In P. I.-VIII., 1 the rules and Paribhāshās postulate each other mutually, while rules in P. VIII., 2-4 only postulate their Paribhāshās, but are not postulated by them. Kaiyaṭa is wrong when he adopts the interpretation of the Paribhāshā mentioned at the beginning of this note, and assumes a *mutual* postulation also for the rules in P. VIII., 2-4 and their Paribhāshās. The passage of



Now one might say, and one might support one's view by referring to Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. I, 1, 3,<sup>1</sup> that, when two Paribhāshās concern the same rule, one ought according to the above on the Kāryakūlapaksha not to speak of one Paribhāshā being *para i. e.* subsequent to the other, because they both stand in one and the same place, both being attracted by the same rule; and that consequently the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 66 which does assume *paratva* in such a case, does not agree with the preceding. The Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> l. c. says namely with reference to P. VIII., 3, 32 and similar rules<sup>3</sup> by which (as they contain a term that stands in the Ablative and another term in the Locative case) on the Kāryakūlapaksha the two Paribhāshās P. I., 1, 67 तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य and P. I., 1, 66 तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य are attracted, that 'when in one and the same rule one term stands in the Locative and another in the Ablative case, the term which stands in the Ablative possesses great-

Kaiyaṭa here referred to occurs in his comment on the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 2, 1: तत्तिह सिद्धमिति ॥ कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमित्यस्मिन्दर्शने । संज्ञापरिभाषाणां झत्यन्तपारार्थान्न स्यातन्वयेण कार्यावगमे हेतुलं केवलमाचार्येण लाघवायानेकप्रधानाङ्गभावप्रतिपत्तये पृथगुपदेशः कृतः । ततश्च तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्येत्यनेन केवलेन न किञ्चिक्लिपते नापि झलो झलि [ ८. २. २६. ] इत्यनेन । किं तर्हि । संहृत्य कार्यं क्रियते । ततो झत्यनन्तरे पूर्वसकारस्य झलः परस्य लोप इति वाक्यार्थ इत्येकवाक्यतायां पौर्वापर्यभावादसिद्धत्वाभावः ॥.—On the Yathoddes'apaksha Paribhāshās which stand in P. I.-VIII., 1, cannot attract rules in P. VIII., 2-4, because the latter are asiddha in regard to the former.

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 3: यथोद्देशपक्षे परिभाषयोः पौर्वापर्यं न तु कार्यकालतायाम् ॥

2. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 66: उभयनिर्देशो विप्रतिषेधाल् उच्चमीनिर्देशो भविष्यति ॥ Kaiyaṭa: विप्रतिषेधादिति ॥ सूत्रपाठपेक्षया परस्य व्यवस्थापकत्वमित्यर्थः ॥

3. Like P. VIII., 3, 29 उः सि भुट्.

er force than the other which stands in the Locative, (in other words, that Paribhāshā 67 तस्मादि० supersedes Paribhāshā 66 तस्मिन्नि०), because the former (in the order of Pāṇini's grammar) follows upon the latter Paribhāshā.'—But (this statement of the Bhāshya) is quite correct (and the view according to which the one Paribhāshā ought not to be considered as subsequent to the other, is) untenable, for the sequence spoken of in the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2) is (so far as the Paribhāshās are concerned) established by the order in which (the Paribhāshās) are actually given in Pāṇini's grammar; nor does this (sequence) cease to exist because (Paribhāshās) are viewed under the Kāryakālapaksha. Both alternatives namely (the Yathoddes'a- and the Kāryakālapaksha) do not differ in this point that in both (the Paribhāshās do not themselves leave the places in which they are taught, but merely) convey their meaning concerning the rules to which they relate, (either in their own place or near those rules); for a lifeless (Paribhāshā-)rule cannot even on the Kāryakālapaksha leave its own place and go to that place, (where a rule stands which it concerns), nor does it abandon its own place by the fact that we or others refer its meaning (to the rule which it concerns).<sup>1</sup> For this reason, (i. e., because a Paribhāshā does not really abandon its place,) was it stated in the Bhāshya (quoted above), that (a Paribhāshā) 'although standing in one place, elucidates the whole grammar,' and for the same reason says Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 66 that 'the sequence in which we read (the Paribhāshās) in Pāṇini's grammar decides

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1. All this refers to the Paribhāshās only; the Samjñā-rules abandon, as we have observed before, on the Kāryakālapaksha their own place and take their position near the rules in which the Samjñā occurs or is valid. See below.

the question, which is to supersede which.' Kaiyaṭa's (remark) on P. I., 1, 3, however, (which was alluded to before,) is untenable.<sup>1</sup> Else, (were we to admit the view expressed by Kaiyaṭa

1. In reality sequence of rules is, so far as the Vipratishedha-rule is concerned, *everywhere* established by the order in which the rules are actually given in Pāṇini's grammar, and the Samjñā-rules form even on the Kāryakālapakṣa no exception. Nāgojibhaṭṭa does not admit the statement on p. 3, 11 'एवं तद्विधीनमेव विरोधप्रतिसंवादनं चेति तत्त्वपरत्वेनैव विप्रतिषेध-सूत्रप्रवृत्तौ ऋजम्' and he therefore (on p. 2, 4) has introduced the long passage of which that statement forms part, with the words केचिन्नु. Had he altogether approved of the views propounded in the words केचिन्नु-आहुः, then he would have introduced them with the words परे तु, as he does elsewhere. His own view he states when commenting on the Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 12. The Vārttikakāra adopts on P. I., 1, 12 the view that a Samjñā-rule takes its position near the rules, in which the Samjñā occurs or is valid, and that it is *para* in reference to all rules that precede the rules near which it has taken its position. He says namely first that, ई, ऊ, and म् in अमी and अमू being asiddha (and the latter words therefore really = अदे and अदौ, in instances like अमी आसते, अमू आसते, and अमी अन्न) the Sandhi-rule P. VI., 1, 78 which teaches the substitution of अय् for ए, and of आव् for औ, and P. VI., 1, 109 which teaches the substitution of ए for ए + अ would apply, if their application were not forbidden. Thereupon he goes on to say विप्रतिषेधाद्वा i. e. 'or when the question arises whether (in अमी आसते etc.) the term *pragrihya* is to be applied by P. I., 1, 12, or अय् etc. to be substituted by P. VI., 1, 78 etc. the term *pragrihya* will be applied by the Vipratishedha-rule'. To this the objection is raised that by the Vipratishedha-rule a subsequent rule supersedes a preceding one, whereas in the present instance the rules which teach the substitution of अय् etc. are preceded and not followed by the Pragrihya-Samjñā-rule. This objection is answered with एवं तर्हि परैव प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा | कथम् | कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् | यत् कार्यं तल्लोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् | प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्येत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति | अदसौ मादिते | By the Paribhāṣhā कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् the Samjñā-rule stands near P. VI., 1,

on P. I., 1, 3 to be correct, then one might also maintain that), the object of all rules being the formation of words, they all stand, because they meet in the formation of words, in one and the same place, and thus there would nowhere be any sequence (of rules). Moreover, as in the manner described by Kaiyaṣa on P. I., 1, 5, the rules (that are concerned by certain Paribhāshās) are on the Yathoddes'apaksha placed near their Paribhāshās, their sequence (also) would be destroyed. And (all sequence of rules having) thus (ceased), such (statements) as this that 'in (the formation of) वृक्षेभ्यः ए is by P. VII., 3, 103 substituted (for the final अ of वृक्ष) in supersession of (the lengthening of the final अ taught in) P. VII., 3, 102, because the rule (which teaches the substitution of ए) follows (upon the other rule),' would be subverted. Sapienti sat.

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125 and is therefore *para* in regard to P. VI., 1, 78 and 109 which rules teach the substitution of अय् etc. Here Nāgojibhaṭṭa states his own view thus: परे तु परैवेत्यस्य संज्ञापदेन तत्कार्यं प्रकृतिभाव उच्यत इति भावः । आत्रायानभिज्ञस्य प्रश्नः । कथमिति । एकदेशिन उत्तरं कार्यकालमित्यादीत्याहुः ॥ एतेन कार्यकालपक्षे ऽपि पाठकृतपरस्वमयादीनामेव ॥ 'Others however (and I concur with them) say, that the word *pragrihya-samjñā* of the Bhāṣhya denotes that which is to be caused by it, viz. the unchangeableness of the vowels called *pragrihya*; that the question 'how is this?' is raised by somebody who does not understand the purport of the preceding; and that the answer to it contained in the words कार्यकालम् etc. does not convey the established opinion of Patanjali, but merely the view of somebody who is only partly acquainted with what Patanjali considers correct. Accordingly the rules which teach the substitution of अय् etc. stand even on the Kāryakālapaksha after the Pragrihya-samjñā-rule, just as they in Pāṇini's grammar are read after it.'

Nāgojibhaṭṭa has stated that the Yathoddes'apaksha has been treated of by Patanjali in the chapter on the Pragrihya-samjñā. We proceed therefore to give a short analysis of part of the Bhāṣhya on P. I, 1, 11 (Ballantyne Ed. p. 345) which may serve to illustrate the bearing of both Paribhāṣhās II. and III. on Samjñā-rules. The Bhāṣhya commences with the statement that if we read in P. I., 1, 11 ईत्, ऊत् and एत्, the pluta vowels ई, ऊ, and ए will not be termed *pragrihya*, because ईत्, ऊत् and एत् denote on account of their final त् the vowels ई, ऊ and ए containing two Mātrās, whereas the pluta vowels ई, ऊ, ए contain three Mātrās. Hereupon begins the following discussion: 'The pluta vowels (being taught in P. VIII, 2-4) are (in regard to the Pragrihya-samjñā-rule) asiddha, contain therefore (in regard to it) only two Mātrās, (and will be termed *pragrihya* by P. I., 1, 11).' 'The pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels.' 'How do you know this?' 'It results from the fact that Pāṇini in VI., 1, 125 teaches that a pluta vowel remains unchanged when it is followed by a vowel.' 'How does this proceeding of Pāṇini indicate that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels?' 'It does indicate it because only something actually existing can undergo an operation; (if a pluta vowel because of its being taught in P. VIII, 2-4, were asiddha in regard to a Sandhi-rule in P. VI., Pāṇini would not teach in VI., 1, 125, that a pluta vowel remains unchanged when it is followed by a vowel).' 'What is the object for which Pāṇini indicates in VI., 1, 125, that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels?' 'The object is this, that we need not read the words अङ्गतादङ्गते in P. VI., 1, 113. (If pluta vowels are siddha in regard to a Sandhi-rule, it suffices to say in P. VI., 1, 113 अतो रीः, for the त् both of अतः and of the supplied अति will prevent

us from applying the rule to *pluta* vowels.)” ‘What does follow from the fact that *pluta* vowels are *siddha* in regard to the Sandhi of vowels? They are still *asiddha* in regard to a *Samjñā*-rule, contain therefore (so far as P. I., 1, 11 is concerned) only two *Mātrās* (and will be termed *pragrihya* by P. I., 1, 11).’ “The *pluta* vowels are *siddha* likewise in regard to the *Samjñā*-rule.” ‘How is this possible?’ “कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् । यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् । प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्येत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति । ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यामिति । *Samjñā*-rules and *Paribhāshās* must be considered to take their position near the rules that teach an operation, provided the *Samjñās* occur or are valid in them, and provided the *Paribhāshās* concern them. (According to this *Paribhāshā*) the *Samjñā*-rule P. I., 1, 11 has taken its position near the (Sandhi-) rule P. VI., 1, 125 हुतप्रगृह्या अचि (and the *pluta* vowels being *siddha* in regard to the latter rule are therefore likewise *siddha* in regard to P. I., 1, 11).’

‘What reason is there, however, why a *pluta* vowel should be termed *pragrihya*?’ “The reason is that it should possess the unchangeableness which would result from its being *pragrihya*.” ‘For the sake of the unchangeableness the application of the term *pragrihya* to a *pluta* vowel is unnecessary, for the unchangeableness will result from हुतः प्रकृत्या (of P. VI., 1, 125).’ “This<sup>1</sup> cannot be admitted, for by admitting it we should disagree with the statement on P. VI., 1, 129 according to which the unchangeableness which (by the rule हुतः प्रकृत्या) attaches to a vowel on account of its being *pluta* is entirely distinct from the unchangeableness which (by the rule प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्या) attaches to a vowel on account of its being *pragrihya*; or, in other words, according to which a *pluta* vowel may lose the unchangeableness that

1. The above is not a literal translation of the words of the *Bhāṣya*.

accrues to it from the rule *सुतः प्रकृत्या*, and still retain that unchangeableness which accrues to it from the rule *प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्या*. Therefore we ought (in addition to P. I., 1, 11) to make the rule that *pluta ई, उ and ए* must likewise be termed *pragrihya*, in order that they may possess the unchangeableness that would result from their being termed *pragrihya*."

'But suppose we were in P. I., 1, 11 to read *ई, उ, and ए*, instead of *ईत्, उत्, and एत्*, (would it also in that case be necessary to make the additional rule)? " (Certainly, for) even then only the vowel *ए* would denote (also) the vowels homogeneous to it (and therefore also *pluta ए*) but *ई* and *उ* would not do so." 'Why not?' "Because they are not contained in the *Pratyâhâra अण्* (and because therefore P. I., 1, 69 does not apply to them)."

'Suppose, then, we were in P. I., 1, 11 to read *ई, उ, ए* (instead of *ईत्, उत्, एत्*? (Here *ई* and *उ* would by P. I., 1, 69 denote the vowels homogeneous to them and therefore also *ई३* and *उ३*, because *ई* and *उ* are contained in the *Pratyâhâra अण्* ).' "This is impossible, for in this case the term *pragrihya* would be applied also *e. g.* to the final *ई* of *अकुर्वद्*."

'We must therefore leave the rule P. I., 1, 11 as Pāṇini has given it, *i. e.* read in it the long vowels *ईत्, उत्, and एत्*. At the same time, if we do so, the *pluta* vowels *ई, उ, and ए* will not be termed *pragrihya* by P. I., 1, 11. (How can we get rid of this difficulty?) Only by rejecting the opinion that *pluta* vowels are *siddha* in regard to the *Sandhi* of vowels, an opinion which was established by rather too many artifices (such as the assumption of a *Jnâpaka* and the actual change of one of Pāṇini's rules). *Pluta* vowels are *asiddha*, contain therefore only two *Mâtrās* (and will be termed *pragrihya* by P. I., 1, 11).' "How about

the Jñāpaka mentioned above, ऋतप्रगृह्या अचि, (which was said to indicate that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels)?” ‘ऋतः प्रकृत्या (does not mean, that a pluta vowel is unchangeable, but) means, that a vowel for which a pluta vowel will be substituted, is unchangeable.’ “But what about the object (for which Pāṇini was said to have indicated that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels), viz. that we need not read the words अमुतादमुते in P. VI., 1, 113?” ‘(To this we simply answer that Pāṇini) has actually given the words अमुतादमुते in VI., 1, 113.’

(“So far so good. Still we maintain that we want a rule, in addition to P. I., 1, 11, to teach us that the pluta vowels ई, ऊ, and ए are likewise prāgrihya. In the preceding we have mentioned the Paribhāshā कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् and have said that by it the Samjñā-rule takes its position near the rules that teach an operation, when the Samjñā occurs or is valid in them. P. I., 1, 11 took, as we have seen, its position near P. VI., 1, 125 ऋतप्रगृह्या अचि, and we admit now that the pluta vowels, being asiddha in regard to P. VI., 1, 125, are asiddha also in regard to P. I., 1, 11. However, by the same Paribhāshā,) the Samjñā-rule I., 1, 11 stands likewise near P. VIII., 4, 57 अणो ऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः, and as the pluta vowels are siddha in regard to *this* rule (being taught before it) they are likewise siddha in regard to the Samjñā-rule. (The result hereof is that, as far as the working of P. VIII., 4, 57 on *e. g.*, अग्नी३ is concerned, the final ई३ is not prāgrihya and we may therefore substitute for it the anunāsika ई३).” ‘एवं तर्हि किं न एतेन यत्नेन कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमिति । यथोद्देशमेव संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अत्र चासावसिद्धः । तस्यासिद्धत्वात्तत्काला एव भवन्ति ॥ Very well; we give up the Paribhāshā कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् and adopt the Paribhāshā which teaches us that Samjñā-rules and Paribhāshās remain in the place where they are taught.



And under this view the *pluta* vowel is *asiddha* (in regard to the *Pragrihya-Samjñā*-rule I., 1, 11) contains therefore only two *Mātrās* (and will be termed *pragrihya* by P. I., 1, 11).'

In order to illustrate the difference between the *Yathoddes'a-* and *Kāryakālapaksha* in regard to *Paribhāshās*, we quote the remarks of *Bhaṭṭojīdikshita* on the formation of the *Acc. Plur.* राज्ञः (Si. Kau. I., p. 155) and on that of the *Acc. Plur.* प्रियाङ्गुः (Si. Kau. I., p. 163); in the former passage the *Yathoddes'a-* *paksha* has been adopted, in the latter the *Kāryakālapaksha*.

(a). The *Yathoddes'apaksha*: Si. Kau. अङ्गोपोऽनः । श्रुत्वम् । न चाङ्गोपः स्थानिवत्पूर्वत्वासिद्धे तज्जिषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतयासिद्धौ यथेद्विशेषे षाधिं परिभाषां प्रति श्रुत्वस्यासिद्धतयान्तरङ्गाभावे परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जजोर्ज्ञः । राज्ञः ॥

ज्ञस् is the affix of the *Acc. Plur.*;

राजन्+ज्ञस् becomes by P. I., 3, 8 and 9

राजन्+अस्; here राजन् is termed *Bha* by P. I., 4, 18; consequently there applies P. VI., 4, 134 (अङ्गोपोऽनः), which teaches the substitution of *Lopa* for the अ of राजन्. This substitution is indirectly caused by the affix अस्, because it is this affix which is the cause of राजन् being termed *Bha*. By the substitution of *Lopa* for अ, we obtain राजन् + अस्. Here applies P. VIII., 4, 40 (स्तोः श्रुना श्रुः) by which ञ् should be substituted for न्.

Now arises the question whether P. I., 1, 57 (अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ one meaning of which rule is this, 'that a substitute for a vowel (such as *Lopa* for अ) when it is caused by something following (as e. g. by the affix अस्) is to be considered as not having taken place in regard to a rule which concerns that (न्) which follows upon that (ञ्) which originally preceded the vowel (अ) for which the substitute (*Lopa*) has been substituted') applies here. If it did apply, ज्ञन् would be regarded as still separated by अ, and ञ् would not be substituted for न्. However, P. I., 1, 57 does not

apply, because the rule which teaches the substitution of ञ् for न् stands in P. VIII., 2-4 and because consequently the application of P. I., 1, 57 is in this case forbidden by the Vārttika on P. I., 1, 58 पूर्वज्ञासिद्धे न स्थानिवन्.

But one might raise another objection to the substitution of ञ् for न्. The substitution of ञ् for न् is caused by the meeting of the two letters ञ् and न्; the substitution of Lopa for the अ of राजन्, on the other hand, is caused, as we have seen, by the following affix भस्; the substitution of ञ् is therefore antaranga, and the substitution of Lopa for अ bahiranga. If we then apply here the Antaranga-paribhāshā (Paribh. L.), the bahiranga substitute Lopa for अ will be asiddha i. e. regarded as not having been substituted, so far as the antaranga substitution of ञ् for न् is concerned; in other words, ञ् and न् will be regarded as still separated by अ and the substitution of ञ् for न् can therefore not take place.

This objection is met by the statement that Paribhāshās remain in the place where they are taught. The Antaranga-paribhāshā, indicated as it is by ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132, stands on the Yathoddes'apaksha near the rule P. VI., 4, 132; consequently the substitution of ञ् for न्, being taught in P. VIII., 4, 40, is in regard to it asiddha, i. e. the substitute ञ्, which was said to be antaranga, does so far as the Antaranga-paribhāshā is concerned not exist; it follows therefore that, as there is no antaranga, the Antaranga-paribhāshā cannot apply, and that the substitution of Lopa for अ is not asiddha.—We substitute consequently ञ् for न् and obtain thus the form राज् ञ्+भस्=राज्ञः. (Cf. also Si. Kau. I., p. 157. प्रतिदीन्नः.)

(b). The *Kāryakālapaksha*: Si. Kau: शसि प्रियाष्टः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विभावज्ञोपस्य स्थानिवद्वाज्जं द्रुतं कार्यकालपक्षे बहिरङ्गस्याज्ञोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा ॥

प्रियाटन्+अस्;=प्रियाटन्+भस्;=प्रियाट् न्+भस्; here P. VIII., 4, 41 (दुनाट्) is applicable and by it ण् should be substituted for न्. But the taking effect of P. VIII., 4, 41 is prevented by the circumstance that the substitution of Lopa for अ must be considered as not having taken place; for in this case P. I., 1, 57 is not invalidated by the Vārttika पूर्वत्तासिद्धे न स्यानिवत्, because this Vārttika is limited by the other Vārttika (on P. I., 1, 58) तस्य दोषः संयोगादिजोपलक्षणत्वे. ट् and न् being regarded as separated by अ, न् cannot be changed to ण् by P. VIII., 4, 41.

Besides the substitution of ण् for न् is also prevented by the Antaranga-paribhāshā. By that Paribhāshā the bahiranga substitution of Lopa for अ is asiddha in regard to the antaranga substitution of ण् for न्, consequently ट् and न् are regarded as still separated by अ, and P. VIII., 4, 41 cannot take effect. One might object, that, as in the case of राज्ञः, so also here the Antaranga-paribhāshā does not apply, because the substitution of ण् for न्, as being taught in P. VIII., 4, 41, is asiddha in regard to the Antaranga-paribhāshā which stands near P. VI., 4, 132. But this objection is easily refuted. In the case of राज्ञः we had recourse to the Yathoddes'apaksha, but in the present instance we adopt the Kāryakālapaksha. On the Kāryakālapaksha the Antaranga-paribhāshā stands near the antaranga rule P. VIII., 4, 41, and the substitution of ण् for न् which is taught by the latter rule, is therefore not asiddha in regard to the Antaranga-paribhāshā. As therefore in this case an antaranga operation does exist, there is nothing to prevent the application of the Antaranga-paribhāshā. (Cf., however, the Antaranga-paribhāshā).

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PARIBHĀSHĀS IV. AND V.

Anubandhas (i. e. indicatory letters etc. attached) are the (letters etc.) termed *it*; as it may appear doubtful whether they are or are not part (of that to which they are attached, the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. IV: The Anubandhas are no part (of that to which they are attached);

for that which forms part of anything is certainly some time or other observed in or on that (of which it is a part); but such is not the case with an Anubandha because we never see it in or on that which is intended to be denoted (by the term to which the Anubandha is attached).<sup>1</sup> In the case of such (Bahuvrīhi compounds) as *यित्* 'that whose Anubandha is य', *कित्* 'that whose Anubandha is क्', the composition must be regarded to have taken place (not because य् or क् are part of the terms to which they are attached, but) because they, though (in reality they merely) stand near (those terms), have by a kind of metaphor been considered part of them.

However (one might object that, if the Anubandhas did not form part of the terms to which they are attached but did merely stand near them, then in rules like P. IV., 2, 80 वृद्धक<sup>०</sup> the letter वृ ought to be considered as Anubandha both of the preceding वृ and of the following क, for it stands near both, and consequently the operation which results from an affix having the Anubandha

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1. The branch of a tree, although, after it has been cut off, it does not appear on the tree, was observed on it before; therefore Nūgojibhaṭṭa says 'is *some time or other* observed'. In the real language we see the affixes अ, इ, etc. which are intended to be denoted by अच्, इच् etc., but we never see their Anubandhas च्, ञ् etc.

ॠ ought to take place both in the case of the affix ॢ and also in that of ॣ. But this objection is easily refuted; for) such facts as this 'that in cases like P. IV., 2, 80 ॠॢॣॢॣ' the operation which results from (an affix) having the Anubandha ॠ (results from ॠ) only in so far as it is connected with the preceding (ॢ and not in so far as it is connected with the following ॣ)', must be ascertained from the interpretation (of P. IV., 2, 80 etc). In<sup>1</sup> the rule P. I., 3, 3, which teaches that a *final* consonant is termed *it* (and according to which the Anubandhas, if they really are no part of that to which they are attached, would therefore seem to be no Anubandhas at all) the word *final* denotes (metaphorically the consonant which stands) near the rest.

In reality however it is only correct to say that

P. V : (The Anubandhas *are*) part (of that to which they are attached);

for in grammar we do find them in those (particular affixes etc. to which they are attached), whereas we find them nowhere else. That namely which forms no part (of a particular thing) is observed to form the same connection (which it forms with this particular thing also with other things), *e. g.* a crow (may be seen sitting) on a house and (it may also be seen) on a tree etc., (and it is therefore no part of the house); but an Anubandha is not (found to be) thus (connected with any affixes etc. whatsoever, and it can therefore not be correct to say that it is no part of that to which it is attached). Further (the Anubandhas are part of that to which they are attached) because only thus

1. Now one might say: 'You certainly put the axe to the root, for you destroy the *itva* altogether, because P. I., 3, 3 cannot apply to your Anubandha.' Therefore he says 'In the rule' etc.

the formation of the Bahuvrīhi compounds (बिन्, कित् etc.), can be properly<sup>1</sup> explained, and (because this view does) not (necessitate the assumption that) the word अन्य 'final' (in P. I., 3, 3) has a metaphorical meaning. And besides, if (the Anubandhas) were no part (of that to which they are attached), then (the letters) ण् etc. in such affixes as ण, ञ, क would not (by P. I., 3, 7 and 8) be termed *it*, because they would not be the initial letters of those affixes; moreover<sup>2</sup> the letter च् of दम्बच् (in P. V., 2, 37) would be superfluous (because the च् which stands between द्वयस and दम्ब would serve as Anubandha for both द्वयस and दम्ब). And<sup>3</sup> (all) this (that has been said in the preceding) is found in the Bhāṣya on P. I., 3, 9; for there it has been said (after both

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1. *I. e.* without assuming a metaphor.

2. The meaning of this is: 'If you maintain that the word आदि "initial" can easily be explained, *viz.* like the word अन्य "final" in the preceding, by परसमीप, I can give you another reason why the Anubandhas should be part.'

3. If you say that we learn from the traditional interpretation that the च् which stands before दम्ब, belongs only to the preceding द्वयस and not also to दम्ब, and that therefore the च् of दम्बच् is not superfluous, I rejoin: 'And all this' etc. If the Anubandha *is* a part of something else, interpretation may determine of what it is a part, for it cannot be part of two things; but if it is not a part, interpretation is of no avail. Anything that stands near a certain thing may well at the same time stand near something else; no confusion can arise from this and interpretation is therefore out of place. Interpretation would have nothing to do with P. V., 2, 37 and the च् of दम्बच् would be superfluous if the Anubandhas were no part of that to which they are attached. In the same manner interpretation would have nothing to do with the rule P. IV., 2, 80 mentioned above, and ण would be Anubandha both of ङ and of क.

alternatives have been considered): 'correct is only that (alternative) according to which the Anubandhas are part (of that to which they are attached)'; this<sup>1</sup> then is the point of view (from which we have to look at the whole question).

1. Both the greater simplicity of the second alternative which results from its not necessitating the assumption of metaphors, and the reason brought forward in support of it ('for in grammar we do find them etc.') prove the correctness of this alternative.

Extract from the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 3, 9 :

अथ यस्यानुबन्ध आसज्यते किं स तस्यैकान्तो भवत्याहोस्विदने-  
कान्तः । एकान्तस्तत्रोपलब्धेः । एकान्त इत्याह । कुतः । तत्रोपल-  
ब्धेः । तत्रस्थो ह्यसावुपलभ्यते । तद्यथा वृक्षस्था शाखा वृक्षैकान्तोप-  
लभ्यते ॥ तत्रासरूपसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधेषु पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वा-  
त् । तत्रासरूपविधौ दोषो भवति । कर्मण्यण् [ ३. २. १. ] आतोऽनुप-  
सर्गे कः [ ३. २. ३. ] इति कविषयेऽपि प्राप्नोति । सर्वादेशे च दोषो  
भवति । दिव औत्सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति [ ७. १. ८४. ] । दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथ-  
क्त्वनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । अदाब्दैपाविति वक्तव्यम् । किं पुनः कारणं न  
सिध्यति । अनाकारान्तत्वात् । ननु चात्वे कृते भविष्यति । तच्चात्वं  
न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अनेजन्तत्वात् ॥ अस्तु तर्ह्यनेकान्तः । अ-

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above: एकान्तस्तत्रोपलब्धेरिति ॥ ननु यदेव  
संशयमिति निमित्तं स एव कथं निश्चयहेतुः । उच्यते । सामर्थ्यादवधारणमाश्रीयते तत्रैवीप-  
लब्धेरिति । अवयवस्तत्रैवीपलभ्यते ऽ नवयवस्तु तत्र चान्यत्र च ॥ ननु वकारस्य वनव्रणवृ-  
क्षादिभूपलब्धिर्न चासावनवयवः । नैष दोषः । भिन्नसमुदायविषयं वर्णान्तरमेव तदिति शकु-  
निभाष्ये प्रतिपादितम् ॥.....अस्तु तर्हीति ॥ कार्यलक्षणाय केवलमनुबन्ध उपा-

2. Ms. °षेधे; but cf. below and Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 55. 3. Ms.  
वनव्रणवृक्षा°.

नेकान्ते वृत्तिविशेषः । यदनेकान्तो वृत्तिविशेषो न सिध्यति । किति  
 णितीति कार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति । किं हि स तस्येद्ववति येनेकृतं स्यात् ।  
 एवं तर्ह्यनन्तरः । अनन्तर इति चेत्पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतप्रसङ्गः । अनन्तर  
 इति चेत्पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतं प्राप्नोति । बुञ्छण् । सिद्धं तु व्यवसितपाठात् ।  
 सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । व्यवसितपाठः कर्तव्यः । बुञ् छण् । स चावश्यं  
 कर्तव्य इतरथा ह्येकान्तेऽपि संदेहः । अक्रियमाणे व्यवसितपाठ एकान्ते  
 ऽपि संदेहः स्यात् । तन्न न ज्ञायते किमयं पूर्वस्य भवत्याहोस्वित्परस्ये  
 ति । संदेहमात्रमेतद्ववति सर्वसंदेहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेष-  
 प्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादलक्षणमिति पूर्वस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः । वृत्ताद्वा ।  
 वृत्ताद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । वृद्धिमन्तमाद्युदात्तं दृष्ट्वा ञिदिति व्यवसेयमन्तोदात्तं  
 दृष्ट्वा किदिति । युक्तं पुनर्यद्वृत्तिनिमित्तको नामानुबन्धः स्यान्मानुबन्धनि-  
 मित्तकेन नाम वृत्तेन भवितव्यम् । वृत्तिनिमित्तक एवानुबन्धो वृत्तज्ञो  
 ह्याचार्योऽनुबन्धानासज्जति ॥ उभयमिदमनुबन्धेषूक्तमेकान्ता अनेकान्ता  
 इति । किमत्र न्याय्यम् । एकान्ता इत्येव न्याय्यम् । कुत एतत् । अत्र  
 हि हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टो यच्च नाम सहेतुकं तन्न्याय्यम् । ननु चोक्तं तन्नासरू-

चो न तु तस्यावयवः ॥ वृत्तिविशेष इति ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्न सिध्यति । अनेकान्तत्वे क इत्यस्येति  
 संबन्धाभावात् ॥ अनन्तर इति ॥ यद्यध्वनन्तरादिषु बहुव्रीहिर्न भवति तथापिह वचन-  
 सामर्थ्याद्ववति ॥ व्यवसितपाठादिति ॥ व्यवसितानां विच्छिन्नानां पाठः कर्तव्यस्ततः पूर्वस्यै-  
 वासावनन्तरो न तु परस्य कालव्यवधानात् ॥ व्याख्यानत इति ॥ एकान्तपक्ष एकोऽयवो  
 द्वयोर्न भवतीति संदेहे व्याख्यानान्निरूपः । अनेकान्तत्वे त्वानन्तर्यस्योभयापेक्षस्य विरो-  
 धाभावाद्भवसितपाठे एव कर्तव्यः ॥ वृत्ताद्वेति ॥ वृत्तं प्रयोगः । नन्वाचार्यो भवतु वृत्तज्ञः  
 शिष्यास्तु कथं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । व्याख्यानाच्चेति पूर्वमेवैतदुक्तं वृत्ताद्वेत्यनेन किं तदेवोच्यते । नैष  
 दोषः । पूर्वं हेतुरहितं व्याख्यानमुक्तं वृत्ताद्वेत्यनेन तु हेतुरुच्यते । तस्मिन्प्रतिपत्ते साध्यं स्वय-

1. Ms. अनुबन्धाना°.
2. Ms. विरोधाभाषावाद्यवसित.°
3. Ms. प्रतिपद्यते.
4. Ms. °रहिता.



पसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधेषु पृथक्निर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वादिति । असरूपवि-  
धौ तावन्न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धरुतमसारूप्यं भवती-  
ति यदयं ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषां शास्ति । यदप्युक्तं सर्वादेश इति तन्ना-  
प्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धरुतमनेकाल्पं भवतीति यदयं शिस्तर्ष-  
स्य [ १. १. ५५. ] इत्याह । यदप्युक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्निर्देशः कर्त-  
व्य इति न कर्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धरुतमनेजन्तत्वं  
भवतीति यदयमुदीचां माडो व्यतीहारे [ ३. ४. १९. ] इति मेडः सानु-  
बन्धकस्यात्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति ॥

मेवैवेति । भाष्यकारेण वा तदुक्तमिदं तु वार्तिककारेण ॥ मेड इति ॥ यद्यप्यनेकान्तपक्ष-  
स्यापि ज्ञापकमेतद्व्याख्यातुं युज्यते तथापि हेतुरहितत्वादिहानिकान्तपक्षो भाष्यकृता त्यक्तः ।  
प्रदेशान्तरे त्वनेकान्तपक्षेणापि व्यवह्रियते सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वादिति ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ VI.<sup>1</sup>

Now one might say : 'As (the Anubandhas) are part (of that to which they are attached, terms like औश् etc. in P. VII., 1, 21 etc. contain more than one letter and therefore) it results (by the first portion अनेकाल्प of P. I., 1, 55) already from (this) their containing more letters than one that औश् etc. are substituted for the whole (of that for which they are substitutes); consequently the word शित् in P. I., 1, 55 (which is intended to teach that that which

1. It has been stated in the Bhāṣya on P. I., 3, 9, that three objections may be raised against the view that the Anubandhas are part of that to which they are attached, and in the same place it has also been shown how those objections may be removed by the assumption of three Paribhāṣhās. Nāgajibhaṭṭa proceeds therefore to give in P. VI., VII., VIII. the three Paribhāṣhās mentioned in the Bhāṣya on P. I., 3, 9.

has the Anubandha श् is substituted for the whole of that of which it is a substitute) is (wholly)<sup>1</sup> useless.' (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. VI : (That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.<sup>2</sup>

The very word शित् (in P. I., 1, 55 which would be superfluous if this Paribhāshā did not exist) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly such (substitutes) as नृ for अर्वेन् in P. VI., 4, 127 etc. are not substituted for the whole (अर्वेन् etc. but only by P. I., 1, 52 for the final letter नृ etc.).

1. That शित् is not necessary for P. VI., 4, 119 may be seen in the Bhāṣya etc. The Lopa taught in P. VI., 4, 119 is substituted for the whole reduplicative syllable of दा etc., not because it has the Anubandha श्, but because the word लोप which would be valid from VI., 4, 118 is repeated in VI., 4, 119.

2. P. : अनुबन्धकृतमनेकात्वं नाश्रयणीयमिति परिभाषार्थः । एवमप्येऽपि । (Viz. in P. VII. and VIII.)

3. After the existence of this Paribhāshā has thus been established, terms like भौश् must in accordance with the Paribhāshā be regarded to contain only one letter; they consequently fall no longer under the first portion अनेकान् of P. I., 1, 55, and we can learn only from the word शित् of that rule that they are substituted for the whole of that for which they are substitutes. So long as Paribhāshā VI. does not exist, शित् in P. I., 1, 55 is *vyārtha* i. e. meaningless and superfluous; but as soon as the Paribhāshā has been established, शित् becomes *charitārtha* i. e. significant and necessary.

With<sup>1</sup> regard, however, to (substitutes like) डा etc. (that take the place of the affix तिप् in the Periphrastic Future etc., the circum-

1. P. According to the above Paribhāshā गल् which is a substitute for मिप् and for तिप् in the Perfect, consists of only one letter, for गल्, being taught P. III., 4, 82-4, is an affix and its initial ग् is therefore by P. I., 3, 7 an Anubandha. Consequently गल् should be substituted only for the final इ of मि and of ति. Nevertheless गल् is substituted for the whole मि and ति because its अ is considered to be contracted from अ+अ and thus to consist of more letters than one. The substitutes डा etc. on the other hand need not be regarded as contracted from डा+आ etc. for in their case another explanation is possible, viz. that which is given in the text. The आदि of डादि is intended to include डी in P. VII., 1, 17, डौ in P. VII., 1, 39 etc.; डा, डी, and डौ are not in Pāṇini's grammar put down as affixes, and their initials ड् and ड् are therefore no Anubandhas. By being substituted for the whole original affixes, डा, डी and डौ become affixes and their initial letters Anubandhas. (Cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 96). The initials ड् and ड् of डा, डी and डौ cannot because they subsequently become Anubandhas be termed Anubandhas from the beginning. In गल् however the initial ग् is from the beginning an Anubandha because गल् has in Pāṇini's grammar been put down as an affix; Siradeva and others are therefore wrong when they explain the substitution of गल् for the whole मि and ति in the same manner in which the case of डा etc. has been explained here.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa in उदिविषये-सिद्धम् does not give his own view, but that of former grammarians, and he shows by employing the word तु 'however' after उदिविषये, that he does not approve of their view. In reality the ड् and ड् of डा, डी and डौ must from the very beginning be regarded as Anubandhas; डा is substituted for the whole ति because its आ is contracted from आ+आ and डी and डौ take the place of the whole affixes of which they are substitutes, because they have the Anubandha ग्. This is shown by Nāgojibhaṭṭa elsewhere.

stance of their being substituted for the whole तिप् etc.) results from the order (in which the various grammatical operations take place. डा etc. are at first no affixes, and as their initial letters ड् etc. therefore are not by P. I., 3, 7 Anubandhas, डा etc. are substituted for the whole affixes तिप् etc. After this substitution has taken place, however, डा etc. have become affixes, and their initial ड् etc. are consequently Anubandhas by P. I., 3, 7, and they are dropped by P. I., 3, 9. डा etc. must be substituted for the whole तिप् etc.) because without their being substituted for the whole (तिप् etc., ड् etc.) would be no Anubandhas at all.

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### PARIBHĀSHĀ VII.

Now one might say : ' Even (when our first objection to Paribhāshā V. has) thus (been removed by the assumption of Paribh. VI., there remains another objection to the view expressed in Paribh. V., viz. this: If the Anubandhas were part of that to which they are attached, the root) दैप् in which आ is (by P. VI., 1, 45) substituted (for ऐ) after the elision of (the Anubandha) प्, would (in the formation of the *Past Pass. Partic.* which we see e. g.) in अवदातं मुखम् 'a bright face' not by (the prohibition) अदाप् in P. I., 1, 20 be forbidden to be termed घृ<sup>1</sup>, because it would not have the form दाप्. So long, namely, as the letter प् remains, आ cannot (by P. VI., 1, 45) be substituted (for the ऐ of दैप्) because (the root) does not end in either ए or ओ or ऐ,<sup>2</sup> and when प् has been dropped (and when the substitution of आ has thus become

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1. If दैप् were termed घृ, P. VII., 4, 47 would apply to it.

2. The Pratyāhāra एच् denotes the vowels ए, ओ, ऐ and औ; there are however no roots ending in औ.

possible) the letter ए is no longer present.' (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. VII: (A root which, when destitute of Anubandhas, ends in either ए or ओ or ऐ, must) not (be considered) to have ceased to end in either ए or ओ or ऐ, when an Anubandha has been attached to it.<sup>1</sup>

(The fact that the root मे has in P. III., 4, 19 been put down (as माङ्, with the Anubandha ङ्, and with the vowel आ instead of ए,) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). By the rule P. VI., 1, 45 आ is substituted for (the final of) that which in that form in which it is enunciated (in grammar) ends in ए or ओ or ऐ. (माङ् in P. III., 4, 19 has been formed according to this rule, and thereby the existence of Paribh. VII. is established; did this Paribhāshā not exist) माङ् (in P. III., 4, 19) would be incorrect, for the substitution of आ would not apply (to मेङ्) because (this root), so long as the letter ङ् remains, would not end in either ए or ओ or ऐ.<sup>2</sup> Nor (can one object) that the substitution of आ (for the ए of मेङ्) cannot take place (even if by the Paribhāshā मेङ् has to be consi-

1. By this Paribhāshā देप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ even while ए remains, देप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently by the prohibition अदाप् in P. I., 1, 20 forbidden to be termed वृ.

2. The reading तस्य तदर्थज्ञापकतासंगतिः ought to be explained: 'that (Nirdeśa माङ् in P. III., 4, 19) is in harmony with the fact of its indicating the sense expressed by this (Paribhāshā)' i. e. it would be improper if it did not indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā.

dered as ending in ए), on the ground that मे in this form (मेङ् i. e. so long as its Anubandha remains) is no root<sup>1</sup> (and does therefore not fall under P. VI., 1, 45 which applies only to roots); for it has elsewhere been fully stated, that the word धातोः 'of a root' of P. VI., 1, 8 is no longer valid<sup>2</sup> in P. VI., 1, 45.—And this (statement that the existence of Paribh. VII. is indicated by माङ् in P. III., 4, 19) is found in the Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 20.<sup>3</sup>

1. *SciL.* because according to the Bhāṣya and Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 4 the term धातु 'root' applies only after the Anubandhas have been dropped.

2. P: P. VI., 1, 45 does not apply to words like गो and to the first part of words like दौकिता because these words and parts of words are not taught (उपदिष्ट) in works on grammar; nor does it apply to the termination of the 3 Pers. Plur. Perf. Âtm. इरे etc., which are taught in grammar, because इरे etc. cannot be followed by any affixes. Besides the fact that Pāṇini in III., 4, 81 actually puts down the affixes एञ् and इरेच् as containing the vowel ए (which vowel, one should have thought, would have resulted from P. III., 4, 79) does not merely indicate (as Bhaṭṭoji. Si. Kau. II., p. 24 assumes) that P. III., 4, 79 does not apply to the substitutes for the terminations त-महिङ् (given in III., 4, 78), but it indicates also (according to the maxim यावता विनानुपपत्तिस्तावतो ज्ञाप्यत्वम् i. e. 'all that, without which there would be any incorrectness' in Pāṇini's rules, 'ought to be indicated' by a Jñāpaka) that their ए is not liable to be changed to आ by P. VI., 1, 45.—Of. also the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 45: तस्मात्प्रातिपदिकानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । धात्वधिकारात्प्रातिपदिकस्याप्राप्तिः । धात्वधिकारात्प्रातिपदिकस्यात्वं न भविष्यति । धातेरिति वर्तेते । क्व प्रकृतम् । लिटि धातेरनभ्यासस्येति । अथापि निवृत्तम् । एवमप्यदोषः । उपदेश इत्युच्यते । उद्देशश्च प्रातिपदिकानां नोपदेशः ॥; Kaiyaṭa on the last words: उद्देशश्चेति ॥ उणादयोऽन्यत्रज्ञानि प्रातिपदिकानीति भाव इत्यादि ॥.—Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 8: तदेतद्भातुग्रहणं सान्ध्यासिकं तिष्ठतु तावन् ॥

3. Also in the Bhāṣya on P. I., 3, 9.

Extract from the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 20.<sup>1</sup>

दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैप्यनेजन्तत्वात् । दाप्प्रतिषेधे दैपि प्रतिषेधो न प्राप्नोति । अवदातं मुखम् । ननु चात्वे कृते भविष्यति । तद्धयात्वं न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अनेजन्तत्वात् । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । अनुबन्धा अनेकान्ताः ॥ पितृप्रतिषेधाद्वा । अथवा दाधा ध्वापिदिति वक्ष्यामि । तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम् । अदाबिति ह्युच्यमान इहापि प्रसज्येत प्रणिदापयतीति ॥ शक्यं तावदनेनादाबिति ब्रुवता बान्तस्य प्रतिषेधो विज्ञातुम् । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते । यथान्यासमेवास्तु । ननु चोक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैपीति । परिहृतमेतत् । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वादिति । अथैकान्तेषु दोष एव । एकान्तेषु च न दोषः । आत्वे कृते भविष्यति । ननु चोक्तं तद्धयात्वं न प्राप्नोति किं कारणम् अनेजन्तत्वादिति । पकारलोपे कृते भविष्यति । न ह्ययं तदा दाब्भवति । भूतपूर्वगत्या भविष्यति । एतच्चात्र युक्तं यत्सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकग्रहणेषु भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञास्यते<sup>२</sup> । अनैमित्तिको ह्यनुबन्धलोपस्तावत्येव भवति ॥ अथवाचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमनेजन्तत्वं यदयमुदीचां माडो व्यतीहारे [३.४.१९.]

1. Kaiyata: दाप्प्रतिषेध इति । दाप् लवन इत्यस्यैव निषेधः स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ अवदातमिति । तत्त्वमत्र प्राप्नोति ॥ शक्यं तावदिति । दाप्दैपो धातुषु बान्तो पठितव्यौ ॥ तावत्येवेति । इत्संज्ञायां सत्यामेव । प्रयोगे दाशब्द एवायं पितृकार्यं तु लभत इत्यर्थः ॥ अथवेति । अनुबन्धानामेकान्तत्वपक्ष उद्देश एजन्तानामात्त्वमुच्यमानं दैपो न प्राप्नोतीति ज्ञापकोपन्यासः । माड इति मेढो ग्रहणं न माडो मेढो व्यतीहारेण नित्ययोगान्माडस्तु विवक्षावशाद्द्व्यतिमिमीत इति कादाचित्कत्वाद्व्यतिहारयोगस्य । प्रणिदानं व्यतिहार इत्येकोऽर्थः । उदीचां मेढ इति

2. Ed. कथम् । अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । अनेकान्ता<sup>३</sup>. 3. Ed. एकान्तेष्वपि.

4. Ed. विज्ञायते.

इति मेडः सानुबन्धकस्यात्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति ॥ अथवा दाबेवायं  
न दैबस्ति । कथमवदायतीति । श्यान्विकरणेन भविष्यति ॥

तु न कृतम् । एवं हि नानुबन्धकृतमिति न ज्ञापितं स्यात् ॥ अथवेति । दिवादिषु दाप् शो-  
भन इति पठिष्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

1. Ed. श्यान्विकरणौ.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ VIII.

Now one might say : ' Even thus (there remains the following objection to Paribhāshā V. : If the Anubandhas were part of that to which they are attached, the affixes अण् and क in which ण् and क् are Anubandhas, would differ in form, and consequently the affix अण् (of P. III., 2, 1 would not be entirely superseded by the affix क of P. III., 2, 3, but it) would by the rule P. III., 1, 94 (according to which an affix taught in a special rule supersedes an affix taught in a general rule only optionally if both affixes are unlike each other in form) be added also wherever the affix क (of P. III., 2, 3 etc.) is added, (and the result hereof would be the formation of incorrect forms.' The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. VIII : (Affixes which, when destitute of Anubandhas, have the same form, must) not (be considered) to differ in form when (different) Anubandhas have been attached to them.

The circumstance that (the word विभाषा 'optionally' in) P. III., 1, 139 teaches that (the affix) श् (of P. III., 1, 139) which supersedes the affix ण (of P. III., 1, 141) does so (only) optionally, .



indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup> Accordingly (the affix) भण् (of P. III., 2, 1) is not added (where the affix क of P. III., 2, 3 is added which latter is the case) *e. g.* in गौद ; (consequently गौदाय cannot be formed by P. III., 2, 1). This is found in the Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 94.<sup>2</sup>

1. If ण and श did differ in form, the word विभाषा in P. III., 1, 139 would be superfluous, because in that case it would follow already from P. III., 1, 94 that श supersedes ण only optionally.—See also Si. Kau. II., p. 301.

2. Also in the Bhāshya on P. I., 3, 9.

Bhāshya on P. III. 1, 94 :<sup>1</sup>

वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ कथमिदं विज्ञायते । स्त्रियामभिधेयायां वासरूपो न भवतीत्याहोस्वित्स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति । किं चातः । यदि विज्ञायते स्त्रियामभिधेयायामिति लव्या लवितव्यान् वासरूपो न प्राप्नोति । अथ विज्ञायते स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति व्यावक्रोशी व्यवकुष्टिरिति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते स्त्रियामभिधेयायां नापि स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति । कथं तर्हि । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति स्त्रियामित्यधिकृत्य ये प्रत्यया विहितास्तेषां प्रतिषेधो विज्ञास्यते ॥

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । असरूपस्य वाचनमुत्सर्गस्य बाधकविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । असरूपस्य वाचनं क्रियत उत्सर्गस्य बाधकविषयेऽनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । तव्यत्तव्यानीयर उत्सर्गास्तेषामजन्ताद्यदपवादः [ ३.

1. Kaiyata: कथमिति ॥ स्त्रियामित्यभिधेयसप्तमी वा स्यात्स्त्रियामित्यस्यैव वा स्वरूपस्य निषेधः स्यात्स्त्रियामित्युच्चार्य ये प्रत्यया विधीयन्ते तेषु वासरूपो न भवतीति संदिहानः पृच्छति ॥ लव्येति ॥ अत्रो यत् [ ३. १. ९७. ] इति यता तव्यादीनां नित्यं बाधनं प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ व्यावक्रोशीति ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् [ ३. ३. ४३ ] इति णच् किंनो बाधः प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ स्त्रियामित्यधिकृत्येति ॥ स्त्रियां किन् [ ३. ३. ९४ ] इत्य-

१. ९६; ९७] । चेयम् । चेतव्यमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयो-  
जनम् । अजन्ताद्विधीयते । हलन्ताण्यप्यद्विधीयते [३. १. १२४] ।  
एतावन्तश्च धातवो यदुताजन्ता हलन्ताश्च । उच्यन्ते च तव्यदादय-  
स्ते वचनाद्भविष्यन्ति ॥ एवं तर्हि ण्वुल्तृचावुत्सर्गौ तयोः पचादिभ्योऽज-  
पवादः [३. १. १३३; १३४] । पचतीति पचः । पक्ता पाचक  
इत्यपि यथा स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्ये ह्येतदपि स-  
र्वधातुभ्यो वक्तव्य इति ॥ एवं तर्हि ण्वुल्तृजच उत्सर्गस्तेषामिगुपधा-  
त्कोऽपवादः [३. १. १३३-५] । विक्षिपो विलिखः । विक्षेप्ता विक्षेप-  
क इत्यपि यथा स्यात् ॥ अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् । किं तर्हीति ।

तत्रोत्पत्तिर्वा प्रसङ्गे यथा तद्धिते । तत्रोत्पत्तिर्विभाषा प्राप्नोति यथा  
तद्धिते । अस्तु । यदा विक्षिपो विलिख इत्येतन्न तदा विक्षेप्ता विक्षेपक  
इत्येतद्भविष्यति । यद्येतल्लभ्येत कृतं स्यात् । तत्तु न लभ्यम् । किं का-  
रणम् । यथा तद्धित इत्युच्यते तद्धितेषु च सर्वमेवोत्सर्गापवादं विभाषो-  
त्पद्यते वा न वा ॥ सिद्धं त्वसरूपस्य बाधकस्य बाधाधकवचनात् ।  
सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । असरूपस्य बाधकस्य बाधाधकवचनात् । असरू-

स्मिन्स्वयधिकारे य उत्सर्गापवादास्तेष्वपवाद उत्सर्गस्य बाधक एवेत्यर्थः ॥ तत्रोत्पत्तिर्वा  
प्रसङ्ग इति ॥ वासरूप इत्येतावच्छ्रूयते । तत्र बाधहणेन किं भावो विकल्प्यताम् । अस-  
रूपोऽपवादो वा भवति पक्षे न भवतीति । अथ बाधकत्वं विकल्प्यताम् । वा बाधको भवति  
पक्षे न बाधक इति । तत्रान्तरङ्गत्वात्सत्ताया एव विकल्पः स्याद्यथोक्तं यत्तान्यत्क्रियापदं न  
श्रूयते तत्रास्तिर्भवति पर इति न तु बहिरङ्गस्य बाधकत्वस्येत्युत्तरेव विकल्पः स्यात्पक्षे तु  
न कश्चित्प्रत्यय उत्पद्येतेत्यर्थः ॥ अस्त्विति ॥ बाधकाभाव उत्सर्गस्यानिवार्यत्वादिनि भावः ॥  
यद्येतदिति ॥ अपवादशास्त्रेणोत्सर्गशास्त्रस्य बाधितत्वादपवादाभावपक्षेऽयुत्सर्गस्याप्रवर्तना-  
दिति भावः । तत्र यथात इज् [४. १. ९५] इति विकल्पितेनैवा मुक्ते पक्षेऽण् न भव-  
त्यपि तु वाक्यमेव तथेहाप्पवादाभावपक्षे प्रकृतिरेव कर्त्तादीनर्थानभिदध्याद्यथामिचिदित्यादौ  
किनादिलोपे कृते ॥ सिद्धं त्विति ॥ बाधकत्वे विकल्पिते यत् पक्षे अपवादस्य बाधकत्वं ,

यो बाधको वा बाधको भवतीति वक्तव्यं सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते ।  
यथान्यासमेवास्तु । ननु चोक्तं ततोत्पत्तिर्वा प्रसङ्गो यथा तद्धित इति ।  
नैष दोषः । अस्ति कारणं येन तद्धितेषु विभाषोत्पत्तिर्भवति । किं का-  
रणम् । प्रकृतिस्तत्र प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्ततेऽन्येन च शब्देन प्रत्ययार्थोऽभिधी-  
यते । इह पुनर्न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते न चान्यः शब्दोऽस्ति  
यस्तमर्थमभिधीतेति कृतवानुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति ॥ अथवा समयः कृतो न  
केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्यय इति । एतस्मात्समया-  
दनुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति । य एव तस्य समयस्य कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह ।  
यद्यसौ तत्र प्रमाणमिहापि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति । प्रमाणमसौ तत्र चेह  
च । सामर्थ्यं विह द्रष्टव्यं शब्दानां प्रयोगे न चानुत्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यम-  
स्ति । तेनानुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति । कथं तर्हि तद्धितेष्वनुत्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यं  
भवति । अन्येन प्रत्ययेन सामर्थ्यम् । केन । षष्ठ्या ॥ अथवा रूपव-  
त्तामयमाश्रित्य वाविधिरुच्यते न चानुत्पत्तौ रूपवती तेनानुत्पत्तिर्न भ-

नास्ति तत्र बाधकाभावादुत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते ॥ अन्येनेति ॥ दक्षस्यापत्यमित्यादावपत्या-  
दिशब्देनेत्यर्थः ॥ इह पुनरिति ॥ केवला प्रकृतिः स्वार्थमपि नाभिधत्ते किं पुनः कर्त्तादि-  
कमर्थमभिधास्यति । तथा हि । प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदाये प्रयुज्यमानेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्रकृतिः  
प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते प्रत्ययस्तु प्रत्ययार्थ इत्युच्यते । अनुत्यन्नप्रत्यया तु प्रकृतिर्न कंचिदर्थं  
गमयति । अथापि हि क्षिपेः कर्तेति कर्त्तादिशब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते तथापि करोति-  
क्रियापेक्षमपि कर्तृत्वं प्रतीयेत न तु क्षिपिक्रियापेक्षमेव । तस्मात्सामर्थ्याद्बाधकत्वं बाहिरङ्गमपि  
विकल्प्यते ॥ य एवेति ॥ समयस्यायं बाधकोऽस्तिति भावः ॥ सामर्थ्यमिति ॥ अर्थ-  
प्रत्यायनाय शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते न च प्रत्ययस्यानुत्यक्तावर्थः प्रत्याययितुं शक्य इत्यर्थः । पूर्व-  
स्मिन्यारिहारं प्रकृतेरेव केवलायाः स्वार्थमालाभिधानेऽपि सामर्थ्यं नास्तीत्युक्तम् । उत्तरत्र तु  
समयात्प्रयोग एव केवलाया नास्तीत्युच्यते ॥ कथं तर्हि ॥ समयात्केवलस्य प्रातिपदिक-  
स्य तद्धितानुत्यक्तौ साधुत्वं न प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ अन्येनेति ॥ दक्षस्यापत्यमिति षष्ठ्यन्तस्य  
प्रातिपदिकस्य प्रयोगो न केवलस्य प्रातिपदिकस्येह तु कृदनुत्यक्तौ सत्यां केवल एव धातुः  
स्यात्तस्य च समयात्प्रयोगाभावः ॥ अथत्रैति ॥ असरूपशब्देन भिन्नरूप उच्यते तस्य

विष्यति ॥ एवमपि कुत एतदपवादो विभाषा भविष्यति न पुनरुत्सर्ग इति । न चैवास्ति विशेषो यदपवादो वा विभाषा स्यादुत्सर्गो वा । अपि च सापेक्षोऽयं निर्देशः क्रियते वासरूप इति । न चोत्सर्गवेलायां किञ्चिदपेक्ष्यमस्यपवादवेलायां पुनरुत्सर्गोऽपेक्ष्यते । तेन यो रूपवानन्यपूर्वो बाधकः प्राप्नोति स वा बाधको भविष्यति । कः पुनरसौ । अपवादः ॥

यदि यो रूपवानन्यपूर्वो बाधकः प्राप्नोति स वा बाधको भवतीत्युच्यते किवादिषु समावेशो न प्राप्नोति । ग्रामणीः ग्रामणाय इति । न ह्येते रूपवन्तः । एतेऽपि रूपवन्तः । कस्यामवस्थायाम् । उपदेशावस्थायाम् ॥ यदेवमनुबन्धभिन्नेषु विभाषाप्रसङ्गः । अनुबन्धभिन्नेषु विभाषा प्राप्नोति । कर्मण्यण् आतोऽनुपसर्गे क इति कविषयेऽण्णापि प्राप्नोति । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । अनेकान्ता अनुबन्धाः ॥ अथवा प्रयोगेऽसरूपाणां वाविधिन्याय्यः । प्रयोगे लादेशेषु प्रतिषेधः । प्रयोगे लादेशेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ह्योऽपचदित्यत्र लुङ्पि प्राप्नोति । श्वः पक्तेत्यत्र लङ्पि प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न लादेशेषु वासरूपो भवतीति यदयं हशश्वतोर्लङ्चेत्याह । अथवा प्रयोगेऽसरूपाणां वाविधौ न सर्वमिष्टं संगृहीतमिति कृत्वा द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपास्यते । कोऽसौ । उप-

च भिन्नरूपत्वं रूपवदुत्सर्गपेक्षया भवतीति स एव पक्षेऽभ्यनुज्ञायते न त्वरूपानुत्पत्तिरित्यर्थः ॥ न चैवास्तीति ॥ उत्सर्गविक्रलेऽप्राप्तविभाषापवादविक्रले तु प्राप्तविभाषेति न कश्चिद्विशेषः ॥ अपवादवेलायामिति ॥ बाध्यत्वेन यावदुत्सर्गो नापेक्ष्यते तावदपवादस्य प्रवृत्तिरेव नास्तीत्यर्थः ॥ उपदेशावस्थायामिति ॥ प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायादुपदेशावस्थायामसारूप्यमाश्रीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ ह्योऽपचदिति ॥ लङ्गुणचक्रस्तकारप्रत्ययो लुङि त्पाक्षीदितीच्छन्द इति भिन्नरूपत्वात्समावेशप्रसङ्गः ॥ यदयमिति ॥ परीक्षे लिङिति लिङ् लङ्कः समावेशोऽसारूप्यात्सिद्ध एवेति नार्थो लङ्गुणानेन विहितस्तु लकाराणामसमावेशं ज्ञापयतीत्यर्थः ॥ अ-

देशो नाम । उपदेशे चैतेऽसरूपाः ॥ ननु चोक्तमनुबन्धभिनेषु विभाषाप्रसङ्ग इति । परिहृतमेतत् । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्थानेकान्तत्वादिति । अथैकान्तेषु दोष एव । एकान्तेषु च न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं भवतीति यदयं ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषां शास्ति ॥ अथवासरूपो वा वाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । अपवादश्च नामानुबन्धभिन्नो वा भवति रूपान्यत्वेन वा । तेनानेनावश्यं किञ्चित्प्राप्त्यं किञ्चिच्च संग्रहीतव्यम् । तदादनुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं तन्नाश्रयितव्यं यत्तु रूपान्यत्वेनासारूप्यं तदाश्रयिष्यामः ॥ अथवासरूपो वा वाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । सर्वश्चासरूपः । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते साधीयो योऽसरूप इति । कश्च साधीयः । यः प्रयोगे च प्राक्च प्रयोगात् ॥ अथवासरूपो वा वाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । न चैवं सति कश्चिदपि सरूपः । अत एव विज्ञास्यामः । क्वचिद्येऽसरूपा इति । अनुबन्धभिन्नाश्च प्रयोगे सरूपाः ॥

अथ कथमिदं विज्ञायतेऽस्त्रियामिति । किं स्त्रियां न भवतीत्याहोस्त्रित्वाक् स्त्रिया भवतीति । कश्चात्र विशेषः । स्त्रियां प्रतिषेधे कल्पुटतुमुन्खलर्येषु विभाषाप्रसङ्गः । स्त्रियां प्रतिषेधे कल्पुटतुमुन्खलर्येषु विभाषा प्राप्नोति । क । हसितं छात्रस्य शोभनम् । घजपि प्राप्नोति । ल्युट् । हसनं छात्रस्य शोभनम् । घजपि प्राप्नोति । तुमुन् । इच्छति भोक्तुम् । लिङ्लोटौऽपि प्राप्नोतः । खलर्यः । ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता । खलपि

थेति ॥ किञ्चादयो न संगृहीताः प्रयोगे तेषां रूपाभावादित्यर्थः ॥ क्वचिद्य इति ॥ प्रयोग इत्यर्थः । उपदेशो हि सर्वस्यैवासारूप्यमित्यसरूपग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ कथमिति ॥ स्याधिकारविहितेऽप्येव किं प्रतिषेधः परस्तात्स्याधिकारस्य भवत्येव वासरूपविधिरथ स्याधिकारात्प्राप्तासरूपविधिर्भवति स्याधिकारेण विच्छिद्यत इति प्रश्नः ॥ लिङ्लोटौऽपि ॥ लिङ् च [ ३. ३. १५९ ] इति लिङ् भवत्येव । इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ [ ३. ३. १५७ ] इत्यत्र लिङ्लोटौः सहनिर्देशादत्रापि सहनिर्देशः कृतः । लिङ् चेति नियमाज्ज्ञेयं न भविष्यती-

प्राप्नोति ॥ एवं तर्हि स्त्रियाः प्रागिति वक्ष्यामि । स्त्रियाः प्रागिति चे-  
त्क्वायां वावचनम् । स्त्रियाः प्रागिति चेत्क्वायां वावचनं कर्तव्यम् । आ-  
सित्वा भुङ्क्ते । आस्यते भोक्तुमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । कालादिषु तुमुन्वि-  
धाने वावचनम् [ ३. ३. १६७ ] । कालादिषु तुमुन्विधाने वावचनं  
कर्तव्यम् । कालो भोक्तुम् । कालो भोजनस्येत्यपि यथा स्यात् । अर्हे  
तृज्विधानम् । अर्हे तृज्विधेयः । इमेऽर्हे कृत्या विधीयन्ते । ते विशेषवि-  
हिताः सामान्यविहितं तृचं वाधेरन् । नैष दोषः । भावकर्मणोः कृत्या  
विधीयन्ते कर्तरि तृच् । कः प्रसङ्गो यद्भावकर्मणोः कृत्याः कर्तरि तृचं  
वाधेरन् । एवं तर्ह्यर्हे कृत्यतृज्विधानम् । अर्हे कृत्यतृचो विधेयाः । अय-  
मर्हे लिङ् विधीयते स विशेषविहितः सामान्यविहितान्कृत्यतृचो वाधेत ॥

ति शक्यते वक्तुम् । ननु तुमुन् भावे कर्तृकर्मणोर्लिङ्लोट्याविति भिन्नार्थत्वात्कुतो वाध्यवाधक-  
भावः । नैष दोषः । भवेऽपि लिङ्लोटोरस्ति विधानमिति तदपेक्षया वाध्यवाधकभावोऽभि-  
मतः ॥ आस्यते भोक्तुमिति ॥ भोजनार्थत्वादासनस्य पौर्विकाल्यमत्र गम्यत इति समानवि-  
षयत्वाद्वाध्यवाधकभावप्रसङ्गः । त्वाभावे तत्रैव च लकारोत्पत्तिरिति समानार्थत्वमपि विद्य-  
ते ॥ तत्रायं निर्णयः । स्व्यधिकारस्य परस्तादपि वासरूपस्य विधिर्भवति । अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च  
[ 3. 3. १६९ ] इत्यत्र तु कृत्यतृचग्रहणेन तस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञाप्यते ॥—

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ IX.

There is a maxim that, whenever it may appear doubtful whether an operation has reference to that which is expressed by the technical or to that which is expressed by the ordinary meaning of a particular term, the operation refers (only) to that which is expressed by the technical meaning of the term in question. It is founded on the consideration that the attending circumstances have the power of restricting a word to a particular

meaning.<sup>1</sup> According to this maxim, one might suppose, the word संख्या 'numeral' ought, whenever it is employed (in grammar), to denote only the words बहु etc. (which are termed संख्या by P. I., 1, 23) but not the words एक 'one,' द्वि 'two' etc. which are ordinarily known as numerals; in (Pāṇini's grammar) namely with which we are concerned here, बहु etc. have been technically termed संख्या 'numeral,' and the knowledge of this

1. The word सैन्धव has the two meanings 'salt' and 'a horse'; but if a person, while eating, says सैन्धवमानय, this sentence can only mean 'bring salt', and not 'bring the horse'. The Naiyāyikas, as may be seen from Mukṭāvali (pag. 91 ed. Roer.) do not admit the restrictive power of the attending circumstances; 'Tālparya, intention, (they say) is the wish of the speaker. If the knowledge of the intention of the speaker were not a cause (of verbal knowledge), we should in instances like सैन्धवमानय not understand (by सैन्धव) sometimes 'horse,' and sometimes 'salt' (but both meanings would present themselves always together). And one cannot say that the attending circumstances etc. alone, as suggesting the meaning of the speaker, are the cause of verbal knowledge; for these (attending circumstances) have no restrictive power. (If a person, even while eating, says सैन्धवमानय, he need not necessarily mean 'bring salt,' but he may sometimes mean 'bring the horse'). But if one assumes that those (attending circumstances) have a restrictive power because they make one know the intention of the speaker, then it is less cumbrous to assume that the knowledge of the intention of the speaker itself is the cause (of verbal knowledge).—According to the opinion of the Vedāntists (as given in the Vedāntaparibhāṣhā chapter IV.) Tālparya means simply 'the ability to convey a particular meaning.' This however must be further limited. Words like सैन्धव are able to convey two meanings; how can we then know that सैन्धवमानय is intended to denote 'bring salt'? सैन्धव denotes in this case 'salt' because 'it is not uttered with the desire of denoting any thing else than that (salt).'

should (restrict the meaning of संख्या in grammar to बहु etc. alone) just as the attending circumstances (restrict the meanings of words elsewhere). To reject such a supposition (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. IX : Here (in grammar a word) possesses both (its technical and its ordinary meaning ; viz. sometimes both in one and the same place, sometimes only the one, and sometimes only the other).

The prohibition (conveyed in the word अतिशदन्ता a numeral 'not ending in either ति or श्त्') in P. V., 1, 22 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; for that prohibition can refer only to words like सप्तति 'seventy', चत्वारिंशत् 'forty' which are ordinarily called numerals) because there are no words ending in ति<sup>1</sup> or in श्त् that are (only) technically termed numerals. (Consequently the term संख्या 'numeral' must denote in Pāṇini's grammar also<sup>2</sup> the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि etc.). According to this (Paribhāshā) we understand (e. g. by कर्मन्, करण, अधिकरण etc.) in P. I., 3, 14; III., 1, 17; II., 4, 13 etc. (not what those words express as

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1. In कति, which is technically termed संख्या by P. I., 1, 23, the affix is अति, not ति.

2. The prohibition conveyed in अतिशदन्ता might also indicate that the term संख्या 'numeral' and other terms should in grammar be taken in their ordinary meaning *alone*, and not both in their technical and in their ordinary sense. However, if this were really indicated by अतिशदन्ता, the formation of technical terms like आम्नेडित etc. would be altogether useless, for they are in grammar employed *only* in their technical meaning. Therefore अतिशदन्ता can only indicate, that the words in grammar have, besides their technical, *also* their ordinary meaning.



grammatical terms, कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कारकम् etc., but only<sup>1)</sup> what they ordinarily denote, viz. 'action,' 'thing' etc. To determine in each case, where a word has both meanings, where it possesses only its ordinary and where only its technical meaning, we can have recourse only to the interpretation (of Patanjali and others which itself is) guided by the particular forms (that have to be derived from or to be accounted for by the rules in which the words in question occur). Only from this (interpretation of the learned do we know that) the word आन्वेष्टित has (in grammar) only the technical meaning (assigned to it in P. VIII., 1, 2) but does not mean 'anything sounded twice or three times'. —(All) this is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 23<sup>2)</sup>.—

1. उभयगतिः means namely: उभयोः कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोर्विषयभेदेनैकल विषये च गतिर्ग्रहणम्; a. sometimes only the technical meaning must be understood; b. sometimes only the ordinary meaning; c. sometimes both are understood in the same place; संख्या is an instance for c., कर्मन् in P. I., 3, 14 etc for b., कर्मन् in P. III., 4, 69 for a.

2. For there the suggestion that the word संख्या should be added to बहु, गण etc. in order that the term संख्या in grammar might denote also the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि, etc., has been rejected by means of this Paribhāshā.

See the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 23; Ed. Ballantyne p. 419. Here only extracts: अक्रियमाणे हि संख्याग्रहण एकादिकायाः संख्यायाः संख्येत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । किं कारणम् । अकृत्रिमत्वात् । बह्लादीनां कृत्रिमा संज्ञा । कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति ।। .... यथैव तर्क्यार्थोत्पकरणाद्वा लोके कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवत्येवमिहापि प्राप्नोति । जानाति शसौ बह्लादीनामियं संज्ञा कृतेति । न यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । उभयगतिरिह भवति । अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव ॥ .... अथवाचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति भवत्येकादिकायाः संख्यायाः संख्यप्रादेशेषु संप्रत्यय इति यदयं संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कञ्जिति तिशदन्तायाः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । .... अथवा मह-

1. Ed. उभयगतिः पुनरिह. 2. Ed. नावश्यमिहैव.

But<sup>1</sup> to suppose that (Pāṇini by defining the meaning of a technical term in a Samjñā-rule) intended to restrict that term throughout his grammar to the meaning (which he assigns to it in the Samjñā-rule in question, and then to maintain) that the maxim (which was mentioned above in the words) 'that whenever it may appear doubtful—term in question,' is based on this restrictive nature of the Samjñā-rules, is not admissible. For as those (Samjñā-rules), because they assign (to a particular word) a force which (that word) previously did not possess, may be considered to teach something (new), it is improper to regard them as intended to restrict (the force which a word previously was known to possess.<sup>2</sup> The objection that a Samjñā-rule cannot assign to any word a force which that word previously did not possess because all words denote all meanings, is) likewise (futile, for) the tenet that all (words) denote all meanings accords with the views of those who have attained to an union with the supreme soul, but not with our views; for to know individually all words and meanings, is impossible, while a general<sup>3</sup> knowledge of this

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तीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वर्थे हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम् । अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायते । संख्यायतेऽनयेति संख्या । एकूदिकया चापि संख्यायते ॥

Kaiyaṭa on the words कृत्विमाकृत्विमयोरिति ॥ न्यायोऽयम् । तथा हि । सर्वार्थभिधानशक्तियुक्तः शब्दो यदा विशिष्टेऽर्थे संव्यवहाराय नियम्यते तदा तत्रैव प्रतिनिधिनयति नान्यत्र ॥

1. This is directed against Kaiyaṭa and others.

2. Cf. Paribhāṣhā C.

3. P: सामान्येति । शब्दस्त्वादित्यर्थः ॥.

description does not tend to assist our understanding.<sup>1</sup> This has been considered elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. And it cannot be said that our views are opposed to those expressed in the words of Hari :

व्यवहाराय नियमः संज्ञायाः संज्ञानि कचिन्

'Certain terms are for the sake of verbal intercourse (by mutual agreement) restricted so as to (denote only) some of the objects (which they might denote according to their etymology etc.);' for if one has agreed about the meaning of a word then by the force of this agreement that meaning only is conveyed by the word, and no other meaning. Similar is the relation between words qualifying and qualified; the meaning of the one limits the meaning of the other.

2. Viz. in the Manjūshū.

#### PARIBHĀSHĀ X.

The (roots) इङ् and शीङ् have the Anubandha ङ् ; one might therefore suppose that (the substitution of) Guṇa (for the radical vowel which is taught in P. VII., 3, 84) ought (e. g. in the formation of the Periph. Fut.) अध्येता, शयिता<sup>1</sup> etc. to be forbidden (by P. I., 1, 5 कृति च<sup>2</sup>). To reject this supposition (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

1. शयित इति । निष्ठा शीङ् [१. २. १२] इति किञ्चनिषेधः । आदिना शयितेत्यादिसंग्रहः । शयितेति नृजन्तपाठस्तु सुगम एव ॥ P.

2. कृतीति सत्सप्तमीति भावः P. The doubt whether in the formation of अध्येता etc. Guṇa be forbidden by P. I., 1, 5, arises when कृति in P. I., 1, 5 is explained by कृति सति 'when there is anything which has the Anubandha क् or ङ्,' but not when it is taken in the sense of as कृति परतः 'when something follows that has the Anubandha क् or ङ्.' Bhairava says: कृतीति सूत्रार्थप्रविष्टं निमित्तपदं कारणमन्तरमित्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कतः;

P. X: Surely, that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause (of the application of a grammatical rule).

The circumstance that (the word शयितृ in which Guṇa has actually been substituted for the radical vowel of शी) has been put down (by Pāṇini) in P. IV., 2, 15, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā, the existence of which is) also<sup>1</sup> (proved

if the word निमित्त which enters into the explanation of P. I., 1, 5 (क्लिन्नमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धौ etc.) be taken in the general sense of 'cause,' this term may be applied also to the radical vowel इ in the formation of अध्येता; इ, for which Guṇa is substituted, is one of the causes of this Guṇa; but इ is at the same time कित्, and one might therefore suppose that the substitution of Guṇa, the cause इ of which has the Anubandha इ, would be forbidden by P. I., 1, 5.

1. According to Stradeva and others the existence of this Paribhāshā is indicated by the prohibition of the substitution of Guṇa in दीधीक् and वैवीक् in P. I., 1, 6, or by the fact that the root कुक् is read in the Guṇa कुरादि of P. I., 2, 1. But this is incorrect; for the rule I., 1, 6 is either altogether rejected, or if it be retained, its purpose is said to be the prevention of the *aniglakṣhaṇā Vṛiddhi* in the formation of आदीभ्यक् etc. which would result from P. VII., 2, 115; in neither case can I., 1, 6 be a Jñāpaka of this Paribhāshā. Nor is the circumstance of कुक् being read amongst the कुरादि of P. I., 2, 1 a Jñāpaka, for, as कुक् must be read somewhere, it may as well be read there as anywhere else.—The word च after निर्देशः includes the circumstance that after शीक् the affixes denoted by निष्ठा (when preceded by इट्) are by P. I., 2, 19 forbidden to be कित्, (in other words are not to prevent the substitution of Guṇa for the ई of शीक्); this prohibition would be useless if the इ of शीक् did by P. I., 1, 5 prevent the substitution of Guṇa for the radi-

otherwise). The words 'so far as it undergoes that operation' are intended to make (the formation of) ऊर्णुनविषति and other (forms) possible. For in (the formation of) this (ऊर्णुनविषति) the syllable न has been reduplicated in accordance with P. I., 1, 59, whereas without (the restriction 'so far as it undergoes that operation') that (rule of Pāṇini's) could have had no concern (with the formation of ऊर्णुनविषति). The term सन्यङोः in P. VI., 1, 9 being a Genitive, that which ends with सन् (*i. e.* ऊर्णु + इस्) undergoes the operation (of reduplication taught in P. VI., 1, 9. Were, then, the present Paribhāshā to enjoin merely that 'that which undergoes an operation cannot be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule') इस् (which forms part of the *kāryin* ऊर्णु + इस्) could not be the cause of the (peculiar) reduplication (which is taught in P. I., 1, 59. But as the Paribhāshā teaches that that which undergoes an operation can only so far as it undergoes that operation not become the cause of the application of a grammatical rule, there is no reason why इस् in ऊर्णु + इस् should not cause the application of P. I., 1, 59; for although ऊर्णु + इस्, which includes इस्, is *kāryī*, yet the syllable नु only can be called the *kāryam anubhavan kāryī*). In reality<sup>1</sup>

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cal ई. And च includes further also the circumstance that the Bhāshya does not reject दीक्षी and वेधी in P. I., 1, 6 by simply stating that these roots are ङित् and that they therefore fall under P. I., 1, 5 and need not be specially mentioned in I., 1, 6. If the present Paribhāshā did not exist, this would have been the simplest course for the author of the Bhāshya to adopt.—Besides अथेता and शयिता Pāyagunda gives the example अरिरिषति; see Si. Kau. II., p. 203 and Nāgojibhatta on P. I., 1, 59. (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 684.)

1. वस्तुनः must be taken together with तत्त्वम्; what is included by these two words contains the Siddhānta.

the truth is as follows: the difference between material and instrumental cause being established in the whole world and in all branches of science,<sup>1</sup> the material cause is never made the instrumental cause,<sup>2</sup> and therefore this (Paribhāshā) need not be established by means of a Jñāpaka. On this account the word हि 'surely' is employed (in the Paribhāshā); for this (हि) shows that the reason<sup>3</sup> why (that which undergoes an operation) is not made the cause (of the application of a grammatical rule) is well known. (The existence of) this (Paribhāshā) is suggested by the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 59.<sup>4</sup>

1. As e. g. in the Nyāya-philosophy etc.

2. तस्य तत्त्वेन, i. e. समवायिकारणस्य निमित्तकारणत्वेन. P.

3. हेतौ:, i. e. सकललोकतन्त्रप्रसिद्धमेदवत्त्वस्य. P.

4. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 59 (Edit. pag. 684.): अङ्ग्रहणं तु ज्ञापकं रूपस्थानिवद्भावस्य | यदयमङ्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो रूपं स्थानिवद्भवतीति | कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् | अङ्ग्रहणस्येतत्प्रयोजनम् | इह मा भूत् | जेष्ठीयते देष्मीयते | यदि च रूपं स्थानिवद्भवतीति ततोऽङ्ग्रहणमर्थवद्भवति | अथ हि कार्यं नार्थोऽङ्ग्रहणेन भवत्येवात्र द्विचनम् || The term अचि in P. I., 1, 59 indicates that by this rule the substitute has to be considered *formally* the same as the original, (not, that it is to undergo the same operation which the original would have had to undergo). For the term अचि has been employed to show that P. I., 1, 59 has no concern with the formation of जेष्ठीयते, देष्मीयते. *This* अचि can show only when by P. I., 1, 59 the substitute has to be considered formally the same as the original, not when by that rule the substitute has to undergo the same operation which the original would have had to undergo. For in देष्मीयते etc. the substitute ष्मी has actually undergone the same operation of reduplication which the original ष्मा would have had to undergo; (but ष्मी has not been considered formally the same as the original ष्मा, else the Frequentative would have been दाष्मीयते).

This passage of the Bhāshya suggests according to Bhairavamis'ra the present Paribhāshā including the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्, viz. thus: Ac-

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XI.

The technical term ण् is (in P. I., 1, 20) assigned to (the root दा in) this particular form दा. One might therefore say that it cannot apply to दाप्<sup>1</sup> (which by P. VII., 3, 36 is formed from दा by the addition of the augment प्, and that consequently the rule P. VIII., 4, 17 according to which the न् of the preposition नि is under certain circumstances changed to ण् when नि is prefixed to the roots termed ण्, cannot take effect when नि is prefixed to the Causal दाप् of दा, e. g.) in (the formation of) प्रणिदापयति etc. To meet this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XI: That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, (not merely itself, but it denotes also) whatever results from its combination with that augment.

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cording to the Bhāshya the term अचि in P. I., 1, 59 is to prevent the application of that rule to जेष्ठीयते etc. But if the Paribh. X. does not contain the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्, Pāṇini's rule can, also without its containing the term अचि, have no concern with जेष्ठीयते etc., in the same manner in which the same rule would have no concern with the formation of ऊर्णुनविषति, if the Paribhāshā did not contain the words कार्यमनुभवन्. The circumstance therefore that Patanjali assigns to अचि in P. I., 1, 59 the function that it is to prevent the application of P. I., 1, 59 to जेष्ठीयते etc., shows that the Paribhāshā does contain the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्. (कार्यमनुभवन्नित्यंशोऽपि तस्माद्वाक्यदेव लभ्यते । अन्यथा यदन्तस्य कार्यत्वेन द्विवचनेऽचीत्यस्य प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात् ॥ Bhairava).

1. *Viz.* because दाप् formally differs from दा, and because the part दा of दाप् has no meaning and can therefore according to Paribh. XIV. not be denoted by the दा in P. I., 1, 20.

1. *e.* the augment which is assigned to anything<sup>1</sup> must according to the rules of grammar<sup>2</sup> be regarded as part of the latter, and is therefore (together with that to which it is added<sup>3</sup>) denoted by the word which denotes that (to which the augment is assigned.) The portion (of the Paribhāshā) 'because the augment forms part of it' contains the reason why this is the case<sup>4</sup>. We observe also in the common practice of life that whenever a person Devadatta possesses any limb in excess (of those limbs which men ordinarily are possessed of), the word 'Devadatta' denotes (the man Devadatta as) possessed of that (additional limb and does not denote Devadatta without it). In consequence of our having said above 'the augment which is assigned to anything' दार् (in दारयति etc.) is not termed पु (and P. VIII., 4, 17 does therefore not take effect) in (the formation of) प्रनिदारयति etc.<sup>5</sup> Owing to the fact that P. VII., 2, 82

1. यमुद्दिश्य; यम् is explained by एतत्परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिविषयसूत्रे कार्यत्वेन निदिष्टम् 'that which in a rule where this Paribhāshā applies, is put down as undergoing the operation (of having an augment added to it),' as *e.g.* an Anga ending in आ, like दा, in P. VII., 3, 36. That to which the augment is added may in the rule which enjoins the addition of the augment be given anyhow, (*e. g.* दा is described in VII., 3, 36 as 'an Anga ending in आ'); and it need not be given in its own specific form, (otherwise दा ought in VII., 3, 36 to have been put down as दा, or the Paribhāshā would not have been applicable to it).

2. *Viz.* according to such rules as P. I., 1, 46 आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ.

3. बोध्यते, *scil.* समुदायः. P.

4. तत्र *i. e.* तेन तद्वोधने. P. Others explain तत्र by 'in the Paribhāshā'. If one reads तत्र तद्गुणीभूतः, तत्र refers to the explanation of the Paribhāshā यमुद्दिश्य etc.

5. The letter र् in दारयति is not an augment assigned to दा, but it is by P. I., 1, 51 assigned to आ. If the explanation of the Paribhāshā



enjoins the addition of the augment म् (to the final अ of an Anga, e. g. in पच+आन=पचमान), this (Paribhāshā) is not valid always. If it were universally valid, P. VII., 2, 82 would clearly be useless, for subsequently to the addition of म् to the (final) अ (of पच etc.) in पच+आन etc. the (homogeneous long) vowel आ would (by P. VI., 1, 101) be substituted for the अम्<sup>1</sup> (of पचम् which by the present Paribhāshā would be equal to अ, and the आ of आन; we should thus obtain the form पचान which could have been formed also without P. VII., 2, 82). Because (the Paribhāshā is not always valid), य् etc. are not substituted (for ई etc.) in दिदिथे, and (for the same reason) does the rule P. VII., 1, 34 not take effect in (the formation of) जहार etc.<sup>2</sup> It is inadmissible to maintain (in regard to the addition

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did not contain the words यमुद्दिश्य, र might, as forming part of आ, also be considered to form part of दा, and thus दार् also would be denoted by the दा of P. I., 1, 20.

1. विशिष्टस्य, i. e. अमः । अकृत्येन ग्रहणादाकारेण सहेति शेषः ॥ P.

2. If the Paribhāshā did apply everywhere, one ought to form: दी+ए; by P. VI., 4, 63 दी+ये; दिदी+ये; by P. VI., 4, 82 दिद्ये. The augment युट् would in that case have been taught in order that one might by P. VIII., 4, 47, Vārtt. obtain optionally three य्'s.—In जहार र् is an augment of आ; if the Paribh. were valid here, P. VII., 1, 34 would have been applicable to जहार+अ as it is applicable to roots ending in आ, and one ought to have formed जहो. In the case of प्रनिदार-यति, दार् could not be said to be according to this Paribhāshā denoted by दा because the augment र् was not added to दा, but to आ. In the case of जहार, the आ of P. VII., 1, 34 would, if the Paribhāshā were valid, denote also आर्, because the augment र् is added to आ and because the आ of P. VII., 1, 34 means simply आ and does not mean 'a root ending in आ.' The word आतोः is no longer valid in VII., 1, 34, and

of the augment म् to the अ of पच etc.) that one letter cannot form part of another letter अ etc.; for the Paribhāshā teaches that it *does* form part of it; moreover it ought to be understood that 'being part of anything' means (here) 'being like the part of anything'.<sup>1</sup>

Nor would it be correct to assume that the said (rule P. VII., 2, 82) indicates that the present (Paribhāshā) does not apply in (any case where an augment is added to) a letter; for such an assumption would be contrary to the following (three) statements which occur in the Bhāshya:

(a). In the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. VII., 2, 82, the (true) meaning of which rule is this, that the augment म् is added to the letter अ which forms part of an Anga etc., the doubt is raised, whether

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even if it were suggested by णल्, the only two possible constructions would be either धातोः परस्याकारात्परस्य च णलः etc., or धातोर्वयवीभूतादाकारात्परस्य णलः etc., for that which is suggested by something else, as धातु would be suggested by णल्, can only modify, but cannot be modified by, something that is actually read in a rule; if धातोः were modified by धातः of P. VII., 1, 34, we should have to construe आकारान्ताद्धातोः परस्य णलः. Nor is the last construction preferable to the preceding one on account of the maxim संभवति सामानाधिकरण्ये वैयधिकरण्यमन्याय्यम्, for we do not accept this maxim. All is perfectly correct without this maxim and without धातोः being supplied. The Genitive अङ्गस्य being still valid in P. VII., 1, 34 we explain this rule, 'after आ, ओ takes the place of णल् when णल् is the cause of the term Anga (being applied to that which precedes णल्).'

1. According to the maxim विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वा लोपो वाच्यः; cf. Si. Kau. I., pag. 708.

2. Bhāshya on P. VII., 2, 82: आने मुक् । मुक्ते सति स्वरे दोषो भवति । पचमानो यजमानः । मुक्ता व्यवहितत्वादानुदात्तत्वं न प्राप्नोति । ननु चायं मुग्दुपदे-  
शभक्तोऽनुपदेशग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते ॥

the accent enjoined in P. VI., 1, 186 ought to be given to पचमान (considering that the affix भान is separated from पच by the augment म्); and this doubt is met by the statement that that which in grammar is given as ending with भ (as e. g. पच) combined with the augment म् (in other words, that the whole पचम्) will be denoted by that which in grammar is given as ending with भ (i. e. by अदुपदेश of P. VI., 1, 186) because the augment (म्) forms part of this (भ).

(b). One<sup>1</sup> explanation of P. VIII., 3, 32 is this, that the augments ड्, ण्, न् are prefixed to the letters ड्, ण्, न्, when they form part of a word ending in ड्, ण्, न् and are preceded by a short vowel.<sup>2</sup> Now it has been suggested in the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on P. VIII., 3, 32 that, when according to this explanation the augment न् has been prefixed to the न् (of

1. In the last instance the letter to which the augment is added is a *Viseshana* i. e. it modifies something else, for the meaning of अदुपदेश in P. VI., 1, 186 is अकारान्तोपदिश्यमान. N. proceeds now to give an instance in which the letter to which the augment is added is a *Viseshya* i. e. is modified by something else; cf. the explanation of P. VIII., 4, 1 र ष् इत्येताभ्यां परस्य न् इत्येतस्य, and that of P. VIII., 4, 37 पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य न् इत्येतस्य र ष् इत्येताभ्यां परस्य.

2. This explanation of P. VIII., 3, 32 is, however, incorrect; the real meaning of Pāṇini's rule is this, that a word which begins with a vowel and follows upon the letters ड्, ण्, न्, which stand at the end of a word and are preceded by a short vowel, has the augment ड्, ण्, न् prefixed to it.

3. Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 32: यदि डम एव डमुट् क्रियते कुर्वन्नास्ते रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे [८. ४. १] इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति | पदान्तस्य [८. ४. ३७] इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति | पदान्तस्येत्युच्यते नैष पदान्तः | पदान्तभक्तः पदान्तग्रहणेन प्रादिष्यते ||.

कुर्वन् etc.) in कुर्वन्नास्ते etc., this augment न् ought (by P. VIII., 4, 1) to be changed to ण्; but this suggestion is met by the statement that by the present maxim (viz. by our Paribhāṣhā) the first न also, (being the augment of a final letter), is called the final (of the word कुर्वन्), and that its change to ण् is therefore forbidden by P. VIII., 4, 37 वदान्तस्य. The meaning<sup>1</sup> of this passage of the Bhāṣhya is this, that according to the present Paribhāṣhā augments also must be regarded as characterised by the same properties as characterise that to which they are added.

(c). Moreover (the author of the Bhāṣhya) demands that, when र् has been added to a Guṇa-vowel (अ) etc., the Guṇa-vowel (अ) etc. together with र् shall be regarded as Guṇa etc.; otherwise the restriction that only अर् and आर् are Guṇa and Vṛiddhi of the letter ऋ, would not exist. That (demand) however is irreconcilable with the opinion according to which the present (Paribhāṣhā) does not apply in any case where an augment is added to a letter. Because then (the terms Guṇa and Vṛiddhi are applicable to अर् and आर्) the (author of the) Bhāṣhya<sup>2</sup>

1. Now one might say that, although according to Paribhāṣhā XI. the final to which the augment is added and the augment, when both have been combined, might be called वदान्त, nevertheless the augment alone ought not be called thus. N. explains therefore the meaning of the Bhāṣhya in the words अनया परिभाषया etc.; (if one reads अनया च, च has the sense of तु or it stands वाक्यालंकारे). We ought then, in this case, to explain the Paribhāṣhā thus: 'whatever properties characterise that to which an augment is assigned, they characterise (not merely the combined whole of the augment and that to which it is added, but) also the augment alone, because the augment forms part of that to which it is added.'

2. भाष्यम्, *scil.* संगृह्यते. P.

on P. VIII., 2, 42 (states correctly) that, when speaking of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, we mean that the (letters अ and आ) if they have ° (i.e. r) on the top of them are (likewise) termed Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (e. g. अर् and आर् in कर्तृ and कर्ति).

It is only because<sup>1</sup> (the existence of this Paribhāshā has been established), that rules like P. VII., 2, 4 and VI., 4, 51 etc.<sup>2</sup> have a meaning. (The combination of सिच् with the augment इट् and that of an Ārdhadhātuka-affix with इट् are by this Paribhāshā likewise called सिच् and Ārdhadhātuka. If this were not the case, P. VII., 2, 4 would be superfluous; for the rule VII., 2, 3 which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi would not apply in the formation of forms like अदेवीत् because सिच् is separated from the Anga by the augment इट्; and अनिटि in P. VI., 4, 51 would be superfluous, for the elision of णि which is taught in that rule would not affect forms like कारयिता, because the Ārdhadhātuka-affix is separated from णि by इट् ).

The statement,<sup>3</sup> however, that that to which an augment is added combined with that augment is a substitute for the

1. Some have maintained that the existence of Paribhāshā XI. is merely indicated by P. VII., 2, 4 and similar rules; but this is incorrect, for this Paribhāshā is, as has been stated above in the words 'we observe also in the common practice of life etc.', established by a maxim which is generally accepted. To indicate this our author says 'it is only because....'

2. The इत्यदि includes such Nirdes'as as अधराणि etc. in P. I., 1, 34 etc.; although the augment जुम् is here added to अधर, the word remains nevertheless अधर.

3. Now one might say 'that P. VII., 2, 4 नेटि, and अनिटि in P. VI., 4, 51 would not be superfluous, even if Paribhāshā XI. did not exist, and that they therefore cannot indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā;

former without the augment (e. g. इट्+an Ārdhahātuka affix a substitute for that Ārdhahātuka affix) has the following meaning. When we understand the purport of (the rule) that the augment इट् shall be added to an Ārdhahātuka affix, we feel at once the impropriety of assigning augments to words eternal (and unchangeable), and we turn the given rule therefore, in order to give a sense to it, so as to make it convey the meaning 'that in place of the notion of (the Ārdhahātuka) void of इट् we have to conceive the notion of (the Ārdhahātuka) accompanied by इट्.'<sup>1</sup> And thus here also (i. e. in the case of augments), as in the case of substitutes, (only) our notions are changed (and not the forms of the words) and the eternity (and unchangeableness of words) remains therefore unimpaired. Further,<sup>2</sup> the substitutes spoken of in the Sthānivatsūtra (P. I.,

that they, on the contrary, are meant to prohibit the rule which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi etc. from applying by Sthānivadbhāva in the formation of अदेशीत् etc. in consequence of the maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः.' And one might further maintain, 'that Paribhāshā XI. in so far as it teaches that that to which an augment is attached combined with the augment is equal to the former without the augment, is useless because this follows from Sthānivadbhāva in consequence of the same maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः'. To refute these opinions our author says: 'The statement ....'

1. P.: अयमर्थ इत्यस्य कर्तव्येतित्यन्वयः । यथाश्रुतार्थतात्पर्ये वीजप्रतिपादनपूर्वकमत्र हेतुमाहर्धधातुकेत्यादिकल्पनेनेत्यन्तेन तथा च सा हेतौ तृतीया । °नुपपत्त्येत्यमेदे तृतीया तदभिज्ञा यार्थापत्तिस्तन्मूलकेत्यर्थः । उपपत्त्यर्थीपत्तीति पाठस्तु सुगमः । यद्वा कल्पनायां तस्या हेतुत्वेनान्वय इति यथाश्रुतं तदपि साधु । अर्थापत्तीति कल्पकप्रमाणोपन्यासः । वाक्यान्तरेति । तद्वहितार्धधातुकबुद्धौ सेडाधर्धधातुकबुद्धिरित्यादिरूपेण्यादिः ॥

2. To refute the opinion that, notwithstanding all that has been said before, Paribhāshā XI. is unnecessary, because its functions are performed by the Sthānivatsūtra, he says: 'Further...'

1, 56) are not such, (as it were, constructive) substitutes (as result from the statement that that to which an augment is added, combined with that augment, is a substitute for the former without the augment), because the Sthānivatsūtra has reference (only) to such substitutions as are actually taught in Pāṇini's grammar (e. g. in P. II., 4, 42 हनो वध). Moreover if the Sthānivatsūtra had reference to such constructive substitutes as are here spoken of, that which is mentioned in the Bhāṣhya as an established fact, viz. 'that अट् and आट् (are prefixed to roots) while ङ् remains (i. e. before the personal terminations are substituted for ङ्),' would not be the case. (In forming अपिबत् and similar forms, we prefix the augment अ according to the Bhāṣhya, to पा in पा+ङ्, and obtain thus अपा+ङ्; if by the Sthānivatsūtra अपा were here equal to पा) पिब etc. (taught in P. VII., 3, 78) would have to be substituted (not for पा) but for the whole combination अपा (the result of which would not be अपिबत्, but पिबत्).<sup>1</sup> Paribhāṣhā XII. (according to which पिब ought to be substituted only for the पा actually put down in P. VII., 3, 78) would in this case not be applicable, because the operation (of substituting पिब) would be proceeded with solely on the ground that (अपा) is regarded as (equal to पा) for which it has been substituted.—If<sup>2</sup> Paribhāṣhā XII. were applicable in cases where a substitute

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1. If the Sthānivatsūtra had reference to such constructive substitutes as are here spoken of, the author of the Bhāṣhya ought to have said that the augments अट् and आट् are prefixed to roots after the personal terminations have been substituted for ङ्, and after the substitution of पिब etc. for पा etc.

2. One might further maintain that, although अपा is considered equal to पा, nevertheless not this combination अपा is *nirdiśyamāna* in P. VII., 3, 78, but only पा, and that therefore the application of Pari-

(by the Sthānivatsūtra) is like that for which it has been substituted, the following proceeding (of the author) of the Bhāshya would be incorrect. (P. VII., 1, 53 teaches that ल्य is substituted for लि; P. VII., 2, 99, that तिसृ is substituted for लि; in (the formation of) the Gen. Fem., तिसृ (and not ल्य) is substituted (for लि) because (the rule which teaches तिसृ) follows (upon the rule which teaches the substitution of ल्य; here then the author of the Bhāshya) raises the doubt whether ल्य (by P. VII., 1, 53) ought to be substituted also for तिसृ (on the ground that the latter) by the Sthānivatsūtra (is like लि), and he rejects this doubt by means of Paribhāshā XL. (according to which a rule that has been superseded once cannot apply again. If Paribhāshā XII. were applicable in this case, the doubt whether ल्य ought to be substituted for तिसृ could not have arisen at all, because by this Paribhāshā ल्य could have been substituted only for लि which is actually put down in P. VII, 1, 53; or if the doubt had arisen, it ought to have been rejected by Paribh. XII. and not by Paribh. XL.)

As<sup>1</sup> (Pāṇini) in rules like III., 4, 86 has put down a Genitive case which conveys the sense that for that which is denot-

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bhāshā XII. in the case of अपिबत् is allowable. One might say that the Sthānivatsūtra applies without Par. XII. only in particular cases in which the augments इट् etc. are added, but that elsewhere Par. XII. is applicable together with the Sthānivatsūtra. To refute this our author says: 'If Paribh. XII. ...'

1. According to the preceding the Sthānivatsūtra refers only to *s'rauta ādes'a i. e.* to substitutes actually taught in Pāṇini's grammar, but not to *ānumānika ādes'a i. e.* substitutes which are not actually taught but are substitutes only by inference (in the manner in which *e. g.* the combination of an augment and that to which it is added is considered a



ed by the word in the Genitive case, something else is substituted, we are not wrong in applying the Sthānivatsūtra to (such substitutes as result from) rules like III. 4, 86, even though the meaning of the said rule III., 4. 86 is (not that उ shall be substituted for इ, but) that something ending with उ shall be substituted for something ending with इ, and although the substitute taught in this rule is therefore (not the letter उ actually given in it, but) a combination of letters ending with उ. (We are not, we say, wrong in applying here the Sthānivatsūtra) because the word आदेश 'substitute' (in the Sthānivatsūtra) is employed for the very purpose (that the Sthānivatsūtra may be applied also in cases like this where a rule actually teaches a substitute which for some reason or other has to be transformed; but the Sthānivatsūtra has no reference to such substitutes as result from the statement that that to which an augment is added, combined with that augment, is a substitute for the former without the augment).<sup>1</sup> The relation which obtains between a substitute and that for which it is substituted, such as both are actually enunciated in a substitute for the latter without the augment). This being the case, it may appear doubtful whether the Sthānivatsūtra is applicable to the substitute which we obtain from P. III., 4, 86. Therefore he says: 'As (Pāṇini)...'

1. P.: तदन्तपरतयेति | नित्यत्वानुपपत्तिमूलकयेत्यादि: | अर्थवत्येव स्थान्यादेशभाववि-  
श्रान्ते: शब्दरूपं विशेष्यमादाय वर्णग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणादिति भाव: | 'वाक्यस्यैव | एकारे-  
त्यादेरेव | इदं च मध्यमणिन्यायेनान्वेति (viz. with the preceding and follow-  
ing) | एवेनापठितागमस्थलीयानुमानिकवाक्यसदृशवाक्यव्यावृत्ति: | आदेशग्रहणेति |  
स्थानिविदित्युक्तयेव संबन्धिशब्दमहिम्नादेशाक्षेपे सिद्धे गुनरादेशग्रहणसामर्थ्यादित्यर्थ: | तस्य  
तदृशसमुदायादेशस्य || तथा च श्रौतस्थान्यादेशभावे तदनुपपत्तिमूलकतया कल्प्यमानता-  
दृशस्थान्यादेशभावे च तत्प्रवृत्तिर्न त्वागमस्थलीये तत्रेति फलितम् ||

rule, remains unimpaired even though one (without paying any regard to the several constituent elements of a form) assumes, that the whole new form which results from the substitution, is a substitute for the whole old form, as it was before the substitution, and rules like P. I., 1, 57 अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ are therefore not improper.<sup>1</sup>

The opinion that the objects for which Paribhāshā XI. is given are attained by the Sthānivatsūtra (and that Paribhāshā XI. is therefore superfluous) is by the above refuted.

All this is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 20.

1. P. supplies यथा before आनुमानिकस्थान्यादेश°, and the words तथात्रापि श्रौतावयवावयविभावस्य न त्याग इति यदागमा इत्येतत्प्रवृत्तिरव्याहृतैवेति प्रणिदापयतीत्यादौ न दोषः after नासंगतिः; just as.....P. I., 1, 57 does not become improper, so are also in the case of augments that to which the augment is added and the augment itself considered as separate, consequently Paribhāshā XI. is applicable and प्रणिदापयति is correctly formed.

Extract from the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 20:<sup>1</sup>

समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः । समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । प्र-  
निदारयति प्रनिधारयति । दाधा घुसंज्ञा भवन्तीति घुसंज्ञा प्रामोति ॥  
समानशब्दाप्रतिषेधोऽर्थवद्ग्रहणात् । समानशब्दानामप्रतिषेधः । अन-  
र्थकः प्रतिषेधोऽप्रतिषेधः । घुसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात् ।

1. Kaiyaṭa: समानशब्दानामिति । समानश्रुतीनामित्यर्थः ॥ प्रनिदारयति प्र-  
निधारयतीति । दृङ्धृङोर्णचि वृद्धावाकारे दाधाशब्दौ संप्रशेते तौ चार्थवन्तौ पश्चात्तु रपर-  
त्वं क्रियमाणमागमभूतत्वादित्यत्वं न करोतीति प्राप्तिः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणादिति । अर्थवद्ग्रहणे  
नानर्थक्यस्येत्यस्यार्थस्य स्वं रूपमित्यनेन ज्ञापितत्वात् । उरण् रपर इति चाण्विधीयमान एव  
रपरो भवतीति वृद्धिः क्रियमाणा रपरा भवतीति दाधीरोरेवार्थवत्त्वं न तु तदवयवयोरिति

अर्थवतोर्दाधोर्ग्रहणं नैतावर्थवन्तौ ॥ अनुपसर्गाद्वा । अथवा यक्रियायु-  
क्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चैतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रि-  
यायोगः । यदेवमिहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति प्रणिदापयति प्रणिधापयती-  
ति । अत्रापि नैतौ दाधावर्थवन्तौ नाप्येतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रियायोगः ॥  
न वा । अर्थवतो ह्यागमस्तद्गुणीभूतस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते यथान्यत्र ।  
न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् । अर्थवत आगमस्तद्गुणीभूतो ऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन  
गृह्यते यथान्यत्र । तद्यथान्यत्राप्यर्थवत आगमो ऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।  
कान्यत्र । लविता चिकीर्षितेति । युक्तं पुनर्यमित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वग-  
मशासनं स्यान्न नित्येषु नाम शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यम-  
नपायोपजनविकारिभिः । आगमश्च नामापूर्वः शब्दोपजनः । अथ  
युक्तं यन्नित्येषु शब्देष्वदेशाः स्युः । वाढं युक्तम् । शब्दान्तरैरिह भ-

नास्ति पुसंज्ञा ॥ अनुपसर्गाद्वा । अभ्युपगम्य पुसंज्ञां दोषं परिहरति । पुसंज्ञापेक्षया यस्यो-  
पसर्गत्वं तस्मात्परस्य नैषौ परतो णत्वं विधीयते । अत्र दाधापेक्षया नास्ति प्रशब्दस्योपसर्गत्वं  
किंतु दारभारशब्दापेक्षेत्यदोषः ॥ इहापि तर्हि । अत्रापि पुकि कृते पकारान्तोऽर्थवान्न  
केवलो दाशब्दः पुगन्तमेव च प्रत्युपसर्गत्वं न दाशब्दं प्रतीति प्रश्नः ॥ न वार्थवत इति ।  
लब्धात्मकस्य भावस्य निमित्तवशादुपचयापचयौ व्यपदेशहानिं न कुरुतौ यथा दैवदत्तस्याङ्ग-  
धिव्याङ्गच्छेदौ । इहाप्यन्तरङ्गत्वात्कृतायां दाधोर्पुसंज्ञायां पक्षादुत्पन्नः पुगागमो व्यपदेशं न  
निवर्तयति नाप्यर्थवत्त्वमित्यदोषः । अनर्थकस्याप्यागमो व्यपदेशहानिं न करोति यथा  
सत्यपि रेफ आकाराकारयोर्वृद्धिगुणव्यपदेशाहानिः । इह स्वर्थवतोर्ग्रहणादर्थवत इत्यु-  
क्तम् । यदा च प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रेण विशेष्यते तदायं परिहारः । प्यर्थविशेषणत्वे तु प्रस्य दाधौ  
प्रत्यनुपसर्गत्वाण्णत्वं न भवत्येव ॥ तद्गुणीभूत इति । प्रयोगसंपादन उपकारक इत्यर्थः ॥  
युक्तं पुनरिति । ततश्च नित्येष्वगमविरोधात्तद्विरेणादेशविधानाद्वाप्यशब्द एवार्थवान्न दाश-  
ब्द इति तदवस्थो दोष इति भावः ॥ अथ युक्तमिति । तत्रापि स्थानिनमपनीयादेशः  
क्रियत इत्यनित्यत्वप्रसङ्गः । यक्षोभयोर्दोषो न तमेकक्षोद्यः ॥ वाढमिति । प्रसङ्गवाची स्थानश-  
ब्दो न निवृत्तिवाची । ततश्च सन्त एव प्रयोगे नित्याः शब्दा बुद्धगुणमज्जननिमज्जनद्वारे-

वितव्यम् । तत्र शब्दान्तराच्छब्दान्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ता । आदेशास्त-  
र्हीमे भविष्यन्ति । अनागमकानां सागमकाः । तत्कथम् ।

सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।

एकदेशविकारे हि नित्यत्वं नोपपद्यते ॥

ण प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । आगमस्त्वस्थितस्यापूर्वः क्रियमाणो नित्यत्वं विरुणद्धि ॥ आदेशास्तर्ही-  
ति । इड् भवतीत्यनेन द्वारेण तव्यस्येतव्यादेशः क्रियते ॥ सर्वे इति । आगमा अपीत्यर्थः ॥  
सर्वपदादेशा इति । पदशब्देन न सुप्तिङन्तं गृह्यतेऽपि तु कार्यं प्रति यत्पद्यमानं प्रती-  
यमानं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादि तत्सर्वम् ॥ एकदेशविकारे हीति । यद्यपि सर्वविकारेऽप्यनित्यत्वं  
यथा पिठरस्थयसः पाकादिषु तथापि विकाराभावप्रतिपादनार्थमेतत् । बुद्धिविपरिणाममात्रं  
स्थान्यादेशागमागमिभावद्वारेण क्रियत इत्यर्थः । यद्येवं दाशब्दस्य दाशब्द आदेशः क्रियत  
इति दाशब्दस्थानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गः । नैष दोषः । नित्यतासमर्थनायादेशपक्ष आश्रितः प्रक्रियार्था  
तु कल्पितायामागमागमिभाव एव । अन्यथागमादेशयोर्भेदेन व्यवहारो न स्यात् ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XII.

(By the preceding Paribhāshā *स्था* denotes not merely *स्था*, but it denotes also *अस्था*, i. e. *स्था* combined with the augment *अ*). Accordingly one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Aor. Par. of उद्-*स्था* (i. e. उद्+*अस्थात्*) a letter homogeneous to the preceding (द् of उद्) ought by P. VIII., 4, 61 to be substituted (for the initial अ of *अस्थात्*.) To prevent this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XII: Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated.<sup>1</sup>

1. Accordingly a letter homogeneous to the द् of उद् is substituted only for the स् of *स्था* which actually is enunciated in P. VIII., 4, 61, but not for the अ of *अस्था* although by Par. XI. the latter is likewise denoted by *स्था*.

. (This Paribhāshā is proved thus :) The rule P. I., 1, 49 is read twice;<sup>1</sup> when this is done, the second (षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा) conveys the following meaning: 'only that which is enunciated (in a rule), i. e. that which is read (in a rule, or rather) that which (in the real language) is like that which is read (in a rule) in a Genitive case,<sup>2</sup> or that which forms part of that which is enunciated (in a Genitive case,<sup>3</sup>) assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' (i. e. is that in the place of which something else is substituted), but something suggested<sup>4</sup> by the former (does) not (assume that relation).' Hereby (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā XII.) is established.

And one cannot object that in the case of such rules as P. VII.,

1. P.: Although P. I., 1, 49 in the sense (अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या) usually assigned to it is unnecessary, because in every instance where this rule is supposed to apply the *Sthānasambandha* i. e. the import of the Genitive case that something else shall take the place of that which is expressed by the word in the Genitive case, is obtained from *Antarangatva* etc., and though the rule P. I., 1, 49, in order not to be superfluous, must therefore convey the same meaning as the present Paribhāshā, nevertheless one might consider P. I., 1, 49 even in its usual meaning useful, viz. as instructing those who are ignorant (of *Antarangatva* etc.) and our author assumes therefore that P. I., 1, 49 is read twice.

2. षष्ठी by Paribhāshā XXIII. means षष्ठ्यन्तम् 'that which ends with the affix of the Genitive case'.

3. निर्दिश्यमानावयवरूपमेव वा; i. e. उच्चार्यमाणसजातीयावयवरूपमेव वा; this refers to अतिस्य; etc.; see below.

4. I. e. that which either by Paribhāshā XI. or by the *Tadantavidhi* (P. I., 1, 72) is likewise denoted by that which is enunciated in a rule; e. g. स्था would by Par. XI. denote also अस्था, and त्वद् by P. I., 1, 72 also अतित्वद् etc.

4, 32 etc.<sup>1</sup> the substitutes (which are taught in them) would (if this Paribhāshā really did exist) not take the place of the long vowels (आ etc.) because the latter are not enunciated (in P. VII., 4, 32 etc.); for as (the अ etc. in P. VII., 4, 32 etc. is intended to denote not merely short अ etc., but) generally any अ etc. (and therefore also long आ etc., the substitutes taught in P. VII., 4, 32 etc. take the place also of the long vowels आ etc. and) there arises consequently no fault (from the application of this Paribhāshā). Moreover<sup>2</sup> there arises no fault because we learn from the prohibition P. VI., 4, 85 that an operation which concerns a letter that is enunciated (in a rule), concerns all letters which that particular letter denotes according to P. I., 1, 69.<sup>3</sup> (It might appear as if this Paribhāshā made the Anubandha इ of इयङ् and उवङ् in P. VI., 4, 77 superfluous; for, as इ and उ are enunciated in the term योः of that rule, one might say that इय् and उव् in accordance with the present Paribhāshā could have been substituted only for the single letters इ and उ, even if the Anubandha इ had not been attached to इय् and उव्); but (this is untenable). As (P. VI.,

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1. इत्यादौ; i. e. इत्यादिविषये मालोभयतौत्यादौ. P.

2. Now one might say, that although the opinion expressed in the words अस्य चो-निर्दिश्यमानत्वाभावात् has been shown to be untenable, when the vowels अ etc. denote any अ (*jātipakshe*), it has not been refuted *vyaktipakshe*, i. e. on the alternative that अ etc. denote only short अ etc.; therefore our author says: किंच 'moreover,' *scil.* यतः. P.

3. If the substitution of यण् which is taught in P. VI., 4, 82 and 83 did not concern also ई and ऊ etc., भू and सुधी would not fall under those rules, and the prohibition न भूसुधियोः would be meaningless.—The rules P. VI., 4, 82 and 83 would have a meaning even if they referred only to short इ and short उ; for rule 82 would apply e. g. in विच्यतुः and 83 in पद्मौ, the Dual of पद्म, in the sense of पद्मन्तमाचष्टे, formed with णिच्, मनुञ्जीप, and क्तिप्.

4, 77) conveys the meaning 'for roots ending in the letter इ or उ,<sup>1</sup> for झ, and for झ् etc.' roots etc. are likewise enunciated (in it) and the Anubandha इ has therefore been attached to इय् and उय् in order that the latter may be substituted (only) for the final letters (of those roots etc.). But in रीइ and रिइ (of P. VII., 4, 27 and 28) इ has been attached (to री and रि) solely for the sake of clearness (and has no other functions whatever).<sup>2</sup> The opinion according to which this addition of the Anubandha इ (in रीइ and रिइ) indicates that the present Paribhāshā does not apply where a letter is enunciated in a rule (as that for which something else shall be substituted) is refuted by the following,<sup>3</sup> viz. by the circumstance that it is contrary to the Bhāshya on the fifth S'ivasūtra. (There namely it has first been suggested that) the Visarjanīya, Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmānīya, Anusvāra, Anunāsika,

1. On the one hand 'roots,' झ, and झ् have been enunciated in P. VI., 4, 77; on the other hand, इ and उ; but as the former are of greater importance and as इ and उ only qualify the 'roots', the substitutes इय् and उय् would, if the Anubandha इ had not been attached to them, take the place of the whole roots, and of the whole झ and झ्.

2. The Anubandha इ in रीइ and रिइ of P. VII., 4, 27 and 28 is superfluous because only the letter ऋ is in these rules enunciated as that for which something else shall be substituted; the word अङ्गस्य which is Adhikāra is not independently but only by the Tadantavidhi (P. I., 1, 72) Sthānin, (the sense being ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य), and according to the present Paribhāshā a substitute does not take the place of that which is suggested by the Tadantavidhi. On the other hand, we shall see below in the case of अतिस्यः etc., that a word which is valid by Anuvṛitti has to be considered as enunciated in a rule if the Tadantavidhi is not concerned with it.

3. एतेन, i. e. वक्ष्यमाणदीर्घेण. P.

and Yama should be given (in the S'ivasūtras, and) one of the reasons why (this should be done, has been stated to be this, that, if Visarjanīya etc. were given in the S'ivasūtras, they would be included in the Pratyāhāra अल् and that, such being the case,) the rule P. I., 1, 52 (would apply in P. VIII., 3, 34 the result of which would be the formation of *e. g.*) वृक्षस्तत्. (If Visarjanīya were not read in the S'ivasūtras it would not be termed अल्, and the substitute स् which is taught in P. VIII., 3, 34 would not by P. I., 1, 52 be substituted for the final of वृक्षः). But this reasoning has (subsequently) been invalidated in the Bhāshya where it is stated that (the substitution of स् for the Visarjanīya) results already from the present Paribhāshā (viz. because the Visarjanīya is enunciated in P. VIII., 3, 34. This present Paribhāshā has therefore in the Bhāshya distinctly been applied in a case where a letter is in a rule enunciated as that for which something else shall be substituted).

This Paribhāshā teaches that (a substitute) does not take the place of that (or of part of that) which ends with what (in a rule) is enunciated, although (that which is enunciated in a rule) denotes in accordance with the teaching of P. I., 1, 72 also that which ends with it; nor of that combination of what is enunciated (in a rule) with an augment, which according to Paribhāshā XI. would likewise be denoted by that which is enunciated (in a rule).<sup>1</sup> Therefore सुपदः,<sup>2</sup> उदस्थात् etc. are formed (agreeably to this Paribhāshā).

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1. P. : लब्धस्य *i. e.* विशिष्टस्य तत्त्वाभावबोधनम् (*i. e.* आगमविशिष्टस्य स्थानित्वाभावबोधनम्). This implies that in some cases that Sthānin also which is obtained from the Alo'ntyaparibhāshā (P. I., 1, 52) likewise loses its Sthānitva by the present Paribhāshā *i. e.* that sometimes the present Paribhāshā supersedes P. I., 1, 52. See below.

2. पद् is substituted only for णद् which is enunciated in P. VI., 4,



Whenever the several conditions under which the rules P. I., 1, 52 etc. apply to a rule that teaches a substitution are fulfilled, then those rules P. I., 1, 52 etc. apply *together with* this Paribhāshā;<sup>1</sup> they neither supersede it nor are they superseded by it because they do not come into conflict (with this Paribhāshā). Nor do those rules and this Paribhāshā stand towards each other in the relation of subserviency, this being improper<sup>2</sup> because both are given for the sake of other (rules). And<sup>3</sup> the word सर्व 'all' in P. I., 1, 55 can only be understood to mean 'all that for which according to this Paribhāshā something else ought to be

130, but not for that which ends with पाद् i. e. not for the whole सुपाद्. The आदि after उदस्यादिति suggests विशकः as an example in the formation of which the Alo'ntyavidhi is superseded by the present Paribhāshā. See below.

1. E. g. in P. VII., 2, 102, त्यदादीनामः; VI., 4, 82 एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य etc. The आदि in इत्यादीनाम् includes P. I., 1, 54 आदेः परस्य; the Plural I., 1, 55 अनेकाल् शिस्तर्वस्य. P. The present Paribhāshā restricts the substitution to that which is either actually read in a rule or is valid from another rule; the other Paribhāshās determine which part of that to which the substitution is thus restricted, is to undergo it.—If there were any conflict between the present Paribhāshā and P. I., 1, 52 etc. the latter would supersede the former, because they follow it in Pāṇini's grammar, for the present Paribhāshā stands at P. I., 1, 49.

2. According to the maxim गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसंबन्धः समत्वान्.

3. Now one might think that the word सर्व in P. I., 1, 55 denotes the Sthānin obtained from the Tadantavidhi and the Yadāgamaparibhāshā, that therefore the present Paribhāshā comes into conflict with, and is superseded by P. I., 1, 55, and that consequently in the formation of सुपदः, and निर्जरसौ etc. पद् and जरस् etc. ought to have been substituted for the whole सुपाद् and निर्जरा etc. To refute this view N. says 'and the word.....'

substituted.<sup>1</sup> It is wrong to say that the two rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52 supersede this Paribhāshā;<sup>2</sup> for in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 130 the present Paribhāshā has been made use of within the sphere of the rule (P. I., 1, 54) for (the formation of) उदस्यात्.<sup>3</sup> Nor does this (Paribhāshā)<sup>4</sup> supersede those two (rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52); for, if this were the case, those two (rules) would, as Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 142 observes, not be applicable anywhere.<sup>5</sup>

1. But not 'all that which is obtained from the Tadantavidhi and Yadāgamaparibhāshā.'

2. Because they in Pāṇini's grammar follow upon this Paribhāshā which stands at P. I., 1, 49.

3. This implies that this Paribhāshā has in the same place and in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 142 been made use of also within the sphere of P. I., 1, 52.—Moreover as the simultaneous application of this Paribhāshā and the rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52 has above been shown to be possible, it is according to the maxim अवधिर्नैवोपपत्तौ वधिनोपपत्तिरन्याया wrong, to make the latter supersede the former or *vice versa*. P.

4. Viz. because it is *antaranga*, Sthānasambandha being *antaranga*.

5. Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 142: नि विंशतेर्दिति || तिग्रहणं किमर्थं न विंशतेर्दिति लोप इत्येवोच्येत | नैवं शक्यम् | विंशतेर्दिति लोप इत्यात्युच्यमानेऽन्यस्य प्रसज्येत | सिद्धोऽन्यस्य यस्येति लोपिनैव । तत्तारम्भसामर्थ्यात्तिशब्दस्य भविष्यति || कुतो नु खल्वेतत् | अनन्त्यार्थ आरम्भे तिशब्दस्य भविष्यति न पुनरङ्गस्थिति | तस्मात्तिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् | अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तिग्रहणेऽन्यस्य कस्मान्न भवति | निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न भविष्यति ||

Kaiyaṭa: कुतो नु खल्विति || वचनसामर्थ्यादलोऽन्यपरिभाषाया अनुपस्थानात्समुदायस्यैव षष्ठानिर्देशाद्भोपः प्रसज्येत न त्वसंशब्दितस्य तिशब्दस्य | तिग्रहणे तु सति तैर्लोपो भवति || निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति | नानेन परिभाषाव्यापारः कथ्यते न हि निर्दिश्यमानपरिभाषालोऽन्यस्यादेः परस्थितेतयोर्विकैतयोर्निर्विषयत्वप्रसङ्गात् | तस्मात्तिग्रहणसामर्थ्यादलोऽन्यस्थेयस्यानुपस्थाने सर्वस्य तैर्लोपो भवतीत्ययमस्य भाष्यस्यार्थः ||

The maxim propounded in this Paribhāshā does not refer to cases in which अकच् (by P. V., 3, 71 and 72) is inserted (in a word), because, just as (in a case where there is Sthānivadbhāva a substitution takes place after that for which it is to take place has been suggested solely) by the Sthānivadbhāva,<sup>1</sup> so in the present case also the operation (of substituting something) takes place after that, the place of which the substitute is to take, has been suggested solely by Paribhāshā LXXXIX.; (*i. e.* the substitute takes the place not merely of that or of part of that which is enunciated in a rule, but also of whatever results from the combination of the latter with अकच्, because according to Paribhāshā LXXXIX. any word denotes also the same word after अकच् has been inserted in it, together with अकच्.)<sup>2</sup>

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Pāyagunda says that Nāgojibhaṭṭa by the word कैयटः wishes to show that he himself disagrees with that scholar. P. discusses the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 142 at some length; he maintains that Kaiyaṭa's explanation is not in accordance with the words of the Bhāshya. According to some this Bhāshya does not belong to the Siddhāntin, but to an Ekadeś'in *i. e.* a scholar who is only partly possessed of the truth. Others say that Kaiyaṭa gives the view of the Siddhāntin, and that Nāgojibhaṭṭa in order to show this has quoted P. VI., 4, 142, whereas otherwise he might have quoted P. I., 1, 49.—In reality however it is according to P. the opinion of the Bhāshyakāra that in *some* instances Paribhāshā XII. does supersede the Alo'ntyaparibhāshā.

1. See Par. XI.

2. Rāghavendrāchārya makes the following remarks: Paribh. XII. does not apply in a rule that teaches a substitution by which अकच् does not disappear, even when Paribh. LXXXIX. is applied. This is proved by the prohibition अकः in P. VII., 2, 112 अज्ञापकः, where अकः would be superfluous if Paribhāshā XII. did apply. We consequently form by

It ought to be understood that this (Paribhāṣhā)<sup>1</sup> applies also where (a substitute takes the place of part of something that is enunciated in a rule and where the latter therefore stands) in the partitive Genitive. On this account the substitute स् which is taught in P. VII., 2, 106 takes in (the formation of) अतिस्यः (from अतिस्यद् the place of the त् of त्यद् only which is enunciated in P. VII. 2, 102 but it) does not take the place of the letter त्<sup>2</sup> of the preposition (अति, although त्यद् by P. I., 1, 72 denotes also अतिस्यद्. For the same reason) the substitutes य्य etc. (taught in P. VII., 2, 93 etc.) take the place only of the part ending with म् of युष्मद् etc. enunciated (in P. VII., 2, 86) but they do not in (the formation of) अतिय्यम् etc. (from अतियुष्मद् etc.) take the place of the part ending with म् (of अतियुष्मद् etc. i. e.) of युष्मद् etc. combined with the preposition (अति).

P. VII., 2, 86 युक्ताभ्याम् from युष्मद् just as we form युवाभ्याम् from युष्मद्. But the Nirdiśyamānaparibhāṣhā does apply in a rule that teaches a substitution by which अकच् would disappear if Paribh. LXXXIX. were applied; e. g. in P. VI., 4, 101, where चि is substituted only for हि but not for हकि. अकच् remains therefore in both cases. In P. VII., 2, 103 क is substituted also for किम् with अकच्, because the letter क् is repeated in the substitute; if क were substituted for only किम् Pāṇini would have said that अ is substituted for the इम् of किम्. (अकञ्चिष्य इति । साकृत्कानपहारकादिशविभावित्यर्थः । अत्र मानमन्नाप्यक इत्याकाक इति प्रतिषेधः । फलं तु युक्ताभ्यामिन्यादावावसिद्धिः । तदपहारके तूपातिष्ठत एवायं न्यायः । यथा हुञ्जल्य इति सूत्रे भाष्ये भिन्दक्रीत्यादावकाचि हित्वाभावान्न भित्तिमिन्यादाङ्कितम् । कादिशास्त्रावृत्त्या पुनर्विधानसामर्थ्यात्साकृच्छस्यापि प्रवर्तते ॥ )

1. इयं च; चो वाक्यालंकारे. P.

2. Otherwise स् would be substituted also for this त् for the meaning of P. VII., 2, 106 is 'for त् and द् of Angas ending with त्यद् etc.'

This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 4, 130 and in that on P. I., 1, 49.<sup>2</sup>

1. Extract from the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 130 :

पादः पत् ॥ पाद उपधाह्रस्वत्वम् । पाद उपधाह्रस्वत्वं वक्तव्यम् । द्विपदः पश्य । आदेशो हि सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गः । आदेशो हि सति सर्वादेशः प्रसङ्ग्येत । सर्वस्य द्विपाच्छब्दस्य लिपाच्छब्दस्य पच्छब्द आदेशः प्रसङ्ग्येत येन विधिस्तदन्तस्थेति ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वा निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशत्वात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कः पुनरत्र विशेषः । एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियत उपधाह्रस्वत्वं बोध्यते । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥ ..... उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वत्वे प्रयोजनम् । उदस्थात उदस्थाताम् । अटि कृते साङ्क्ष्य पूर्वसवर्णः प्राप्नोति । उदः स्थास्तम्भोरिति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न दोषो भवति । यस्तर्हि निर्दिश्यते तस्य कस्मान्न भवति । अथा व्यवहितत्वात् । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । उक्तं षष्ठी स्थानेयोग्यस्य योगस्य वचने प्रयोजनं षष्ठ्यन्तं स्थानेन यथा युज्येत यतः षष्ठ्युच्चारितेति ॥

2. Extract from the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 49 :

न तर्हिदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः । वक्तव्यश्च । किं प्रयोजनम् । षष्ठ्यन्तं स्थानेन यथा युज्येत यतः षष्ठ्युच्चारिता । किं कृतं भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवतीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यतः षष्ठीति ॥ तेन पादः पदित्यस्यायमर्थः । पादन्तस्याङ्गस्यावयवः पाच्छब्दः सूत्रे षष्ठ्या निर्दिष्टस्तस्य पच्छब्द आदेशो भवति न तु प्रतीयमानस्य पादन्तस्य । अस्यैव निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्ययमर्थः ॥ षष्ठीति षष्ठ्यन्तं गृह्यते । तेन षष्ठ्यन्तमेव निर्दिश्यमानं स्थानेन युज्यते न तु प्रतीयमानमित्यर्थः । अलोऽन्यस्यादिः परस्येत्येतन् वचनसामर्थ्यान्न बाध्यते ॥

PARIBHĀSHĀ XIII.<sup>1</sup>

(Of the three Guṇa-vowels अ, ए, and औ, ए comes nearest to the vowel इ so far as the organs of speech are concerned with which both are uttered; and अ is prosodially nearest to इ, because both vowels are short). One might (therefore) say that *e. g.* in the (formation of the) Periph. Future of चि (*i. e.* चैता, where Guṇa has to be substituted for इ), the letter अ on account of its prosodial proximity to the letter short इ likewise ought to be substituted (for this letter, just as ए is substituted for it on account of its proximity of organ). To prevent this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XIII: Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity<sup>2</sup> (between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes), there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier (than the rest, *i. e.* there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered).

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1. This Paribhāshā is given in this place because, like the preceding Paribhāshā, it treats of substitution, and because it is founded on P. I., 1, 50, which follows immediately on the rule षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा on which the last Paribhāshā is founded. Some however supply after ननु the words एवमपि which they explain thus, 'although the preceding Paribhāshā settles the question of what ought to be the *Sthānin* in a substitution, there remain nevertheless some doubts regarding the *Ādes'a*'.

2. *Viz.* which suggest several different substitutes, and which, while they keep off all substitutes that do not bear some proximity to the original, restrict the substitution to only these.

'Several kinds' means, 'as regards the organs of speech, the meaning, the qualities, and prosodial value.' The fact that (Pāṇini) repeats the word स्थाने in the rule I., 1, 50, while by a partial validity (of P. I., 1, 49) the same word स्थाने<sup>1</sup> is valid from P. I., 1, 49, proves this (Paribhāshā).<sup>2</sup> For this (repetition of स्थाने) conveys, when (the Locative स्थाने) has been transformed<sup>3</sup> into an Instrumental case and when the sentence (स्थाने स्थानेनान्तरतमः) has (in accordance with this transformation) been broken up into two,<sup>4</sup> the following meaning: 'Substituted for something else is that which bears the closest proximity to it; and when (the existence of several kinds of proximity) makes (any choice) possible, only that (is substituted) which bears (the closest) proximity as regards the organ of speech (with which both are uttered).' The<sup>5</sup> very employment of (the

1. स्थान in स्थानेग्रहणे is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग; in स्थानेग्रहणम् it denotes 'the place or organ of utterance'.

2. The word एव after स्थानेग्रहणम् shows that this Paribhāshā is proved by the employment of the word स्थाने in P. I., 1, 50, but is not established by any Jñāpaka.

3. विपरिणमय्य, *scil.* सूचितेन; without this the employment of the Gerund would be improper, for the action which is denoted by the verb that stands in the Gerund must precede another action; literally 'by means of the breaking up of the sentence into two, which is suggested by the transformation of the Locative into the Instrumental case'. If one reads वाक्यभेदेन योज्यम्, it is unnecessary to supply सूचितेन; 'for that (word स्थाने), after one has transformed it into the Instrumental case, has to be joined by Vākyabheda.'

4. How this is done is shown more clearly by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 50: स्थानेऽन्तरतमो भवति | यत्र चानेकविधमान्तर्यमस्ति तत्र स्थानकृतमेवान्तर्यमाश्रीयते |.

5. Now one might say that the Vākyabheda (which was just now assumed in the explanation of स्थाने स्थानेनान्तरतमः) is useless, because

superlative affix) तमप् (in अन्तरतम 'that which bears the *closest* proximity') proves that there exist (several grades, and proves thus indirectly, that there exist) several kinds of proximity. स्थानतः (in this Paribhāshā) has the (same) meaning (as) स्थानेन (in स्थाने स्थानेनान्तरतमः).

Of<sup>1</sup> the four kinds of proximity mentioned above the proximity there is no proof for it that there exist several kinds of proximity; that the word स्थाने (in I., 1, 50) does not prove it, because P. I., 1, 50 may be explained 'that which bears the closest proximity as to the organ of utterance takes in a substitution the place of the original element;' and that according to this explanation of P. I., 1, 50 that rule has no concern with the substitution of the *soshman* and *nāḍavat* झ् for the *soshman* and *nāḍavat* ह् in तद्भसति for तद्भसति. To meet this objection Nāgajibhāṭṭa says तमब्रह्मणमेव 'the very employment of (the superlative affix) तमप्' etc. If there existed only one kind of proximity, viz. proximity of organ, it would have been sufficient for Pāṇini to say in I., 1, 50 अन्तरः, because there exist no various degrees of proximity of organ. When Pāṇini says अन्तरतमः 'that which bears the *closest* proximity' this is intelligible only if his rule I., 1, 50 refers also e. g. to proximity of quality, and it proves thus the existence of several kinds of proximity. On this account, and in order to derive from P. I., 1, 50 the command that in तद्भसति not merely a *soshman* (as e. g. झ्) is to be substituted for the *soshman* ह्; and not merely a *nāḍavat* (as e. g. द्) for the *nāḍavat* ह्, but that a letter which shows the closest proximity, i. e. which is both *soshman* and *nāḍavat* (i. e. झ्) is to take the place of ह्, is the explanation of P. I., 1, 50 by Vākya-bheda absolutely necessary.

1. In each of these examples there exists only one kind of proximity and therefore only the first part of P. I., 1, 50 ('substituted for something else is that which bears the closest proximity to it') applies to them.



mity as regards the organ of utterance is well known (to obtain in such substitutions as are taught) *e. g.* in P. VI., 1, 77.<sup>1</sup> (Proximity) as regards meaning (we see) *e. g.* in P. VI., 1, 63. The (substitutes<sup>2</sup> ण् etc. which are taught in this rule VI., 1, 63) take the place of the words णि etc. which convey the same meaning and contain (almost) the same letters (as ण् etc.), for by the maxim that that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express. (Proximity as regards meaning we have) also<sup>3</sup> in P. VII., 1, 95 (and elsewhere; proximity) as regards quality<sup>4</sup> in instances like वागपरिः etc. ; prosodial<sup>5</sup> (proximity) in P. VIII., 2, 80 etc.

1. Palatal य् is substituted for palatal इ ; labial (or dento-labial) व् for labial उ ; lingual र् for lingual ऋ ; dental ल् for dental ऌ.

2. The original words for which ण् etc. are substituted are not given in P. VI., 1, 63 ; how then are they known ? To answer this question N. says: स्थान्यर्थभिधानं. ते *i. e.* पदादयः.

3. A second example is given because one might say that P. VI., 1, 63 teaches no real substitution, but draws merely the distinction between णि etc. and ण् etc. that the former may be used throughout and the latter only in certain cases.—इति च *i. e.* इत्यादौ च. P.

4. गुण 'quality' means here any quality or property (धर्म) not included under the other three heads (of *sthāna*, *artha* and *pramāṇa*). Although the Vāhyaprayatnas, as *vivāra* 'opening' etc., are not really contained in the letters as their properties, nevertheless the letters are metaphorically said to possess those properties.—वागपरिः cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 62.

5. Although shortness etc. are really properties (गुण) of letters, they are nevertheless mentioned separately, in the same manner in which one sometimes speaks first of Brāhmans and mentions afterwards Vasishṭha separately although the latter is likewise a Brāhman. Cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 180.

This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 50.

1. Extract from the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 50:

अथ स्थान इति वर्तमाने पुनः स्थानग्रहणं किमर्थम् । यत्नानेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत भान्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् । किं पुनस्तत् । चेता स्तोता । प्रमाणतोऽकारो गुणः प्राप्नोति स्थानत एकारोकारौ । पुनः स्थानग्रहणादेकारौकारौ भवतः ॥ अथ तमब्रह्मणं किमर्थम् । ज्ञयो होऽन्यतरस्याम् [ ८. ४. ६२ ] इति सोष्मणः सोष्माण इति द्वितीयाः प्रसक्ताः । नादवन्तो नादवन्त इति तृतीयाः प्रसक्ताः । तमब्रह्मणाद्ये सोष्माणो नादवन्तश्च ते भवन्ति चतुर्थ्याः । वाग्यसति त्रिष्टुब्धसतीति ॥

Kaiyata: यत्नानेकवीति ॥ स्थानग्रहणेऽनुवर्तमाने वाक्यभेदः क्रियते । स्थानेऽन्तरतमो भवति । यत्र चानेकविधमान्तर्यमास्ति तत्र स्थानकृतमेवान्तर्यमाश्रीयत इति । वाक्यभेदस्य च तमब्रह्मणमेव लिङ्गम् । स्थानकृत एव हि सादृश्ये गृह्यमाणे सादृश्यान्तरपरित्यागान्तमब्रह्मणमनर्थकमेव स्यात् ॥ सोष्मण इति । ऊष्मत्वगुणयुक्तस्येत्यर्थः ॥ तमब्रह्मणादिति । ईषत्सदृशोऽपि लोके सदृशव्यवहारदर्शनादिह तमब्रह्मणं कृतम् ॥

PARIBHĀSHĀ XIV.

(Vārttika 3 on P. VI., 1, 89 teaches that, when प्र is combined with following ऊह, ऊढ etc., the Vṛiddhi-vowel औ etc. is substituted for the अ of प्र and the ऊ of ऊह, ऊढ etc. ; e. g. प्र + ऊढ=प्रौढ ). Now one might say that by this Vārttika the Vṛiddhi-vowel (औ) ought (also) in the case of प्र + ऊढवान् (where प्र is likewise followed by ऊढ) to be substituted (for the अ of प्र and the ऊ of ऊढवान्). To prevent this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XIV: (A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning,

but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā) is based on (the consideration) that whenever it is possible for the meaning which is conveyed when a particular<sup>2</sup> form is employed, to be united (with that form) so as to qualify it, there is no reason why it should be detached (from it). By 'meaning'<sup>3</sup> we have to understand here, as appears from the Bhāshya on P. V., 1, 22,<sup>4</sup> also the grammatical meaning which is assigned (to an affix, a base etc.) because (the meaning of an affix etc.) is assumed to present itself (when the

1. Accordingly the term उद in P. VI., 1, 89, 3 does not denote the portion उद of उदवान् for here उद is meaningless, उदवत् being formed of वद् + तवत्; the Vārttika can therefore not apply to प्र + उदवान्.

2. विशिष्ट<sup>०</sup> i. e. वर्णसमूह<sup>०</sup>. P.

3. Now one might say that अर्थ denotes here what is ordinarily understood by 'meaning' i. e., the *laukikārtha*, and that, as this *laukika* meaning is found only either in a sentence or in complete words, it cannot be ascribed to the base उद, nor e. g. to the affix तीय (in a Vārttika on P. I., 1, 33; Si. Kau. I., p. 102); and that consequently this Paribhāshā can draw no distinction between the base उद of the Past Pass. Ptc. and the portion उद of उदवत्, nor between the तीय of द्वितीय and that of पटुजातीय. To meet this objection N. says, 'by meaning' etc.

4. Bhāshya on P. V., 1, 22: संख्याया अतिश<sup>०</sup> || उत्तेश्च | उत्तेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् | इहापि यथा स्यात् | कतिभिः क्रीतं कतिकम् | किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति | त्यन्ताया नेति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति | तिप्रतिषेधादुतिग्रहणमिति चेदर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् | अर्थवत्सिद्ध्यब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च उत्तेश्चिद्भाष्यार्थवान् | नैषा परिभाषेह शक्या विज्ञानं न हि केवलेन प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते | केन तर्हि | सप्रकृतिकेन | क तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा भवति | यान्येतानि शब्दसंघातग्रहणानि | तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् | न वक्तव्यम् | अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् | ननु चोक्तं नैषा परिभाषेह शक्या विज्ञानं न हि केवलेन प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते केन तर्हि सप्रकृतिकेनेति | केवलेनानि प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते | कथम् | उक्तमन्वयव्यतिरेकाभावात् ||

affix etc. are present) and to be absent (when the latter are absent, and *vice versa*). As stated in the Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. III., 4, 77, this (Paribhāṣhā) does not concern single letters<sup>2</sup> that may be employed (in grammar; and) therefore the ancient (grammarians have said) that it applies wherever particular forms (such as combinations of letters) are enunciated (in a rule). Hereon only is based (the Vārttika) which we read in the Bhāṣya on

Kaiyaṭa on केवलेनापि || शास्त्रव्यवस्थाहेतुरन्वयव्यतिरेकगम्यार्थवत्ताश्रीयत इत्यर्थः । अत एव शो अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्काशो कुश इत्यादौ शोशब्दस्य ग्रहणाभावः (cf. P. I., 1, 13) । उपसर्गाणामपि केवलानां प्रयोगाभावाद्धौकिक्या अर्थवत्ताया अभावादन्यव्यतिरेकव्यवस्थाप्येवासावाश्रीयते ॥

1. Bhāṣya on P. III., 4, 77:

लस्य ॥ लादेशो सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषात् । लादेशो सर्वस्य प्रसङ्गः । सर्वस्य लकारस्यादेशः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति । लुनाति लभते । किं कारणम् । अविशेषात् । न हि कश्चिद्विशेष उपादीयत एवंजातीयस्य लकारस्यादेशो भवतीति । अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे सर्वप्रसङ्गः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् । अर्थवतो लकारस्य ग्रहणम् । न चैषोऽर्थवान् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेन्न वर्णग्रहणेषु । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेन्न । किं कारणम् । वर्णग्रहणमिदं न चैतद्वर्णग्रहणेषु भवत्यर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थक्यस्येति । तस्माद्विशिष्टग्रहणम् । तस्माद्विशिष्टस्य लकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम् । धातोरिति वर्तत इत्यादि ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अर्थवद्ग्रहणादिति । लडादय एव भावाद्यर्थभिधायिनः स्थानित्वेन गृह्यन्त इत्यर्थः ॥ न वर्णग्रहणेऽपि । लस्येत्यल लकारेऽकार उच्चारणार्थस्ततश्च वर्णमालस्यायं निर्देशः । वर्णनिर्देशेषु विद्यमानात्पर्थवत्ता शब्देन नाश्रिता वर्णरूपमालस्याश्रयणात् । ततश्च यस्येति लोपोऽनर्थकस्यापि भवति (cf. P. VI., 4, 148) । देवदत्तिरिति ॥ तस्मादिति । भावाद्यर्थभिधायिनी लस्येति वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ धातोरिति वर्तत इति । विहितविशेषणं च धातुग्रहणमाश्रीयत इत्यग्नचिह्नभूत इत्यत्रापि न भवतीत्यादि ॥

2. If this Paribhāṣhā were applicable to single letters, P. VI., 1, 77 इको यणचि would indeed apply to ई (i. e. Lakshmi) + अ (i. e. Vishnu), but not e. g. to the final उ of भवतु before the initial इ of इति, because in the latter case उ and इ are meaningless.

P. I., 1, 72,<sup>1</sup> 'that wherever P. I., 1, 72 refers to a meaningless (term), this (term) can only be a single letter,' (or, in other words, that wherever P. I., 1, 72 applies to a combination of letters, this combination of letters can only be such as possesses a meaning<sup>2</sup>).—Moreover (the existence of this Paribhāshā is also proved thus :) in the rule P. I., 1, 68 the word स्व which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' (and) the word रूप (denotes) 'the individual form' (of a word), and thus P. I., 1, 68 conveys the sense, that a word denotes both (things expressed by) those (two words स्व and रूप, viz. its meaning and its form<sup>3</sup>.) The mean-

1. Siradeva and others maintain that there is a second Paribhāshā न वर्णग्रहणेषु the existence of which they believe to be indicated by P. I., 1, 17 उवः. This rule, they say, is given to prevent (optionally) the substitution of व् for उ in उ+इति, which results from P. VI., 1, 77 इको यणचि; but if the Arthavatparibhāshā were applicable here, व् could not by P. VI., 1, 77 be substituted for उ before the इ of इति, because this इ has no meaning; consequently P. I., 1, 17 shows that the Arthavatparibhāshā does not apply here. Or Siradeva etc. believe the second Paribhāshā न वर्णग्रहणेषु to be indicated by सप्तमर्थे in P. I., 1, 19, i. e. by the circumstance that P. VI., 1, 77 has been applied here to the final ई of सप्तमी before the meaningless अ of अर्थे.

2. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72: अलैवानर्थकेन नान्येनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । हन्ग्रहणे स्त्रीहन्ग्रहणं मा भूदित्यादि ॥

Kaiyata: अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येति वर्णनिर्देशेषु नाश्रीयत इति स्थितम् । वर्णरूप-तया यस्य शब्दस्याश्रयणं नार्थवत्त्वरूपमाश्रीयते । तत्र वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वत्रेत्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणाद्वर्णसमुदायग्रहणेऽप्यनर्थकस्य ग्रहणं प्राप्तमनेनै निवार्यते ॥ अलैवेति चैकत्वसंख्या गुणत्वाद्विवक्ष्यते नियमविधानसामर्थ्याद्वा ॥ हन्ग्रहण इति । तेन स्त्रीहानाविति दीर्घो भवति ॥

3. P. explains तदुभयम् by 'the two things denoted by the two words

1. Ed. om. ग्रहणेऽप्यनर्थकस्य. 2. Ed. ०नेन नियमेन.

ing can here not be qualified (by the form) because no grammatical operation can possibly take place in the meaning; on the contrary, the meaning qualifies the word-(form); and, this being the case, the sense which results (from P. I., 1., 68) is this that (a word) denotes a certain word-form qualified by (or, possessed of) a meaning. Hereby,<sup>1</sup> as appears from the Bhāshya, (the existence of) this Paribhāshā is established.

used in *that* Sūtra (I., 1, 68); or by 'the two things denoted by *those* two words स्व and रूप'; he also says that the reading एतदुभयम् is easy.

1. तेन *i. e.* 'by that rule (P. I., 1, 68) the meaning of which has been given'.—Now one might say that the existence of this Paribhāshā cannot be established by P. I., 1, 68, because this rule has been rejected. On this account Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds इति भाष्ये *i. e.* इत्यादि भाष्ये स्पष्टम्. This shows that, in case P. I., 1, 68 be rejected, this Paribhāshā is established only by the first proof adduced for it, 'विशिष्टरूपोपादानि—मानाभावः'.—Of. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 68: स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । रूपग्रहणं किमर्थं न शब्दस्य स्वमित्येव रूपं शब्दस्य संज्ञा भविष्यति । न ह्यन्यत्स्वं शब्दस्यास्ति । अन्यदतो रूपात् । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदूपग्रहणं करोति तदज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अस्यन्य-द्रूपात्स्वं शब्दस्येति । किं पुनस्तत् । अर्थः । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थक्येति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवतीत्यादि ॥

1. Ed. न स्वं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा भवतीत्येव.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XV.

(P. VI., 3, 46 teaches that आ is substituted for the final of महत् when the latter is compounded with a word which, in case the compound were dissolved, would stand in the same case as महत्; *e. g.* महादेवः, महाबाहुः). Now one might say that by this rule आ ought to have been substituted (for the final of महत् also in

the formation of महद्भूतः which occurs) in (such phrases as) महद्भूत-  
श्चन्द्रमाः 'the moon which has as it were become great';<sup>1</sup> (for  
although according to Paribh. XIV. महत् in P. VI., 3, 46 cannot  
denote any meaningless महत्, it does denote महत् wherever this  
word possesses a meaning which is the case in महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमाः). To  
refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XV : When a word besides its primary mean-  
ing possesses a secondary meaning, an opera-  
tion (which may be taught in grammar concern-  
ing this word) takes effect (only) when the latter  
conveys its primary (but not, when it conveys  
its secondary) meaning.

गौण 'secondary' (derived from गुण by P. IV., 3, 74,) means  
'derived from a quality'; e. g. the word गौ 'ox' conveys the  
(secondary) meaning 'one who is only fit for bearing burdens,  
an unintelligent person', because (such a person has) certain  
qualities such as stupidity etc. (in common with an ox. Occa-  
sionally) we also make (a word) denote something which in  
reality is not (what that word denotes originally, but) to which  
the word is applied as a name,<sup>2</sup> solely because the qualities of  
that (which the word originally denotes) are ascribed to it;<sup>3</sup>

1. महद्भूतः does not mean that the moon has actually become great,  
but it means that the quality of greatness, which the moon in reality  
does not possess, has been ascribed to it. Of. Si. Kau. I, p. 729, note 45.

2. संज्ञादिः is explained by संज्ञा आदिः प्रथमो बोधकोऽस्येत्यर्थः । तथा च  
संज्ञाबोध इति फलितम् ॥

3. E. g. the word रघुनाथ may as a name denote any man, not be-  
cause he is 'a chief of the Raghus' but because he is supposed to have  
certain qualities in common with Rāma, the real lord of the Raghus.

(the meaning which a word conveys in the latter case, is likewise called a 'secondary' meaning). मुख्य (derived from मुख by P. V., 3, 103) means 'as it were the head,' because it is the main (sense), 'first,' 'primary';<sup>1</sup> for a word which is employed in a secondary sense, is so employed (only) because (the character of that which it denotes in) its primary sense is ascribed (to that which it denotes in its secondary sense).<sup>2</sup> And thus, so far as this (Paribhāshā) is concerned, a word is गौण 'secondary' when that which is denoted by it is in reality not (what is denoted by the word in its primary sense, i. e. when the word is used merely as a name), and also when the word metaphorically denotes a person or thing on account of certain qualities (which the latter has in common with that which is expressed by the word in its primary sense). Accordingly the substitution of त्रय (for त्रि which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53) does take place in (the Gen. Plur. of प्रियत्रि and we obtain thus) प्रियत्रयानाम् 'of persons to whom three are dear' etc. because, although the meaning of the word त्रि qualifies here something else (viz. the persons to whom three are dear, and is therefore in a certain sense secondary,) it is not secondary in the sense in which this term is used in this Paribhāshā.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the maxim (which is ex-

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1. The words are likewise मुख्य 'primary' or गौण 'secondary' according as they convey a primary or a secondary meaning.

2. And in order that this may be possible, the primary meaning must necessarily exist 'first.'

3. The author of the Vārttikas has for this reason in connection with P. I., 1, 27 given the prohibitory rule, that सर्व etc. when they are in compounds *Upasarjana*, are not to be called सर्वनामानि. If an *Upasarjana* were secondary in the sense in which this term is used here, the application of the term *Sarvaṇḍaman* to सर्व etc. in cases where these words



pressed by) this (Paribhāshā) has nothing to do with an operation which concerns the crude form (of a word), but it refers only to an operation which concerns a (complete) word, provided that (in the rule which teaches this operation) a particular word-form, that conveys some individual meaning, is (either valid from a preceding rule or) enunciated (as that which is liable to undergo the operation which is taught in the rule).<sup>1</sup> The reason why (this Paribhāshā) has nothing to do with an operation that concerns a crude form, is namely this that (a word) conveys a secondary meaning (only) when, after its formation has been completed,<sup>2</sup> it is combined with another word, as *e. g.* (गो 'ox') in गोवर्द्धकः 'an ox only fit to bear burdens, an unintelligent person,' but not at the time when its crude form is liable to undergo grammatical operations, and that therefore the changes which, because they (are *antaranga*, *i. e.*) apply first, have taken place already (when this Paribhāshā is applicable), cannot be prevented (by the latter).

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are *Upasarjana* would be prohibited by this Paribhāshā, and need not have been forbidden by a special rule.

1. If, in order to guard against too wide an application of this Paribhāshā, it had been said to apply only to an operation or rule in which a *Pada* is the उद्देश्य *i. e.*, that which is liable to undergo the operation, the Paribhāshā would not have been applicable *e. g.* to P. IV., 1, 137 राजश्वशुराद्यत् and would not have prevented the addition of the affix यत्, which is taught in that rule, to श्वशुर when this word denotes metaphorically 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' Nor would it have been applicable to P. I., 1, 15, ; (see below).—As विशिष्टरूपम् has the same sense which this word had in the preceding Paribhāshā, and as उद्देश्यम् has to be supplied after it, the meaning of विशिष्टरूपम् is वर्णसमूहात्मकरूपमुद्देश्यम्.

2. According to the maxim स्वार्थे परिपूर्णमर्थान्तरमाकाङ्क्षते.

The words<sup>1</sup> 'provided that—enunciated' (are employed above) in order (that the Paribhāshā may not be applicable *e. g.* to P. IV., 1, 95 अत इञ्, or, in other words, in order to show) that in such derivatives as श्वशुरि meaning 'the descendant of one who resembles a father-in-law' the affix इञ् which is taught in P. IV., 1, 95, has been correctly added (to श्वशुर 'one who resembles a father-in-law'). Nor can one say that the word प्रातिपदिक (which is valid in P. IV., 1, 95, the meaning of this rule being 'अदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्' etc.) fulfils the condition expressed in the words 'provided—enunciated' (and that therefore the Paribhāshā ought to have been applied to P. IV., 1, 95, and ought to have prevented the formation of श्वशुरि in the sense of 'the descendant of one who resembles a father-in-law'); for that (word 'Prâtipadika') does not convey any individual meaning, because it tells us only that something termed 'Prâtipadika' (undergoes the operation taught in P. IV., 1, 95). The word<sup>2</sup> निपात, on the other hand, denotes (because

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1. श्वशुर in its primary sense means 'a father-in-law,' in a secondary sense 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' Pāṇini teaches in IV., 1, 137 राजश्वशुराद्यत्, that the affix यत् is added to श्वशुर in the sense of 'a descendant.' The addition of this affix concerns a complete word, viz. the word श्वशुरस्य in श्वशुरस्यापत्यम्, and besides the particular word-form श्वशुर which conveys an individual meaning, is given in the rule which teaches its addition. Consequently the present Paribhāshā applies in this case and prevents the addition of यत् to श्वशुर in the secondary sense 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' But the Paribhāshā does not apply to P. IV., 1, 95 अत इञ्.

2. To obviate the objection that if this Paribhāshā is not applicable to P. IV., 1, 95, it can likewise not be applicable to P. I., 1, 15 ओत्, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says निपातपदं तु 'the word Nipāta, on the other hand.' In गोभवत्, गो has a secondary meaning because गोभवत् conveys the sense that somebody who is not an ox became similar to an ox; when a

this term has been assigned to the individual words च etc. which have all been enumerated in the Gana चादि) the words च etc. just as they are (each of them individually) enumerated in the Gana चादि; accordingly the present (Paribhāshā) does apply in rules like P. I., 1, 15 that teach an operation to which Nipātas are subject, and there is consequently nothing strange in (the fact that by this Paribhāshā the ओ of गो) in गोभवत् 'he became like an ox' (from गो + अभवत्, has notwithstanding the rule P. I., 1, 15, not been regarded as *pragrihya*.)

When the word अग्नीषोम which denotes the two gods who really are (Agni and Soma) is in अग्नीषोमौ माणवकौ 'two men Agni and Soma' applied to (two men) who resemble Agni and Soma, ई and ष् (that have been substituted for the इ of अग्नि, and the स् of सोम by P. VI., 3, 27 and P. VIII., 3, 82,) remain because they (are *antaranga*, i. e.) have been substituted before (अग्नीषोम received a secondary meaning. But) in the formation of a Dvandva-compound of the two words अग्नि and सोम employed metaphorically to denote (two men) who resemble (Agni and Soma), and (in the formation of a Dvandva-compound) in the sense of 'a man named Agni and a man named Soma,' ष् is not substituted (for the स् of सोम),<sup>1</sup> because in the former case

person by a curse etc. is really changed into an ox P. V., 4, 50 is not applicable.—Rāghavendra makes the following remarks: निपात-पदमिति । ननु चादीनां तथोपस्थित्योपतिष्ठतां नाम तदंश एषा च्यन्तस्य तु न तथेति कथं तत्र विशिष्टरूपोपादानम् । किंच प्रकृतावारोपेण वर्तमानादेव च्चिबिधानेन तस्य न मुख्यगोणार्थसंगतिर्भवति । किंचैवं निपातेर्द्विश्यककार्यमाले च्यन्तस्याग्रहणापत्तिरिति चेत् । अत्र केचिन् । चाद्यंशे विशिष्टरूपोपादानमालेण प्रवृत्ता परिभाषाशान्तरमप्यनु-गृह्णाति । कार्यान्तरे त्वनित्यत्वादस्याप्रवृत्तिरिति ॥

1. The substitution of ई for the इ of अग्नि is not prevented by this Paribhāshā; it cannot possibly take place because the compound of अग्नि

(the words अग्नि and सोम) are metaphorically applied to two men on account of their having certain qualities in common (with the gods Agni and Soma), and because in the latter case the two men are not really Agni and Soma (but are only named thus). Consequently the (author of the) Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 82 is<sup>1</sup> right in preventing the substitution of ष् for स् in अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ by the maxim conveyed in this Paribhāshā.

Although<sup>2</sup> persons who employ such phrases as गां पाठ्य 'make

and सोम is in this case no *Devatādvandva*; (cf. P. VI., 3, 27). The reading नेत्तपत्वे has to be explained: 'ई is not substituted for the इ of अग्नि because the compound is no *Devatādvandva*, and the substitution of ष् for the स् of सोम is prevented by this Paribhāshā.'

1. Cf. Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 82: अग्नेर्दार्ष्टोमस्य | अग्नेर्दार्ष्टोमस्येति वक्तव्यम् | अग्नीषोमौ | इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः | इतरथा ह्यनिष्टं प्रसज्येत | अग्निसोमौ माणवकाविति | तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् | न वक्तव्यम् | गौणमुख्ययोर्मध्ये संप्रतिपत्तिः | तद्यथा गौरनुबन्धोऽग्नौऽग्नीषोमीय इति न वाहीकोऽनुबध्यते | कथं तर्हि वाहीके वृद्ध्याच्चे भवतः | गौस्तिष्ठति गामानयेति || अर्थाश्रय एतदेवं भवति | यद्धि शब्दाश्रयं शब्दमिति तद्वति | शब्दाश्रये च वृद्ध्याच्चे ||

Kaiyāṭa: गौणमुख्ययोरिति | लौकिक एवायं न्यायः शास्त्र आश्रियते | स्वं रूपं शब्दस्येति रूपग्रहणादर्थवद्रूपमाश्रियते स चार्थो मुख्य एव गृह्यते न तु गौणः | तत्र प्रसिद्धप्रसिद्धिर्भा मुख्यगौणव्यवस्थेति माणवके संज्ञात्वेन विनियुक्तावग्निसोमशब्दौ गौणार्थाविति षत्वाभावः || शब्दाश्रये चेति | प्रातिपदिकस्य वृद्ध्याच्चे | प्रातिपदिकं तु न लौकिकेनार्थवत्किंत्वन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां कल्पितेन | तस्यां चावस्थायां लौकिकार्थत्वाभावाद्गौणमुख्याभावाद्रूपमात्राश्रयं कार्यं प्रवर्तते तस्मिन्प्रवृत्ते मुख्येऽर्थे गौणे वार्थे प्रयोगः | अथवा शब्दो न कदाचित्सार्थपरित्यागेनार्थान्तरे प्रवर्तते | अर्थस्वर्थान्तरे समारोपितो यदा शब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं भवति तदा गौणव्यवहारः | तत्र प्रातिपदिकं स्वार्थ एव वर्तमानं वृद्ध्याच्चे प्रतिपद्यते पञ्चानु पदार्थान्तरारोपितस्वार्थस्य गौणत्वमिति पदाश्रयेष्वेव कार्येषु गौणमुख्यव्यवस्थाश्रयणम् ||

2. In order to account for the Acc. गाम् in such phrases as गां वाहीकमानय 'fetch the stupid ox', one might say that, as the Accusative termination

the ox read' etc., at the time when they add the (Accusative) termination (to गौ etc.) are aware that (this crude form) conveys here a secondary meaning because that which is denoted by the primary meaning (of गौ, viz. a real ox,) cannot become the object of 'causing to read', nevertheless to the hearers everywhere only a complete word conveys a secondary meaning because only complete words are employed in the language. On this account and because in such passages of the Bhāshya as अदं तं संपद्यते 'one who is not you becomes (like) you', अमहान्महान्भूतः 'one who is not great, has become (as it were) great,' लब्धवति 'he is (like) you' etc., the substitutes ल etc. (which are taught in P. VII., 2, 94 ; 97) and the long vowel आ which according to P. VI., 4, 10 is substituted for the अ of महत्) etc. have actually been substituted (although लम् etc. convey a secondary meaning), it is proper to say that this Paribhāshā applies only to operations which concern complete words. Other-

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is added to गौ in order to denote the particular relation which obtains between 'ox, and 'fetching', and as there is so far no indication of गौ conveying a secondary meaning, there is no reason why the form गाम् should not be formed, and that afterwards when गाम् is combined with वाहीकम्, it must remain unchanged although गौ in this combination does convey a secondary meaning. One might further maintain that the case is different in phrases like गौ वाहीकं पाठय 'make the stupid ox read', because here गौ must convey a secondary meaning already at the time when the Accusative termination is added to it. For this Acc. termination denotes a relation between 'ox' and 'causing to read'; such a relation, however, is impossible unless गौ conveys a secondary meaning from the very beginning. Consequently the Paribhāshā ought here to apply at the time when the Acc. termination is added to गौ and ought to prevent the formation of गाम्. To meet this objection Nāgojibhaṭṭa says 'although persons' etc.

wise (i. e. if the Paribhāshā did apply also to such operations as concern crude forms, it would in phrases like 'make the ox read,' etc. prevent the substitution of आ etc. in the Accusative of गौ etc. and in that case) those (आ etc.) would not appear in the (phrases गां पठय etc.) at the time when (the Accusative of गौ etc.) are combined to form a sentence.

Moreover (we can prove that not merely the hearer but) also the speaker apprehends a secondary meaning only in a complete word (as e. g. in गाम्, viz.) at the time when he combines (this word गाम्) with (the verb which expresses) the action of 'causing to read' (and that he does not apprehend it in the crude form गौ at the time when he adds the Accusative termination). The (author of the) Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 45 remarks namely that when we say शुक्लम् 'a white (cow)' we specify (by doing so) an object, but specify neither an agent nor an action etc.,<sup>1</sup> and he goes on to say, that when saying 'Devadatta brought a black cow', we specify everything, viz. we show that only 'a cow' is the object, only 'Devadatta' the agent, only 'he brought' the action. The purport (of this passage of the Bhāshya) is this that, while, when a noun with a certain case-termination etc. is employed by itself, all verbs which govern that case may be supplied, the (actual) employment of a (particular) verb etc. serves

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1. इत्यादि etc. implies that, when we say देवदत्त, we specify by doing so an agent, but specify neither an object nor an action, and when we say भ्रम्याज, we specify an action, but specify neither an agent nor an object.—The Bhāshya, Kaiyaṭa, and Pāyagunda read the Vocative case देवदत्त, and Kaiyaṭa remarks on the words कर्ता निर्दिष्टः of the Bhāshya, संबोधनविषयमनियतक्रियं कर्तृमात्रमित्यर्थः. One would have expected rather the Nominative case देवदत्तः.—After सर्वे निर्दिष्टम् supply इत्युक्तेन (viz. भाष्येण ).

the purpose of restricting (the dependence of the case to this one verb.) Herefrom we learn that, when we wish to denote (*e. g.*) merely the seat of that which accrues from an action in general (without reference to any particular action) we rightly employ the Accusative case etc. (by P. II., 3, 2 etc. The Accusative case गम् is consequently formed before गो is brought into connection with the particular action of 'causing to read' or, in other words, before even the speaker apprehends the secondary meaning of गो.—As this Paribhāshā)<sup>1</sup> so the verse 'when they are so employed that their meaning is manifest etc.' which is based on this (Paribhāshā), refers likewise to operations that concern complete words.

And this (circumstance that the present Paribhāshā refers to operations which concern complete words) has (also) been indicated<sup>2</sup> by the author of the Vārttikas when he on P. I., 1, 27

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1. This Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds in order to refute the erroneous opinion that the maxim which is expressed in the verse अभिव्यक्तपदार्थी ये etc. is a separate Paribhāshā. The whole verse runs thus :

अभिव्यक्तपदार्थी ये प्रसिद्धा लोकविश्रुताः ।

वास्तवार्थस्तेषु कर्तव्यः शब्देषु न तदुक्तिषु ॥

'An operation which (concerning certain words) is taught in a rule takes effect in these words, when they are so employed that their meaning is manifest (in that which they denote *e. g.* when गो denotes a real ox), when that which they denote is actually what they express (*e. g.* when रघुनाथ denotes Rāma who is really a chief of the Raghus), and is generally known to be so, but not when they, (destitute of their original meaning), are employed as mere names.'

2. *Viz.* because the remarks of the author of the Vārttikas etc. would be superfluous if the Paribh. did refer to operations which concern crude forms.

makes the prohibitory statement that सर्वे etc. when they are employed as names are not to be termed (*Sarvandmāni*), and by the author of the Sūtras when he in I., 1, 34 says असंज्ञायाम् 'not when they are names', and also by the author of the Bhāshya when he rejects both (the Vārttika on P. I., 1, 27 and the word असंज्ञायाम् in P. I., 1, 34) by saying that (the term सर्वनामानि) is a term the application of which accords with its meaning (i. e. by explaining it to mean सर्वेषां नामानि.)<sup>1</sup>

The (passage of the) Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. I., 1, 15 'so it is with that which is based on the meaning, whereas Vṛiddhi and भा (in गौः and गाम्; see P. VII., 1, 90; VI., 1, 93) are based on the word-form,' has this sense: 'the maxim (expressed by this

1. Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 27; Edit. pag. 449.

संज्ञोपसर्जनप्रतिषेधः । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां सक्तेदीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्मै सर्वाय देहि ।....। स कथं कर्तव्यः । पाठान्ययुदासः पठितानां संज्ञाकरणम् । पाठदेव पृथुदासः कर्तव्यः । शुद्धानां पठितानां संज्ञा कर्तव्या । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानि न सर्वादीनि ।....संज्ञाप्रतिषेधस्तावन्न वक्तव्यः । उपरि-  
ष्टयोगविभागः करिष्यते । पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरारराधराणि व्यवस्थायाम् । ततोऽसंज्ञाया-  
मिति । सर्वादीनीत्येवं यान्यनुक्रान्तान्यसंज्ञायां तानि द्रष्टव्यानि ॥.....अथवा  
महती संज्ञा क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वर्थे हि संज्ञाकरण-  
म् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतन्प्रयोजनम् । अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञापित । सर्वादीनि  
सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । सर्वेषां नामानीति चातः सर्वनामानि । संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेष-  
ेष उक्तिष्ठेते ॥.....

Kaiyaṭa: यतो न लघीय इति । शब्दव्यवहारो लघुः । ततोऽपि लघीयो नाम तत्र  
गुरुसंज्ञाकरणात्सर्वादीनां विशिष्टो धर्मोऽनुमीयते नूनमेतानि संज्ञाप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तेन सर्वनाम-  
त्वेन युक्तानि यतस्तदनुकूपा तेषां संज्ञा कृतेति सर्वनामकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च सर्वनामत्वयुक्ता-  
नामेव भवति न संज्ञोपसर्जनानाम् ॥

2. Cf. the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 82 quoted above pag. 91. It is al-  
most identical with the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 15.



Paribhāshā) concerns words which are fit to bear the meaning which words convey in common life, whereas those (Vṛiddhi and आ) concern the word-form which (as a crude form) is (still) void of that <sup>1</sup> (fitness to bear the meaning which words convey in common life);' this is the only possible explanation of the above (passage of the) Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> because in P. VII., 1, 90, according to the actual reading of that rule, a particular word-form (viz. गौ) has actually been given. Sapienti sat.

1. तद्वहिन° i. e. लौकिकार्थवत्त्वयोग्यत्वसमानाधिकरणपदत्वरहित°. P.

2. And शब्दाश्रये cannot be explained by 'concerning merely letters which have no meaning'.—The actual reading गौतः, and not भौतः, is the proper reading in P. VII., 1, 90.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XVI.

(The author of the Paribhāshās) mentions the following exception<sup>1</sup> to Paribhāshā XIV:

P. XVI: Wherever भन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed (in grammar), denote (by P. I., 1, 72) something that ends with भन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन्) represent (these combinations of letters) both in so

1. Paribhāshā XVI. is separated from Paribhāshā XIV., although it forms an exception to it, because the intervening Paribhāshā XV. is really only a part of Paribhāshā XIV. As Paribhāshā XIV. concerns the meaning, and as the meaning may be two-fold, primary and secondary, it was necessary to ascertain which meaning should be understood, before an exception to Paribhāshā, XIV. could be given.

far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning.<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāṣā) is in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 72 given verbatim in the form of a Vārttika.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly (the substitution of) Lopa for the अ (of अन् of nouns ending in अन्, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 134) takes place (not merely) in the Instr. Sing. (etc.) of राजन् (but also in that) of सामन् etc. (although in सामन् अन्, being only part of the affix मन्, is void of meaning); similarly the restriction (regarding the substitution of ई for the इ of इन् of nouns ending in इन्) which is taught in P. VI., 4, 12; 13, concerns (not merely) दण्डिन्, (but also) वाग्मिन् etc. (although इन् possesses a meaning only in दण्डिन्, which is formed with the affix इन्, and is meaningless in वाग्मिन् where it forms only part of the affix); similarly (the substitution of) long (आ for the अ of अस् of nouns ending in अस्, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 14) takes place (not merely) in the Nom. Sing. of सुगयस् (but also in that) of सुलोतस्<sup>3</sup> etc. (although the अस् in सुलोतस् is void of

1. 'Meaning' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning', viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् etc.

2. It is neither established by a Jñāpaka nor based on a Nyāya.—Of. Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 72 : अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति । अन् । राज्ञेयर्थवता साम्नेत्यनर्थकेन । इन् । दण्डात्यर्थवता वाग्मित्यनर्थकेन । अस् । सुगया इत्यर्थवता सुलोता इत्यनर्थकेन । मन् । सुशर्मैत्यर्थवता सुप्रथिमैत्यनर्थकेन ॥ Kaiyaṭa : सुलोता इति । अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशा इत्याश्रयणादजास आनर्थक्यमर्थवतो ह्यागम इति न्यायाश्रयणे त्वर्थवानेवास्त्वशब्दः ॥

3. When the affix अस् has received the augment त्, only the combination तस् possesses a meaning, according to the maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः; the same results also from the maxim that, when an augment has been added to any term, only both combined convey a

a meaning) ; and the prohibition of the addition of (the feminine affix) ङीप् (to nouns ending in मन् ) which is taught in P. IV., 1, 11, applies (not merely) to सुशर्मन् (but also to) सुप्रथिमन् etc. (although in the second instance मन्, being only part of the affix इमन्, is meaningless).

Others<sup>1</sup> however maintain that, because Pāṇini, in order to prevent the substitution of ढ् (for the ध् of षीध्वम्) in परिवेविषीध्वम्<sup>2</sup>, employs in VIII., 3, 78 the word भङ्गात्, Paribhāshā XIV. is not universally valid, and that that (for which we have accounted by this Paribhāshā XVI.) has its cause in that (partial invalidity of Paribh. XIV. which has thus been indicated by Pāṇini).

Others, (and with these we agree), say that भङ्गात् (in P. VIII., meaning. Kaiyaṭa (cf. last note) who maintains that by the maxim अर्थवतो ह्यङ्गमः भस् in स्त्रोतस् possesses a meaning, and who implies thereby that according to this view सुस्त्रोताः is no proper example, is hereby refuted.

1. अन्ये तु; प्राञ्च इत्यर्थः P.

2. परिवेविषीध्वम् is the 2. pers. plur. Potent. Âtm. of rt. विष् with परि; षीध्वम् has no meaning in this form because it is made up of ध्, i. e. the final letter of the root, and of the termination ईध्वम्. In instances like च्योषीध्वम्, i. e. च्यो + षीध्वम्, on the other hand, षीध्वम् does possess a meaning because it is all termination. P. VIII., 3, 78 teaches that the ध् of षीध्वम् when it follows an Anga that ends with any one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra इण्, is changed to ढ्; he says 'when it follows an Anga' in order to prevent the application of his rule to वेविषीध्वम्; here we likewise have षीध्वम्, but this षीध्वम् does not follow an Anga and consequently its ध् cannot be changed to ढ्. If Paribhāshā XIV. were here valid the word भङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78 would be superfluous, because the combination of letters षीध्वम् in that rule would denote only षीध्वम् when possessed of a meaning i. e. the termination षीध्वम् in च्यो+षीध्वम् etc., but it would not denote the meaningless षीध्वम् of परिवेविषीध्वम्.

3, 78) serves the purpose of guarding against the erroneous supposition that षोडशम्, as it in P. VIII., 3, 79 can only be void of meaning (on account of its being part of इषोडशम्<sup>1</sup> which only as a whole possesses a meaning), might also in P. VIII., 3, 78 denote only that (meaningless combination of letters षोडशम्.)<sup>2</sup>

1. इषोडशम् and षोडशम् bear the same relation towards each other as तस् and अस् in the above सुखौतस्.

2. Paribhāshā XIV. is consequently in no way invalidated by the word अङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78 and in order to account for the forms साम्ना etc. we must adopt Paribh. XVI.—Nor can one maintain that by Paribhāshā XIV. षोडशम् ought not to be supplied in P. VIII., 3, 79, because it would be meaningless in the latter rule, and that therefore the word अङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78, as it can in this case not possibly convey the meaning which the षोडे ascribe to it, can only indicate the invalidity of Paribh. XIV. This view is wrong because according to Paribh. XVII. षोडशम् must together with लुङ् and लिट् be supplied in P. VIII., 3, 79. P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XVII.

One might say that, because (of the several words in P. I., 2, 11 only the one word) आत्मनेपदेषु stands immediately near (P. I., 2, 12), only this word ought from P. I., 2, 11 (to be valid, or in other words) to be connected (with the words) in P. I., 2, 12, (and that the other words लिङ्सिचौ of P. I., 2, 11 ought not to be valid in P. I., 2, 12). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XVII: When several words of a rule are (mutually) connected, they either are *all* valid (in a subsequent rule) or *none* of them is valid.

The word वा has the sense of एव 'only.'<sup>1</sup> The meaning (of the Paribhāshā is this) that words, the meanings of which are mutually connected,<sup>2</sup> must (as the case may be) either *all* be valid, or *all* cease to be valid (in a subsequent rule; i. e. when one is valid the others also are valid, and when one ceases to be valid the others likewise cease to be valid).<sup>3</sup> Such is the case because the very same (practice) is observed in common life when several people are appointed to the same office; (viz. they all have to act in one and the same manner.<sup>4</sup> Some) maintain that the repetition in P. VII., 2, 35 of (the term) इट्, which occurs in the previous rule P. VII., 2, 8 and might have been (regarded as) valid in P. VII., 2, 35, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); for (they say that) इट् is repeated for the purpose of showing that the word न (of P. VII., 2, 8, which by this Paribhāshā would be valid in VII., 2, 35 together

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1. P. विकल्पान्वासंभवादाह वाशब्द इति । जातविकल्पचनं वाशब्दावित्यर्थः। वा स्याद्विकल्पोपमयोरेवार्थ इति कौषादिति भावः ॥ वा एवार्थ इति पाठान्तरम् ॥. I have translated वा-वा by 'either-or'.

2. This shows that the word योग in एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानाम् is synonymous with संबन्ध, and not with सूत्र; if योग did denote here 'a grammatical rule' *all* the words of a rule would either be valid or cease to be valid, even though their meanings might not be mutually connected, which is not the case.

3. If therefore the word आत्मनेपदेषु of P. I., 2, 11 is valid in P. I., 2, 12, लिङ्सिचौ must likewise be valid in the latter rule.

4. This Paribhāshā is consequently based on a generally recognized maxim. The opinion of Siradeva and others who maintain that its existence is indicated by the employment of सिच् in P. I., 2, 14, which, they say, would be superfluous if this Paribhāshā did not exist because in that case सिच् alone might be valid in P. I., 2, 14 from P. I., 2, 11, is herewith rejected.

with इट्) must not be connected (with the words of P. VII., 2, 35).<sup>1</sup> But this is wrong; for it is contrary to (a passage in) the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 6 where, in order to show that we can dispense with the इट् in P. I., 1, 6, it has been stated that the repetition of इट् (in P. VII., 2, 35), notwithstanding that इट् is valid (from P. VII., 2, 8) is intended to show that the augment इ is not liable to undergo a Guṇa-change.<sup>2</sup> (The इट् of P. VII., 2, 8 is therefore valid in P. VII., 2, 35);<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, the fact that न (of P. VII., 2, 8 which according to this Paribhāshā ought to be valid together with इट्) is no longer valid (in P. VII., 2, 35), is accounted for by the maxim expressed in Paribhāshā XVIII.—Really, however, the (above-mentioned passage from the) Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 6 contains the view of one who is only partly acquainted with the true state

1. If this Paribhāshā did not exist, इट् alone might be supplied from P. VII., 2, 8 in P. VII., 2, 35, and the actual repetition of इट् in the latter rule would be superfluous. But as this Paribh. does exist, इट् cannot be supplied without the न in connection with which it occurs in P. VII., 2, 8; its repetition in P. VII., 2, 35 is therefore necessary, and indicates at the same time the existence of the Paribhāshā.

2. The repetition of इट् would therefore not be superfluous even if this Paribhāshā did not exist, and consequently it cannot indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā.

Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 6: इट्क्षाणि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम् । कथमकृषिषमरणिषं कणिता श्रो रणिता श्व इति । आर्ध्वानुक्तस्येङ्गलादेरित्यत्वेऽिति वर्तमाने पुनरिङ्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमिदं यथा स्याद्यदन्यत्प्राप्नोति तन्मा भूदिति । किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति । गुणः ॥

3. इट् is really valid in P. VII., 2, 35 from P. VII., 2, 8, and it is repeated merely in order to show that Guṇa cannot be substituted for the augment इ. Why then is the न of P. VII., 2, 8 not likewise valid in P. VII., 2, 35? This question is answered by 'on the other hand' etc.

of the case; for in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VII., 2, 8 it has been shown, that the term इत् is superfluous in P. VII., 2, 35 (and not in P. I., 1, 6; and this must be regarded as the correct view of the matter) because it is improper to reject the इत् of P. I., 1, 6 by means of retaining इत् in P. VII., 2, 35 when in doing so we are obliged to have recourse to rather too artificial an explanation<sup>2</sup> (of the latter.)

1. Cf. Bhāshya on P. VII., 2, 8: इदमस्मिन् | नैङ्गुशि कृति | ततो वक्ष्यामि | आर्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिति | इडित्यनुवर्तते | नेति निवृत्तम्. ||

2. Viz. by assuming it to indicate that the augment इ never undergoes a Guna-change.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XVIII.

Now (one might object that, if the preceding Paribhāshā were really adopted), it would be improper to say that (the term) अलुक् (of P. VI., 3, 1) is valid as far as P. VI., 3, 24 and (the term) उत्तरपदे (of the same rule) as far as P. VI., 3, 139, because (अलुक् and उत्तरपदे) in the rule (P. VI., 3, 1) are (mutually) connected; and that it would for the same reason be improper that in P. IV., 1, 27 etc. (only the part) संख्यदिः should be valid from P. IV., 1, 26 and that अव्ययदिः should cease to be valid. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. XVIII: Sometimes (it) also (happens that only) a part (of the words of a rule which are mutually connected) is valid (in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid).

Kaiyaṭa on P. V., 2, 25<sup>1</sup> explains (the word एकयोगनिर्दिष्टयोः) to mean, 'of two (words) which in a rule stand in such a connection as to convey one meaning' i. e. 'of two (words) of a rule that form a Dvandva-compound and denote (on that account several things so) combined as to be regarded as one.'—All that (we learn from Paribh. XVII. and XVIII.) results from the circumstance that exactly so much (as is meant to be valid in a subsequent rule) is (by the authorities on grammar) agreed upon to be *svārīta*.<sup>2</sup>

1. Bhāṣya on P. V., 2, 25 : पक्षात्तिः । मूल इति वक्तव्यम् । पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षतिः । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । मूल इति वर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् । तस्य पाकमूले पात्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाहचौ [ ५. २. २४ ] इति । यदि तदनुवर्तते पाकेऽपि प्राप्नोति । मूल इत्यनुवर्तते पाक इति निवृत्तम् । कथं पुनरेकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामेकदेशो वर्तते । एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामथेकदेशानुवृत्तिर्भवति । तद्यथा संख्याव्ययदिर्ङाप् [ ४. १. २६ ] दामहायनान्ताच्च [ २७ ] संख्यादेरित्यनुवर्तते ऽप्ययदेरिति निवृत्तम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa : एकस्मिन्नर्थे योगः संबन्धस्तेन निर्दिष्टयोः समुदायाभिधायिद्वन्द्वनिर्दिष्टयोरित्यर्थः ॥ द्वन्द्वस्य तदर्थस्य चैकत्वादिकदेशानुवृत्तिर्न संभवतीति भावः । एकसूत्रनिर्दिष्टानां ऐकदेशानुवृत्तिर्दृश्यते ॥ एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामपीति । अर्थोधिकारपक्षेऽर्थस्यैकत्वाच्चिन्तेदाभावान्न स्यादेकदेशानुवृत्तिः । शब्दाधिकारपक्षे तु यस्यैव शब्दस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञातं तत्सदृशशब्दान्तरसंनिधानं योगोत्तरे प्रतीयत इति दोषाभावः ॥

P. Nāgojibhaṭṭa thinks, that according to Kaiyaṭa एकयोगनिर्दिष्ट means 'forming a Dvandva-compound', and he quotes Kaiyaṭa in order to indicate that he himself prefers another explanation. In reality, however, Nāgojibhaṭṭa misunderstands Kaiyaṭa; the latter wishes to say that sometimes even in the case of words that form a compound only one of the words compounded is valid in a subsequent rule, and that this must therefore be much more the case when words are not compounded.

2. Where the latter Paribhāṣhā is applied in the Bhāṣya, the Pūrvapakṣhin tries to prevent its application by stating that of several words of a rule which are mutually connected one only cannot be valid in



This (Paribhāshā) and also the preceding one are found in the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 27, on P. VI., 1, 93<sup>1</sup> (and in the Bhāshya on P. V., 2. 25.)

a subsequent rule. The Pūrvapakshin in these cases attaches the main importance to the sense of the words which are mutually connected, and he thinks that as their sense is one and inseparable, one word only cannot be valid in the sequel. But the Siddhāntin attaches the main importance to the words, and he considers that the word or words, which is or are *svarita*, is or are valid in a subsequent rule; one word may be made *svarita* while another is not *svarita*; sometimes one word may be *svarita* up to a certain rule, and another word may be *svarita* up to another rule. By a different assumption of *svaritatva* the limits of the *Anuvritti* become different; by assuming *svaritatva* of one part only, only this one part becomes valid; by assuming *svaritatva* of several words together, all these words become valid up to the same limit.—Siradeva says that Paribhāshā XVIII. is indicated by the word इति in P. I., 1, 67, because the repetition of this word shows that of the two words इति निर्दिष्टे in P. I., 1, 66 only the one word निर्दिष्टे is valid in I., 1, 66; another scholar maintains that it is indicated by गुणवृद्धी in P. I., 1, 3 which would be superfluous if P. I., 1, 1 and 2 were both valid. Both these views are refuted by the above. P.

1. The Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 27 contains almost nothing but what is said in the Bhāshya on P. V., 2, 25; see above.—Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 93:

ननु चोक्तम् । ओतस्तिष्ठि प्रतिषेध इति । सुवधिकारात्सिद्धम् । सुधीति प्रकृतं वर्तते । क प्रकृतम् । वा सुप्यापिशलेः [ ६. १. ९२ ] इति । यदनुवर्तत इहापि विभाषा प्राप्नोति । सुग्रहणमनुवर्तते वाग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । कथं पुनरेकयोगनिर्दिष्टयोरेकदेशोऽनुवर्तत एकदेशो न । एकयोगे चैकदेशानुवृत्तिरन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव । एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामप्येकदेशानुवृत्तिर्भवति । अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव । क्वान्यत्र । अल्लुगधिकारः प्रागानङ् उत्तरपदाधिकारः प्रागङ्गधिकारात् ॥.—Paribhāshā XVII. is not actually read in any of the three passages of the Bhāshya quoted above.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XIX.

(P. VII., 2, 102 teaches that before case-terminations अ is substituted for the final of इद् etc. Considering that अ denotes by P. I., 1, 69 अणुदित्सवर्णस्य च etc. also all letters homogeneous with अ, and therefore also the nasalized अ, and that according to P. I., 1, 50 out of a number of possible substitutes that only ought to be substituted which bears the closest proximity to the original), one might say that, when P. VII., 2, 102 is applied (to इद्म्) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Acc. Sing. Masc. (इमम्),<sup>1</sup> the nasalized (अ ought to be substituted for the final म् of इद्म्, and that the penultimate अ of इमम् ought therefore to be a nasalized अ). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XIX : (A letter) which is taught (in a rule) does not denote (the letters) homogeneous with it.<sup>2</sup>

The<sup>3</sup> word अण्ययः in P. I., 1, 69 debar (a letter from denoting also those letters), which it (otherwise) would denote,<sup>4</sup> (firstly)

1. इमम् is formed thus: इद्म् + अम्, by P. VII., 2, 102 इद् अ + अम्; by P. VI., 1, 97 इद् अ + अम्; by P. VI., 1, 107 इद् अ + म्; by P. VII., 2, 109 इम् अ + म् *i. e.* इमम्; the अ of इमम् stands therefore in the place of the original म् of इद्म्.

2. The unnasalized अ, the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 2, 102, cannot therefore denote nasal अ, although the latter is homogeneous with the former; and nasalized अ can consequently not by P. VII., 2, 102 be substituted for the final of इद्म्.

3. Hereby Nāgojibhaṭṭa shows that this Paribhāshā does not teach anything new but is established by the meaning of P. I., 1, 69.

4. P. : ननु केन प्राप्तं तन्निबिध्यत इति चेत् | तत्तादौ व्यक्तिपक्ष आह सूत्रेति | जातिपक्ष आह जातिरिति | व्यक्तिपक्ष एवानप्ताधारण्येनाह गुणेति |; *e. g.* ई which is not contained in the Pratyāhāra अण्, and which therefore cannot by P. I.,

in accordance with (the words अणुदिस्सवर्णस्य च of) the same rule, (secondly), as representative of all the letters of its own class, and (thirdly) on the ground that (mere difference of) quality does not constitute any difference (of letters; and) by the force<sup>1</sup>

1, 69 denote both the *anundāsika* and the *niranundāsika* ई, nor the *udātta* and *anudātta* ई, would denote all these letters by Paribhāshā CIX.

1. सामर्थ्यात्; P.: ननु प्रत्यये निषेधेऽपि तेनादेशादौ कथं निषेधः । अत आह सामर्थ्यादिति । . . . तथा चादेशादौ लिखा प्राप्तं तत् ( viz. सवर्णग्रहणं ) तत्सूत्रस्थाप्रत्यय इति निषेधेन न सामर्थ्यादित्यर्थः । अप्रत्यय इत्येतत्सामर्थ्यादिति पाठस्तु सुगम एव ॥ Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 69 (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 758): अणुदिस्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः । अप्रत्यय इति किमर्थम् । सनाशंसभिश्च उः [ ३. २. १६८ ] असांप्रतिके [ ४. ३. ९ ] । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते उप्रत्यय इति । अप्रत्ययादेशादित्किन्मित इति वक्तव्यम् । प्रत्यय उदाहृतः । आदेश इदम् इश् [ ५. ३. ३ ] इतः इह । टिति लविता लवितुम् । किति वभूव । मिति हे अनङ्ङन् ॥ टितः परिहारः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न टिता सवर्णानां ग्रहणं भवतीति यदयं ग्रहोऽल्लिटि दीर्घत्वं शास्ति [ ७. २. ३७ ] । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकं नियमार्थमेतत्स्यात् । ग्रहोऽल्लिटि दीर्घ एवेति । यत्तर्हि वृत्तौ वा [ ७. २. ३८ ] इति विभाषा शास्ति ॥ सर्वेषामेष परिहारो भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेत्येवं न भविष्यति । प्रत्यये भूयान्परिहारः । अनभिधानात्प्रत्ययः सवर्णान् ग्रहोष्यति । यान्हि प्रत्ययः सवर्णान्गृह्णीयात् तैरर्थस्याभिधानं स्यात् । अनभिधानात् न भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । इह केचित्प्रतीयन्ते केचित्प्रत्याध्यन्ते । इत्स्वाः प्रतीयन्ते दीर्घाः प्रत्याध्यन्ते । यावद्भूयात्प्रत्याध्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेति तावदप्रत्यय इति । किं पुनर्दीर्घः सवर्णग्रहणेन गृह्णीयात् । इत्स्वम् । यन्नाधिक्यात् न भविष्यति । भुतं तर्हि गृह्णीयात् । अनणत्वान्न ग्रहोष्यति ॥ एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदप्रत्यय इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तदज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेति ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa :

अप्रत्यय इति किमर्थमिति । किं यस्य प्रत्ययसंज्ञा विहिता तस्य प्रतिषेध उत यः प्रतीयते विधीयत इति यौगिकप्रत्ययस्तस्यापीति प्रश्नः ॥ . . . . . प्रत्यये भूयानिति । साधारणश्चासाधारणश्चेत्यर्थः । प्रत्यय इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा कृता येनार्थं प्रतीयन्ति स प्रत्ययो न च दीर्घभुतयोरर्थस्याभिधानमास्ति ॥ इत्स्वा इति । प्रतीयन्ते भूयन्त उच्चार्यन्तेऽगादिचोदनास्त्वर्थः ॥

1. Ed. यावच्च ब्रूते.

which it possesses (in P. I., 1, 69, अप्रत्ययः has this debarring power not merely in regard to letters that are affixes, but also in regard to letters which are substitutes or augments). The same is the purport (of this Paribhāṣhā. The author of the Bhāṣhya) on P. I., 1, 69, after having previously proved in a different manner<sup>1</sup> that (a letter which is) an affix, or a substitute, or an augment, cannot denote the letters homogeneous with it, (says) therefore : 'Because then (everything that was supposed to be accomplished by अप्रत्ययः) is thus attained (without अप्रत्ययः, Pāṇini's) object in

दीर्घा इति । ह्रस्वैर्गृहीतैरण्त्वादीर्घाणां ग्रहणात् । अटन आ विभक्तौ [७.२.८४] इत्यन्ताकारो ग्राहको मा भूदित्यर्थः । यथैव ण्त्वादाकारो रपरत्वादिकार्यं प्रतिपद्यते तथा ग्राहकत्वमपि प्रतीयतेति भावः । कथं पुनरप्रत्यय इत्यस्याप्रत्याप्यमान इत्यर्थः । अन्तर्भावितपण्यर्थादेतैः कर्मण्यन्विधानात् ॥ .....भाव्यमानेनेति । प्रतीयते विधीयत इति यौगिकस्यात् प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणमिति भावः ॥

अप्रत्ययः is unnecessary both when प्रत्यय has the technical meaning of 'affix,' and when it conveys the sense of प्रत्याप्यमान ; it must therefore convey the same meaning which is conveyed by the present Paribhāṣhā, and that it may be able to do so, the meaning of प्रतीयमान, i. e. विधीयमान, भाव्यमान is ascribed to the word प्रत्यय by Kaiyaṭa.

1. Viz. by the present Paribhāṣhā which is necessary both when P. I., 1, 69 is rejected and when it is retained ; in the former case, in order to prevent letters from denoting also the letters homogeneous with them, which they would denote जातिपक्षे, and गुणाभेदकत्वेन ; in the latter case, in order to prevent at least substitutes, and augments that have the Anubandha क् or म् from denoting letters homogeneous with them. As to augments that have the Anubandha ट्, there exists a Jñāpaka which indicates that they cannot denote homogeneous letters ; and a letter which is an affix cannot denote the letters homogeneous with it because the latter would not convey the meaning of the affix.

making the prohibition अप्रत्ययः can be no other than to indicate<sup>1</sup> the existence of the Paribhāshā "a letter—homogeneous with it." Moreover<sup>2</sup> the fact that (Pāṇini in the term आत् of) VI., 4, 160 employs the long (vowel आ) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; for without this Paribhāshā the actual enunciation of long आ would have been superfluous) because the (substitution of) long (आ for the ई of ईयस्) would (by P. I., 1, 50) have resulted from the (prosodial) proximity (of these two vowels, even) if (Pāṇini) had merely said ज्याद ईयस्. This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 69 and on P. VI., 4, 160.<sup>3</sup>—In P. VIII., 2, 30 etc. (the letters क् etc.) which are taught

1. ज्ञापयतीति ; P.: एकदेशानुमतिद्वारोक्तपरिभाषा बोधयतीत्यर्थः । एवं चैतदर्थ-  
बोधकत्वेनैव तस्य सार्थक्यमिति नान्यत्वेनात्र ज्ञापकत्वमिति भावः । (Of. Nāgoji. on P.  
I., 1, 69. Ed. pag. 760). अप्रत्ययः indicates the existence of this Paribhāshā  
by admitting one part of it viz. by admitting the Paribhāshā in cases  
where the letter taught is an affix. (Of. the different opinion of Kaiyaṣa  
pag. 107.) अप्रत्ययः differs from other Jñāpakas in this that it conveys the  
sense which is expressed by this Paribhāshā, but does not become  
charitārtha after having established its existence. Cf. Paribh. I., pag. 2,  
note 3.

2. This is added because the rule P. I., 1, 69 and therewith the  
above-mentioned Jñāpaka अप्रत्ययः of the present Paribhāshā might pos-  
sibly be altogether rejected. If this Paribhāshā did not exist, it would  
have been sufficient to say ज्याद ईयस्, because in that case अ would  
have denoted also all homogeneous letters, and of all these possible let-  
ters only आ could on account of its prosodial proximity to ई have  
been substituted for this vowel.

3. Cf. Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 160 : अथ किमर्थं ज्यात्परस्येत्यसौ दीर्घ उच्यते  
नाकार एवोच्येत । का रूपसिद्धिः । ज्यायान् । आन्तर्यतो दीर्घस्य दीर्घो भविष्यति । एवं  
तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदीर्घग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा भाव्यमानेनेति ॥

(in those rules) do nevertheless denote the letters homogeneous with them, because the Anubandha उ has been attached to them; (for उ would have been superfluous if क् etc. had not been meant to denote also the letters homogeneous with them). With a view to this,<sup>1</sup> modern (grammarians) adopt the following reading (of the above Paribhāshā): 'a letter that is contained in the Pratyāhāra अण् does, when it is taught (in a rule), not denote the letters homogeneous with it.'<sup>2</sup>

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1. एतदेव *i. e.* अनप्युदिति तत्सामर्थ्यमेव. P.

2. Notwithstanding that Paribhāshā XIX. can only refer to such letters as are contained in the Pratyāhāra अण्, the above reading of modern grammarians should not be adopted because it does not occur in the Bhāshya. P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XX.

Now one might say that in accordance (with the preceding Paribhāshā the vowel उ *e. g.* in P. VIII., 2, 80 ought to denote only short उ, but that, if such were really the case,) a rule like P. VIII., 2, 80 could not enjoin (the substitution of) long (उ for a long vowel like औ etc.) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Nom. Du. Masc. of अदस् (*i. e.* अम्)<sup>1</sup>. To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshā) says:

P. XX: The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught (in a rule, also) the letters homogeneous with it.<sup>2</sup>

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1. According to P. it has been shown elsewhere that it is wrong to regard the उ of P. VIII., 2, 80 with Bhaṭṭoji. Si. Kau. I., p. 180, as a Samāhāra-dvandva of उ+उ.

2. Accordingly उ in P. VIII., 2, 80 denotes also उ, and only the latter can by P. I., 1, 50 be substituted for the original औ.

The addition of (the letter) त् (to उ) in P. VI., 1, 131<sup>1</sup> and 111 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; for त् has been added in order to show that the उ of both rules is meant to denote only short उ. If this Paribhāshā did not exist, the addition of त् would have been superfluous, because in that case उ could by the preceding Paribhāshā have denoted only short उ). This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 185.<sup>2</sup>

1. If the term कृति of P. VI., 4, 15 is no longer valid in P. VI., 4, 19, उ must by the latter rule be substituted for the व् of दिव् *e. g.* in the Instr. Plur. For this उ short उ is subsequently substituted by P. VI., 1, 131. But if the term कृति of P. VI., 4, 15 is valid in P. VI., 4, 19, उ cannot by the latter rule be substituted for the व् of दिव्, but उ has to be substituted by P. VI., 1, 131. Considering that on the latter alternative the addition of त् to उ in VI., 1, 131 cannot suggest the existence of this Paribhāshā, Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds another Jñāpaka *viz.* the addition of त् to उ in P. VI., 1, 111. The त् which is added to उ in the latter rule, prevents, after it has indicated the existence of this Paribhāshā, the substitution of long ऊ for the two vowels ऋ + अ.

2. Cf. Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 185:

तिस्त्वरितम् । तिति प्रत्ययग्रहणम् । तिति प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । ऋत इद्धातोः [ ७. १. १०० ] किरति गिरति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । नैष तकारः । कस्तर्हि । दकारः । यदि दकार आन्तर्यतो दीर्घः प्राप्नोति । भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नैत्येवं न भविष्यति । यदि भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नैत्युच्यते ऽदसौ ऽसेदीदु दो मः [ ८. २. ८० ] अमुभ्यामित्यत्र न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्यर्चायप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्युकारेण भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणमिति यदयं दिव उदित्युकारं तपरं करोति ॥ एवमर्थमेव तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यमत्र मा भूदिति । नैष तकारः । कस्तर्हि । दकारः । यदि दकारो न ज्ञापकं भवति । एवं तर्हि तपरस्तत्कालस्य [ १. १. ७० ] इति दकारोऽपि चर्त्तव्यमिति निर्दिश्यते । यद्येवं चर्त्तव्यस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वाचि च [ ६. १. ११४ ] इत्युत्तं प्राप्नोति । सौतो निर्देशः । अथवासं-  
हितया निर्देशः करिष्यते । अणुदिस्त्वर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः तपरस्तत्कालस्येति ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXI.

(In forms like गवे, भव् has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 78 for the औ of गो before the affix ए). Now one might say that, in (forming a compound like) गोहितम् etc.<sup>1</sup> of गवे हितम् etc. (where लुक् is substituted for the affix ए by P. II., 4, 71), the substitutes भव् etc. ought to have taken the place (of औ etc.) in accordance with P. I., 1, 62, (by which an operation dependent on an affix should take place even after the disappearance of the affix). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshâs) says :

P. XXI: (An operation) which is caused by an affix, does (in case the latter should disappear) not take place, if it depends on the letter or letters (of the affix and not on the affix as such).<sup>2</sup>

This (Paribhāshâ) concerns (operations) where the main importance attaches to letters (i. e. operations which are caused by letters as such and not by affixes as such).<sup>3</sup> And that it applies really only in such cases<sup>4</sup> is established by the circumstance that, whereas (the purport of P. I., 1, 62) would have been accomplished, (without the employment of the word प्रत्ययलक्षणम्), by making the word स्थानिवत् of P. I., 1 56 valid in P. I., 1, 62, प्रत्ययलक्षणम् has been employed (in I., 1, 62), in order (to show) that P. I., 1, 62 applies only to those (operations) in which the

1. The आदि 'etc.' includes e. g. रायः कुलम् रैकुलम्, where आय् ought to have been substituted for ऐ.

2. वर्णाश्रये is a Bahuvrihi compound; *scil.* विधौ कार्ये.

3. वर्णप्राधान्याश्रयकविधिप्रवृत्तिविषयमिदं वचनमित्यर्थः. P.

4. तत्त्वं च; वर्णप्राधान्याश्रयकविधौ कार्येऽप्रत्ययलक्षणत्वं चेत्यर्थः. P.



main importance attaches to the affixes (i. e. to those operations which depend on affixes as such). By 'main importance of the affix' we mean 'its not qualifying anything else.'

The main importance of letters, on the other hand, appears in two forms, *viz.* either they do not qualify anything else, or they are qualified by an affix.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly अच् etc. have not been (substituted for ओ etc.) in गौहितम् etc. (*viz.* because the ए, included in the Pratyāhāra अच् of P. VI., 1, 78, which causes the substitution of अच् etc., does not qualify anything else); and in (the formation of) चित्रा 'born under the Nakshatra Chitrā' the affix ङीप् has not by P. IV., 1, 15 been added to चित्र (the affix अण् of which has disappeared by the substitution of लुक्), because P. IV., 1, 15 teaches that ङीप् is added to a crude form ending in अ, when this letter अ is the affix अण्, (and because therefore अ which would have caused the addition of ङीप् is qualified here by the affix).<sup>2</sup>

Although<sup>3</sup> (by P. I., 1, 56) a substitute does not cause the operations which the original would have caused, provided they

1. प्रत्ययनिरूपितं, i. e. प्रत्ययनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितं. P.

2. अण् ought by P. IV., 3, 16 to be added to चित्रा; for this अण् लुक् is substituted by the Vārttika चित्रारेवती on P. IV., 3, 34; moreover by P. I., 2, 49 लुक् is further substituted for the Femin. affix टाप् of चित्रा, and we obtain thus चित्र. Here ङीप् ought, although अण् has disappeared, in the Feminine to be added by P. IV., 1, 15; but this is prevented by the present Paribhāṣhā.

3. Now one might say that, P. I., 1, 62 being in the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra a restrictive rule (*viz.* a rule which teaches that on the disappearance of an affix only those operations shall take place which are caused by something which can be nothing else but an affix), operations dependent on the letters of the affix cannot by P. I., 1, 62

would have been caused by letters of the original (and although the present Paribhāshā would therefore appear to be superfluous, it has nevertheless been given) in order to debar the operations dependent on an affix, which would have taken effect in accordance with P. I., 1, 62, when namely this rule is considered as a rule that teaches something (new, and is not regarded as a restriction of something that was known previously).<sup>1</sup> This is found in the Bhāshya (on P. I., 1, 62).

take effect when the affix has disappeared, and that consequently this Paribhāshā is useless. Nāgojibhaṭṭa says therefore 'although.....' अनल्लिखौ i. e. यथाकथंचिदल्लिखौ. P. See below.

1. This Paribhāshā is therefore necessary when the opinion of the Vārttikakāra is adopted, that P. I., 1, 62 is (not a *Niyama* but) a *Vidhi* concerning operations which are caused by letters, (तथा चल्लिखौ विध्यर्थे तत्सूत्रमिति वार्त्तिकमतेनेयं न भाष्यमतेनेति भावः P.) and which, had P. I., 1, 62 not been given, would have been forbidden by the restriction अनल्लिखौ of P. I., 1, 56, e. g. such operations as the addition of इम् in अतृणेट् taught in P. VII., 3, 92.

Extract from the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 62. Ed. Ballantyno pag. 703 :

अथ द्वितीयं प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् । प्रत्ययलक्षणं यथा स्याद्वर्णलक्षणं मा भूदिति । गवे हितं गोहितम् । रायः कुलं रैकुलमिति ॥

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनं सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमित्युच्यते सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । सच्छास्त्रेणान्वाख्यायते । सतो वा शास्त्रमन्वाख्यायकं भवति । सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः [ ७. १. ७० ] इतीहैव स्यात् । गोमन्तौ यवमन्तौ । गोमान्यवमानित्यत्र न स्यात् । इष्यते च स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति । अतः प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनमित्येवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥ . . . . .

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः । वक्तव्यश्च । किं प्रयोजनम् । प्रत्ययं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत्प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यथा स्याच्छब्दं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत्प्रत्ययलक्षणेन मा भूदिति । किं प्रयोजनम् । शोभना दृषदोऽस्य सुदृषद्वाङ्मणः सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी [ ६. २. ११७ ] इत्येष स्वरो मा भूदिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वर्णलक्षणमिति । प्रत्ययलोपे तद्वक्षणमित्युच्यमाने प्रत्ययस्य यत् कार्यं निमित्तभावः प्रत्ययत्वरूपाश्रयेण वर्णरूपाश्रयेण वा तत्सर्वं स्यात्सर्वनाम्नो वस्तुमात्रपरामर्शित्वात् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे तु सति प्रत्ययनिमित्तमेव कार्यं प्रत्ययलोपेऽपि भवति न वर्णरूपतानिमित्तम् ॥ रैकुलमिति । अवयवद्वारेणात्र प्रत्ययस्याप्यायादेशं प्रति निमित्तत्वमस्त्येव प्रत्ययाश्रयस्त्वायादेशो न भवतीति न प्रवर्तते ॥ .....

किमर्थमिति । स्थानिवद्भावेन सिद्धमिति भावः ॥ ..... न च स्थानिवद्भावेन सिध्यन्त्यतृणैडिन्यादावत्त्रिभित्वात् ॥ .....

प्रत्ययं गृहीत्वैति । स्थानिवद्भावेन सिद्धे सत्ययं योगो नियमार्थः । प्रत्यय एव यस्य लक्षणं तत्प्रत्ययलोपे यथा स्यात् । सोर्मनसी इत्यत्र त्वननिस्मन्ग्रहणानि चेति वचनादस्य प्रत्ययश्चाप्रत्ययश्च गृह्यत इति सुदृषदित्यत्र स्थानिवद्भावाभावादुत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वाभावे नञ्सुभ्याम् [ ६. २. १७२ ] इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं भवति । तत्र चोत्तरपदादिरित्यधिकारादसन्तमुत्तरपदं गृह्यत इति सुदृषदित्यत्रापि स्थानिवद्भावादसन्तत्वमुत्तरपदस्य स्यात् ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXII.

(P. VIII., 3, 46 teaches that स् shall be substituted for the final Visarjanīya of words ending in अः, that are not indeclinables, when they are compounded with following कृ, कम्, कंस, कुम्भ etc.; e. g. अयः + कारः = अयस्कारः). Now one might say that the word कंस in this rule is superfluous, because (the substitution of स् before कंस, e. g. in अयः + कंसः) results (already) from the employment in P. VIII., 3, 46 of (the root) कम् (from which कंस is derived; for when a root is exhibited in a rule in the Locative

case, it denotes every word that begins with it). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshâs) says :

P. XXII: Those (words) which end (or are supposed to end) with (the affixes) ङ् etc. are crude forms that do not undergo (or cause) such operations as would depend on their etymological formation (or, they do not admit of a division into base and affix).<sup>1</sup>

This very (employment of कंस in P. VIII., 3, 46) indicates according to Kaiyaṭa and others (the existence of) this (Paribhāshâ. Nor can one object that this is impossible because कंस is not derived from the root कम् but from कंस्; for) कंस is not derived from कंस् because (a derivative of the latter root) would not express (the meaning of कंस. This Paribhāshâ) is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 61<sup>2</sup> etc. From the

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1. ङादयः । तदन्तानि तदन्तत्वेनाभिमतानि वा । अव्युत्पन्नानीत्यस्याद्ये व्युत्पत्ति-कार्यभाववन्तीत्यर्थः । अन्ये तु यथाश्रुत एव । P.—If कंस had not been given in P. VIII., 3, 46, स् could not by this rule have been substituted for the Visarga of अयः in अयः + कंसः, because the substitution of स् would have depended solely on the etymological formation of कंस, viz. on the fact of its being derived from कम्.

2. There it has been stated that, if the word प्रत्ययस्य had not been employed in P. I., 1, 61, one ought in P. IV., 3, 168 कंसीयपरश्रययोः... to have read छयतोः, in order to prevent the substitution of लुक् for the bases of the two words. Further it has been remarked that in that case लुक् ought to be substituted also for the affixes स and उ of कंस and परश्रु, but this objection has been refuted by means of the present Paribhāshâ.—The आदि 'etc.' includes P. VII., 1, 2 etc.

Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 133<sup>1</sup> (we see) that (orude forms which end with the affixes उण् etc.) also do undergo (or cause) such operations as depend on their etymological formation ; this is in accordance with the view of S'ākātāyana and others. Pāṇini, on the other hand, adopts, as has been shown in the S'abdendu-s'ekhara<sup>2</sup> only the alternative that (the Uṇādi words) have no

1. Cf. Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 133: विशेषणार्थेऽस्ति [चकारः of तृच्] । क विशेषणार्थेनार्थः । अतृन्तृच् इति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातर इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: मातराविति । उणादिषु तृप्रत्ययान्ता मालादयो निपातिता इति भावः ॥

The च् of तृच् is said to serve the purpose of distinguishing this affix from the तृ of मातृ 'mother' etc.; if Pāṇini instead of saying तृच् had in III., 1, 133, and consequently also in VI., 4, 11, said तृ, one ought by the latter rule to have formed मातरौ etc., just as one forms कर्तारौ etc. from कर्तृ. This shows that the word मातृ which ends with an Uṇādi-affix, has here been regarded as *vyutpanna*, for otherwise P. VI., 4, 11 could not have been applied to it.—But, adds Pāyagunda, this is no Siddhānta, and therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa says इदं (i. e. व्युत्पन्ना-नीत्युक्तं) शाकटायनादिरित्या; the word आदि 'etc.' includes the Nairuktas.

2. शब्देन्दुशेखरे ; P. उणादय इत्यत्र । उणादय इति व्याकरणान्तरस्यसूत्रव्यवस्था-पकम् । उणाद्यन्ता येन व्याकरणान्तरेण व्युत्पादिताः शब्दास्तत्र बहुलमिति वक्तव्यं वर्तमानाधिकारे च ते वाच्या भूतेऽपि च वाच्यमिति सूत्रार्थः । स्वशास्त्रे तेषां साधुत्वबोधनं चैतावतैव कृतम् । सर्पिषा यजुषेत्यादौ षत्वं तु बहुलग्रहणादेवेत्यादि तत्रैव स्पष्टम् ॥

On P. III., 3, 1. There the following remarks are made: The Sūtra उणादयो बहुलम् establishes something concerning certain rules that are found in other grammars ; its meaning is this: 'whatever other grammars assign etymologies to the words ending (or supposed to end) with (the affixes) उण् etc., they have (concerning these words) to say "बहुलम्" and they have to treat of them under the heading वर्तमाने, and they have also to say "भूतेऽपि." In his own grammar Pāṇini mentions the existence of those words herewith only. The substitution of ष् for स in सर्पिषा, यजुषा etc. (for which there would seem to be no authority

etymology. This<sup>1</sup> very point has been clearly stated in the Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 2.<sup>2</sup>

if the final स् of सर्विस् and यजुस् etc. do not form part of the affixes) results only from the word बहुलम् etc. See P. VIII., 3, 59.

1. एतत् *i. e.* अस्याव्युत्पत्तिपक्ष एवेत्येतत्. P.

2. There, in order to prevent the substitution of ईन् etc. for ख् etc. in शङ्ख etc., it has been said: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् । प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXIII.

One might say that in phrases like देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षेति 'Devadatta wishes to do' (the combination of letters) which begins with देव (and ends with the Desid. affix सन्, *i. e.* देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षे,) ought on account of its ending with the Desid. affix सन् (by P. III., 1, 32) to be termed 'a root' etc.<sup>1</sup> To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshâs) says :

**P. XXIII :** An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself.<sup>2</sup>

(This Paribhāshâ is proved thus) : The portion यस्मात्प्रत्ययवि-

1. If देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षे were termed 'a root,' लुक् ought by P. II., 4, 71 to be substituted for the termination स् of देवदत्तस्.

2. The affix सन् in P. III., 1, 32 denotes therefore only चिकीर्षे which begins with कृ to which सन् has been added and ends with सन्, but it does not denote देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षे, and the latter can consequently not be called a root by P. III., 1, 32.

विस्तदादि प्रत्यये of P. I., 4, 13 is taken as a separate sentence, (and to complete it) the words गृह्यमाण उपतिष्ठते are supplied. (The meaning of this sentence is this that 'whenever an affix is employed, it denotes something which begins with that to which the affix has been added'). Hereby that part (of the Paribhāshā) which ends with तदादिः is established. The part तदन्तस्य, on the other hand, is established by P. I., 1, 72. And this (rule P. I., 1, 72 applies here) in such a manner as to make ('ending with the affix') qualify a word-form (as such and as one undivided whole), because there is nothing else that could be qualified by it; (सन्त 'ending with सन्' qualifies therefore चिकीर्षि as a whole, and does not qualify it as a combination of कृ + स). It is incorrect to say that, because an affix postulates a combination consisting of (the affix) itself and of a base, P. I., 1, 72 applies here so as to make 'ending with the affix' qualify that (combination of the affix itself and of a base); for in (forms like) इयान् etc.<sup>1</sup> (where the base has totally disappeared) there can exist no postulation between the affix and such a combination (of the affix and a base), because (such a combination) does not exist.<sup>2</sup>

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1. व्यतिस इयानित्यादौ is according to Pāyagunda a wrong reading because the form व्यतिसै (from rt. अस् 'to be' with prep. व्यति, cf. P. VI., 4, 111, VII., 4, 50) is not in use; (see also Paribh. XXX.). The आदि 'etc.' includes इः in the sense of अस्यापत्यम् 'the descendant of A' (cf. P. IV., 1, 95). इयत् is formed from इदम् by the following rules: इदम् + वत् by P. V., 2, 40 इदम् + वत्; VII., 1, 2 इदम् + इयत्; VI., 3, 90 ई + इयत्; VI., 4, 148 इयत्.

2. P. proposes a second explanation of the words तस्य तादृशसमुदायेन व्यभिचारेण, viz. तस्य | श्रूयमाणप्रत्ययस्य | समुदायेन | सहेति शेषः | व्यभिचारे च द्वयोः साहित्यम् |; 'because the affix (itself, if it is said always to postu-

Where<sup>1</sup> an affix is made the cause (of an operation) there only that portion (of the Paribhāshā) which ends with तदादेः is applicable, (i. e. there the affix denotes the affix by itself and the operation affects that to which the affix is added<sup>2</sup>); this may be seen in the Bhāshya and in Kaiyaṭa's commentary on P. VI., 4, 1.<sup>3</sup> In the same manner the

late a combination of a base and of the affix itself,) ceases to exist together with that combination (i. e. ceases to exist when that combination ceases to exist).'

1. E. g. in P. VII., 4, 13 केऽणः, or P. VI., 4, 71 लुङ्लङ्ङङ्ङुदुदात्तः.—The present Paribhāshā does not concern an affix when it is being taught in a rule, but it refers only to an affix that has been taught elsewhere, when it is mentioned in a rule which teaches something else than this affix.

2. That to which the affix is added stands here in the Genitive case.

3. Cf. Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 1: अथवा प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमभ्येष्टे । यदि प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमधीष्टे प्राकरोत् उपैहिष्ट उपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ प्राप्तुः । सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादितदन्तविज्ञानात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति । एवमुपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ न भविष्यतः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: सिद्धं त्विति । यत् प्रत्ययो निमित्तत्वेनोपादीयते तत् पूर्वः कार्यत्वेन गृह्यमाणो यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादिर्गृह्यते । एतच्चाङ्गसूत्रे योगविभागेन साधितम् । यत् तु प्रत्यय एव कार्यत्वेनोपादीयते तत् तदन्तग्रहणमिति द्वे एते परिभाषे ॥

Pāyagunda, in order to show that the application of the portion तदन्तस्य of this Paribhāshā to लुङ्लङ्ङङ्ङु of P. VI., 4, 71, and to के of P. VII., 4, 13, etc. is in reality prevented by Paribhāshā XXIV., explains Kaiyaṭa's remark thus: उपस्थितपूर्वस्येत्यस्यैवावधिलेनान्वयादपञ्चम्या इति निषेधेन तदन्तविधिर्नेति तदाद्यन्तांशमालोपस्थितिरिति स एव कार्यति न तत्ताडादिति कैयटः—He further says that the chief result of Nāgajibhaṭṭa's statement regarding an affix which is made the cause of an operation, is this that P. VI., 3, 46 conveys the meaning that 'before the affix जातीय आ is sub-



portion ending with तदादेः is likewise applicable, where<sup>1</sup> an affix which follows upon a word in the Ablative case (*i. e.* which is qualified by a word in the Ablative case) is (somehow or other) made (the cause of an operation<sup>2</sup>) ; but here (that to which the affix is added) is denoted by that which stands in the Ablative case ; (*i. e.* the affix denotes likewise merely itself ; that which is expressed by the word in the Ablative case qualifies that to which the affix is added ; and the latter in its turn, being so qualified, qualifies the affix). We therefore derive from P. VI., 1, 69 (where संवृद्धेः follows upon the Ablative एङ्-ह्रस्वात्) the meaning that '(Lopa is substituted for a consonant belonging to the Vocative affix when this affix) follows upon (that to which the Vocative affix is added), provided that the latter ends with एङ् (etc.).'<sup>3</sup>

Another reason why this Paribhāshâ should be adopted has been mentioned in the Bhāshya<sup>4</sup> on P. I., 1, 72, (*viz.* this, stituted for (the final of) that to which जातीय is added if it ends with महत्' and that consequently आ is by P. VI., 3, 46 substituted for the त् of अतिमहत् in the formation of अतिमहाजातीय.

1. *E. g.* in P. VI., 1, 69 एङ्ह्रस्वात्संवृद्धेः or P. VIII., 2, 42 रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः.

2. आश्रीयत इति; यथाकथंचिन्निमित्तत्वेनेत्यादिः. P.

3. But where an affix is given as that which undergoes the operation taught in a rule, there the whole Paribhāshâ applies to it, as *e. g.* in the case of वतु, उति etc. in P. I., 1, 23 etc. To indicate this Nāgojibhaṭṭa continues with अस्याः *scil.* समुदितायाः etc. P.

4. *Viz.* by means of the Vārttika प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः; the sense of this Vārttika is : 'the rule येन विविस्तदन्तस्य applies to affixes, except where an affix, which has been taught somewhere else, is given in a rule, for the sake of teaching some other operation than the addition of this affix itself, after a word in the Ablative case (*i. e.* so as to be qualified by a word in the Ablative case).' Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72 :

that we can account by it for the formation of words like) परमगार्ग्ययण 'a descendant of Paramagârgya.' Here the affix (फक् of P. IV., 1, 101) has been added to the word गार्ग्ये only, (and) not to the whole (परमगार्ग्ये), notwithstanding that (परमगार्ग्ययण) is dissolved into परमगार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् 'a descendant of Paramagârgya'; (but this addition of फक् to गार्ग्ये only is justified by the present Paribhâṣhâ according to which only the word गार्ग्ये i. e. गर्ग + यञ् can be denoted by the affix यञ् in P. IV., 1, 101). Although (in परमगार्ग्ये + फक्) the meaning (of the affix फक्) does not unite itself with the meaning of the separate word (गार्ग्ये) alone, (but unites itself with the meaning of the whole परमगार्ग्ये,) nevertheless the Taddhita-affix फक् is here undoubtedly added (to the separate word गार्ग्ये alone). That the Bhâṣhya on P. I., 1, 72 authorises this, has been fully explained elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The present (Paribhâṣhâ) applies, as appears from the Bhâ-

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प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः प्रयोजनम् । यञिञोः फग्भवति । गार्ग्ययणः वात्स्यायनः परमगार्ग्ययणः परमवात्स्यायनः । अपञ्चम्या इति किमर्थम् । दृष्ट्वात्तीर्णो परिषत्तीर्णो ॥

Kaiyaṭa : ..... परमगार्ग्ययण इति । अत्र गार्ग्ययण इत्येवोदाहरणं गार्ग्य-  
शब्दाद्यवन्तात्फविधानात् । न त्वत्र परमगार्ग्यशब्दात्प्रत्ययस्तस्य यञन्तत्वाभावात् ॥

One might object that, as उग्राप्तातिपदिकात् of P. IV., 1, 1 is valid in P. IV., 1, 101 यञिञोश्च, the affixes यञ् and इञ् stand after (i. e. are qualified by) a word in the Ablative case, and that therefore the Tadan-tavidhi ought on account of the exception अपञ्चम्याः not to apply to यञ् and इञ्. But this is wrong, because the Ablative उग्राप्तातिपदिकात् does not qualify यञिञोः, but is qualified by यञिञोः which, although it is a Genitive, has the meaning of an Ablative case; for P. IV., 1, 101 has to be explained यञन्तान्प्रातिपदिकात् etc. P.

1. Viz. in the Uddyota.

shya<sup>1</sup> on P. IV., 1, 6, wherever any term is employed which cannot denote anything but an affix, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both an affix and also something else. It is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 13.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 6. .... उभयथा निर्गोमती निर्यवमतीति न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । नैतत्प्रत्ययग्रहणं प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोरेतद्ग्रहणम् । कथम् । वर्णोऽप्युगित् । प्रत्ययोऽप्युगित् । प्रातिपदिकमप्युगित् ।

उगित् 'that to which one of the letters contained in the Pratyābhāra उक् is attached as Anubandha,' does not denote merely affixes, but also letters etc.; consequently the present Paribhāshā does not apply to it, and निर्गोमत् (*i. e.* गोमती निष्क्रान्तः) may therefore just like गोमत् be considered as ending with the *ugit* affix मनुप् and receive the affix डीप् in the Feminine, although the *ugit* affix has not been added to निर्गो but has been added to गो only.

2. There the Paribhāshā is made use of to show that the rule P. I., 4, 13 is unnecessary. P. remarks that, as it is an Ekades'in (*i. e.* one who is only imperfectly acquainted with the true state of the matter) who tries to refute P. VI., 4, 1 by means of this Paribhāshā, so he who tries to reject P. I., 4, 13 by means of it, must likewise be an Ekades'in.

Extract from the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 13 :<sup>1</sup>

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । कथमिदानीमङ्गकार्यं भविष्यति । प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमध्येष्ये । यदि प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमधीषे प्राकरोत् उपैहिष्ट उपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ प्राप्नुतः । सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययग्रहणे य-

1. Kaiyata: भवयवान्विचार्य सूत्रमाक्षेपुं प्रश्नं करोति । तत्तर्हि । सूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्येति । तेन ब्राह्मणमिस्त्वा किमिणां पश्येत्यादवैस्तीर्थाद्यभावः ॥ प्राकरोदिति । लङि परतः पूर्वस्यानियतावधेरेडागमो विधीयमान उपसर्गादेः स्यात् ॥ सिद्धं इति । यत्

स्मात्स तदादेस्तदन्तविज्ञानात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे य-  
स्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ।  
कः पुनरत्र विशेषः । एषा परिभाषा क्रियते प्रत्ययग्रहणं वा । अवश्य-  
मेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्यस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयो-  
जनं धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययसमासतद्धितविधिस्वराः ॥ धातु । देवदत्तश्चि-  
कीर्षति । संघातस्य धातुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । धातु ॥ प्रातिपदिक । देवदत्तो  
गार्ग्यः । संघातस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । प्रातिपदिक ॥ प्रत्यय ।  
महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति । संघातात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत । प्रत्यय ॥ समास ।  
ऋद्धस्य राज्ञः पुरुषः । संघातस्य समाससंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ॥ तद्धितविधि ।  
देवदत्तो गार्ग्यायणः । संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति । तद्धित ॥ स्वर ।  
देवदत्तो गार्ग्यः । संघातस्य ज्जित्याद्युदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणे  
यस्मात्स तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ॥ सा तर्द्धेषा  
परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । एवं वक्ष्यामि । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदा-  
दि प्रत्यये गृह्यमाणे गृह्यते । ततोऽङ्गम् । अङ्गसंज्ञं च भवति यस्मात्प्र-  
त्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ॥ यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भव-  
तीत्युच्यते ऽवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत् सगतिकेन

पूर्वः कार्यत्वेनाश्रीयते तत्र तदादिः कार्यं भवति यत् नु प्रत्ययान्तसंघात आश्रीयते तत्र तदा-  
दिप्रत्ययान्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणं वेति । प्रत्ययो गृह्यते यस्मिन्सूत्रे तदङ्ग-  
संज्ञासूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ अवश्यमिति । क्रियमाणेऽप्यस्मिन्सूत्रे परिभाषावश्यं कर्तव्येति व्यापि-  
त्वात्परिभाषैवाश्रयणीया न तु सूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ संघातस्येति । ततश्च सुबुक् प्राप्नोति ॥ महान्तं  
पुत्रमिति । समुदायस्यान्ते सुपश्रवणात्सुबन्तत्वात् । सत्यां तु परिभाषायां समुदायस्यासुबन्त-  
त्वादवयवस्य सापेक्षत्वादसामर्थ्यान्न भवति प्रत्ययः ॥ ऋद्धस्येति । सुप्सुपेति विवक्षितायामपि  
संख्यायां समुदायस्य सुबन्तत्वात्समासप्रसङ्गः । परिभाषायां तु सत्यां समुदायस्यासुबन्तत्वा-  
त्सुबन्तसमुदायस्य च संख्याविवक्षायां समासाप्रसङ्गादवयवस्य च सापेक्षत्वात्समासाभावः ॥  
संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिरिति । ततश्च वृद्धिस्वरौ संघातस्य स्यातां पूर्वस्य च सुपो लुक् ॥ एवं  
वक्ष्यामीति । योगविभागोऽत्र क्रियते । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यय इत्येकं सूत्रम् । अत्र

सनकुलेन च समासो न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स  
तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्युक्ता ततो वक्ष्यामि रुद्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ।  
रुद्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ।  
कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं समासतद्धितविधिस्व-  
रः ॥ समास । अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत् स-  
गतिकेन सनकुलेन च समाससिद्धिर्भवति । समास ॥ तद्धितविधि ।  
सांकूटिनं व्यावक्रोशी संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिः सिद्धा भवति । तद्धितवि-  
धि ॥ स्वर । दूरात् आगतो दूरादागतः । अन्तः [ ६. २. १४३ ]  
याथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् [ १४४ ] इत्येष स्वरः सिद्धो भवति । रुद्रहणे  
गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ॥ सा तर्द्धेषा परि-  
भाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभा-  
षेति यदयं गतिरनन्तरः [ ६. २. ४९ ] इत्यनन्तरग्रहणं करोति ॥

सौपस्कारान्वात्सूत्राणां गृह्यमाणे गृह्यत इति वाक्यशेषः समर्थते । प्रत्यये गृह्यमाणे यस्मान्प्रत्ययवि-  
धिस्तदादि गृह्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ सांकूटिनमिति । अणिनुणः [ ५. ४. १५ ] इति यदि कूटिन्नि-  
त्येतस्मादण् स्यात्तदा तस्यैवादिवृद्धिः स्यात् ॥ दूरादागत इति । आगम्यते स्मेति कर्मणि  
क्तः । तत्र गतिस्वरेणाद्युदात्त आगतशब्दः । ततो दूरशब्दस्य स्तोकात्तिक [ २. १. ३९ ]  
इति समासः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः [ ६. ३. २ ] इत्यलुक् । अत्र समासान्तोदात्तत्वे  
प्राप्ते तदपवादकृत्स्वरेणाद्युदात्त आगतशब्दे प्राप्ते सगतेरपि क्तान्तत्वात्स्थानान्तरप्राप्तत्वात्तत्स्व-  
रस्य बाधकस्यापि बाधकत्वात्थाथघञ्क्तेति सिद्धमन्तोदात्तत्वम् ॥ यदयमिति । अनन्तरग्रहण-  
प्रयोजनमभ्युद्धृतमित्यलाभिश्चान्दस्य व्यवहितस्य प्रकृतिस्वरो मा भूदिति । यदि चैषा परिभा-  
षा न स्यात्तत उद्धृतशब्दस्याक्तान्तत्वात्कान्त उत्तरपदेऽनन्तरे परतो गतिस्वरो विधीयमा-  
नो नैव प्राप्नोति किमनन्तरग्रहणेन तत्क्रियमाणमस्याः परिभाषायाः सद्भावं ज्ञापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHĀSHĀ XXIV.

In the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 72 we read<sup>1</sup> the (following) exception regarding the portion तदन्तस्य of the preceding (Paribhāshā) :

P. XXIV: And where an affix is employed after a word in the Ablative case, (there it does) not (denote a word-form ending with the affix).

The meaning<sup>2</sup> is this that, where an affix which follows upon (or, in other words, is qualified by) a word in the Ablative case, is made use of<sup>3</sup> (in a rule) for the sake of teaching some

1. In the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72 we read really प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः, but this has the same sense as Paribhāshā XXIV. See note 4 on page 120.

2. One might say that by the (प्रत्यासत्तिन्याय, i. e. the) maxim of association (*viz.* because the word 'affix' suggests the idea that 'the word in the Ablative case' ought likewise to be an affix) this Paribhāshā conveys the meaning, that the portion तदन्तस्य of the preceding Paribhāshā is not valid where an affix is taught after an affix that is given in the Ablative case; and one might say that this is not contained already in the Vārttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः (Si. Kau. I., p. 23), because this Vārttika limits only the rule येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य and does not limit the preceding Paribhāshā. But such an explanation of the present Paribhāshā must be rejected, because according to it the affix भञ् taught in P. IV., 3, 155 would have to be added to a चित् affix only (not to that which ends with a चित् affix), and if this were done in the case of *e. g.* औट्क (i. e. उट् + वुञ्, see P. IV., 3, 157), the affix वुञ् would have to be called 'Anga' and would receive Vṛddhi and the accent accordingly. In order to indicate this Nāgojibhaṭṭa says: 'The meaning is this....' P.

3. परिगृह्यते i. e. अनुद्यते; therefore the Paribhāshā does not concern affixes that are being taught in a rule.

other operation<sup>1</sup> (than the addition of this very affix), there it does not denote a word-form ending with the affix ; an instance is afforded (by the affix निष्ठा) in P. VIII., 2, 42. In दृष्टीर्णी (from दृष्ट् + तीर्-ता) etc. न्, (changeable to ण्), has accordingly (by P. VIII., 2, 42 been substituted for the त् of the affix त only, and it has not) been substituted for the letter त् of the root (तृ, and for the द् preceding it). That portion (of the preceding Paribhāshā) which ends with तदादेः being applicable (in P. VIII., 2, 42), although the portion तदन्तस्य is not applicable, the meaning (of P. VIII., 2, 42) is this, that '(न् is substituted) for the त् of the affix त when it follows upon that (to which the affix त is added), provided that (that to which त is added) ends with र् or द्, (e. g. when त is added to तीर्)'; consequently there is nothing incorrect (in दृष्टीर्णी), just because there is no authority for applying the portion तदन्तस्य (of the preceding Paribhāshā). But if the part तदन्तस्य were (likewise) applicable, both (तदादेः and तदन्तस्य) would refer to one and the same (word-form तीर् + त), and (तीर्णी) in दृष्टीर्णी etc. would then certainly be incorrect.<sup>2</sup> The meaning (of लुटोः) in P. III., 1, 33 etc.<sup>3</sup> is, 'when ल (i. e. लट् and लङ्) and लुट् follow upon'; this being the case, (ल and लुट्) require that some specific term should be supplied which should denote that upon which ल and लुट् follow ; they therefore unite with the word धातोः 'upon a root'

1. Such as the substitution of something or the addition of another affix.

2. The meaning of P. VIII., 2, 42 would in this case be: रदाभ्यां परो यस्तदादिर्निष्ठान्तस्तस्य तकारस्य तस्यैवदस्य च नत्वम्, and न् being accordingly substituted for the radical त् of तृ (by P. I., 1, 54) and for the final द् of दृष्ट्, the result would be दृष्टतीती.

3. The आदि 'etc.' includes P. VII., 3, 102 सुपि च; VIII. 3, 16 रोः सुपि etc.

which is supplied (from P. III., 1, 22) as denoting that upon which they follow, and (being thus preceded or qualified by a word in the Ablative case), they do (according to this Paribhāshā) not denote word-forms ending with (ळ and लृट्, but denote the affixes ळ and लृट् by themselves. When,) on the other hand, (the affixes ङी and आप्) in P. VI., 1, 68 etc.<sup>1</sup> (do denote word-forms ending with ङी and आप्), this is not contrary (to the present Paribhāshā); for here (the affixes ङी and आप्) do not require<sup>2</sup> us to supply any specific term which should denote that upon which ङी and आप् follow; there is consequently no word in the Ablative case to qualify (ङी and आप्, and the Paribhāshā does therefore not concern these affixes). But in P. I., 4, 13 where (the word प्रत्यये) conveys the meaning 'तदादेः<sup>3</sup> प्रत्यये परे when the affix follows upon that which begins with that to which it is added,' the 'affix' is clearly qualified by a word in the Ablative case (*viz.* by तदादेः, and it denotes therefore only the affix by itself and does not denote a word-form ending with the affix). It is for this reason<sup>4</sup> that such words as उत्तमैक्याम् which occur in P. V., 4, 90 etc. are formed in accordance (with the present Paribhāshā).

1. P. explains इत्यादी by इत्यादीशे; the Paribhāshā does not apply to the portion ङ्याप् of P. VI., 1, 68, but it does apply to सुतिसि. The following तत्र he explains accordingly by ङ्यादीशे.

2. Because the word परे which in P. III., 1, 33 does require us to supply the Ablative धातोः, is here wanting.

3. तदादिरिति | प्राग्वदुपस्थिततदादीत्यस्यैवावधिनेनान्य इति भावः ||. P.

4. *I. e.* because प्रत्यये in P. I., 4, 13 is qualified by a word in the Ablative case, and because consequently the present Paribhāshā applies to प्रत्यये and makes the latter denote merely an affix and not a word-form ending with an affix. Were प्रत्यये to denote a word-form ending with an affix, उत्तमैक would not be termed Anga and its final अ would not be lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102.



## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXV.

Now one might say that (if) then (Paribh. XXIII. were limited only by Paribh. XXIV., affixes like रूप in P. VI., 3, 43 ought by Paribh. XXIII. to denote word-forms like ब्राह्मणिरूप that end with रूप; and such being the case,) in (the formation of a compound *e. g.* of) कुमारी + ब्राह्मणिरूपा<sup>1</sup> short (ई) ought by P. VI., 3, 43 to be substituted (for the ई of कुमारी. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. XXV: An affix, when employed (in a rule) in which the word उत्तरपदे is valid (*i. e.* in a rule of P. VI., 3, 1), does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.<sup>2</sup>

(The affix रूप in P. VI., 3, 43 denotes accordingly only this affix by itself, and does not denote words like ब्राह्मणिरूप. Such is the case) because (Pāṇini) employs the word लेख in VI., 3, 50; (for, if this Paribhāshā did not exist, the affix भण् in P. VI., 3, 50 would denote all word-forms ending with भण्, including लेख which is formed with the affix भण्, and the separate mention of लेख would be superfluous. The fact that लेख has

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1. The phrase कुमारी ब्राह्मणिरूपा is merely given in order to suggest the formation of a compound in which both members are co-ordinate; the compound, when formed, would really be कुमारब्राह्मणिरूपा. The rule P. VI., 3, 35 by which ब्राह्मणी ought to become ब्राह्मण before रूप, is superseded by P. VI., 3, 43 in accordance with which ब्राह्मणिरूपा is formed; before that, कुमारी becomes कुमार by P. VI., 3, 42.

2. But the portion तदादेः of Paribhāshā XXIII. does apply where it is of any use, and does not apply where it is of no use; *e. g.* it does not apply in P. VI., 3, 43, but it applies in regard to the affix जातीय of VI., 3, 46; see pag. 119, note 3. P.

been mentioned separately shows, that अण् in P. VI., 3, 50 does not denote word-forms ending with अण्, and indicates thus the existence of this Paribhāshā. The word लेख in P. VI., 3, 50 does not end with (the affix) घञ्, because (this affix) would not express the requisite meaning.<sup>1</sup> The (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on the very rule P. VI., 3, 50.<sup>2</sup>

1. लेख must have been formed by means of the affix अण् because it is made in the Bhāshya the Jñāpaka of this Paribhāshā; if लेख did not end with अण्, it could not have indicated the existence of the Paribhāshā.

2. P.: This Paribhāshā applies only to those affixes in P. VI., 3, that are made causes of certain operations, when they are qualified by something else (e. g. अण् in P. VI., 3, 50, the meaning of which is अणि परे), and are employed in their individual forms (such as अण्, रूप etc., and not by means of such general terms as कृत्, or खित् etc.). They must be causes of an operation and qualified by something else, because they have to resemble in these respects the Adhikāra उत्तरपदे, and they must be given in their individual forms because such is the case with the affix अण् in the Jñāpaka-rule P. VI., 3, 50. Accordingly, the Paribhāshā does not apply to झी of P. VI., 3, 43; 61; ड्याप् of 63; खित् of 66; च of 71; कृत् of 72; वप्रत्यय of 92; किं of 116.—घञ् in 122, to which the Paribhāshā should apply, we are forced by the meaning of the rule to explain by घञन्त.—तद्धित in 62 does not mean तद्धितान्त, (although the Paribh. does not apply to it), because the च after तद्धिते shows that उत्तरपदे is taken separately and is not qualified by तद्धिते; we can therefore not explain तद्धितान्त उत्तरपदे but must explain तद्धिते चोत्तरपदे च.

Cf. Bhāshya on P. VI., 3, 50. यदण्यग्रहणमिदं प्रत्ययग्रहणमिदम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणम् । तत्र प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति यदणन्ते प्राप्नोति । यदण्यग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं लेखग्रहणात् । यदण्यग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । कुतः । लेखग्रहणात् । यदयं लेखग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न यदणन्ते भवतीति ॥ अपर आह । अत्यल्पमिदं ज्ञाप्यते । सर्वत्रोत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । कुतः । लेखग्रहणात् । किं प्रयोजनम् । कुमारी गौरितरा । घादिषु नद्या इस्वी भवतीति इस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत ॥

**Kaiyata:** ..... लेखग्रहणादिति । एतद्वचनान्यथानुपपत्त्या च लेखशब्दोऽणन्तो गृह्यते न तु घञन्त इति घञि हृदयलेख इत्येव भवति ॥ सर्वत्रैवेति । प्रकरणापेक्षं ज्ञापक-माश्रीयते न त्वेतद्योगापेक्षमेवेत्यर्थः ॥ कुमारी गौरितरेति । उदाहरणदिगियं समासस्तूदाहा-र्यः कुमारगौरितरेति ॥.....

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXVI.

Now one might say that, (even when Paribhāshā XXIII. has) thus (been limited by Paribh. XXIV. and XXV., Samprasârana) ought by P. VI., 1, 13 to have been (substituted for य.) in अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः 'the son of a woman who surpasses Kârishagandhyâ,' just as (it has been substituted) in परम-कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः 'the son of the excellent Kârishagandhyâ.'<sup>1</sup> To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshâs) says :

**P. XXVI :** A feminine affix (denotes, whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need) not (necessa- rily begin with that to which the affix has been added) ; but where (the word-form which the feminine affix would denote by Paribhāshā XXIII.) is subordinate (to the feminine which the affix would denote if that portion of Pari-

1. I. e. if that portion of Paribhāshā XXIII. which ends with तदादेः did apply to व्यङ् in P. VI., 1, 13, Samprasârana ought not to be substituted in परमकारीषगन्ध्या ; and if it did not apply, Samprasârana ought to be substituted also in अतिकारीषगन्ध्या.

bhāshā XXIII. which ends with तददि: were rejected, there the feminine affix denotes in accordance with Paribhāshā XXIII. a word-form which both ends with that feminine affix and begins with that to which the affix has been added).

(As व्यङ्<sup>1</sup> has been added to करिषगन्धि, it would by Paribhāshā XXIII. denote only the feminine करिषगन्ध्या ; according to this Paribhāshā, however, it denotes also the feminine परमकरिषगन्ध्या, because here करिषगन्ध्या is not subordinate to the whole परमकरिषगन्ध्या. In अतिकरिषगन्ध्या, on the other hand, करिषगन्ध्या is subordinate to the whole feminine अतिकरिषगन्ध्या, for the meaning of the latter is करिषगन्ध्यामतिक्रान्ता स्त्री 'a woman that surpasses K. ;' accordingly व्यङ् denotes in this case only करिषगन्ध्या, and not also अतिकरिषगन्ध्या, and P. VI., 1, 13 is therefore not applicable to the latter. One may then by Pāṇini's rule form परमकरिषगन्धीपुलः, but not अतिकरिषगन्धीपुलः). The Locative (अनुपसर्जने) denotes the limits (within which the portion ending with तददि: of Paribh. XXIII. is not applicable to a feminine affix.) The meaning (of the Paribhāshā) is this, that the restriction contained in that portion of Paribh. XXIII. which ends with तददि:, does not<sup>2</sup> concern a feminine affix wherever the feminine noun (which this affix would denote in accordance with Paribh.

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1. व्यङ् is a substitute for अण् and इञ् in the feminine (cf. P. IV., 1, 78 etc.); after व्यङ् has been substituted, the Prātipadika receives the affix चाप् by P. IV., 1, 74.

2. But the portion तदन्तस्य of Paribhāshā XXIII. does apply to the feminine affix.

XXIII.) is not subordinate (to the meaning of the feminine noun which it would denote without that restriction); but that that restriction certainly does concern a feminine affix, wherever the feminine noun (which the affix would denote by Paribh. XXIII.) is subordinate (to the meaning of the feminine noun which the affix would denote without the restriction तदादेः of Paribh. XXIII.). By (the maxim of) association this Paribhāshā can only apply when (the meaning of the feminine noun which according to Paribh. XXIII. would be denoted by the feminine affix), is not subordinate to the meaning of the whole feminine noun which would be regarded as ending with the feminine affix, (if the restriction तदादेः did not exist). Consequently (the word स्त्री 'feminine affix' in P. I., 2, 48 denotes not merely the word कुमारी, but it denotes also *e. g.* राजकुमारी, and) short (इ) is (therefore by P. I., 2, 48) substituted (for the long ई of the latter) in (the formation of) अतिराजकुमारिः etc.; for here the restriction तदादेः does not apply (to स्त्री) because, although the word राजकुमारी is subordinate to the meaning of the word अति, (कुमारी) is not subordinate to the meaning of राजकुमारी.<sup>1</sup> The term उपसर्जन 'subordinate' has therefore in this Paribhāshā not the technical meaning (which has been assigned to it in Pāṇini's grammar), because this would be impossible.<sup>2</sup> As this

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1. In अतिराजकुमारि, राजकुमारी is *upasarjana* by P. I., 2, 44, but कुमारी is not *upasarjana*, in the sense in which this word is used in this Paribhāshā, in regard to राजकुमारी.

2. असंभवात् explains the meaning of the preceding अत एव; 'this would be impossible,' because the *Upasarjanatva* of the feminine affix in this Paribhāshā which results from the maxim of प्रत्यासत्ति, differs from the *Upasarjanatva* taught in P. I., 2, 43 and 44.

(Paribhāshā) is an exception<sup>1</sup> to Paribh. XXIII. and forms one sentence with that (Paribhāshā), the word ग्रहणे, 'when it is employed,' unites itself (also with this Paribhāshā), and (the Paribhāshā) applies therefore where a feminine affix is employed by means of some general designation<sup>2</sup> and also where some special<sup>3</sup> feminine affix is employed, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both a feminine affix and also something else than a feminine affix.<sup>4</sup> This is suggested in the

1. According to the maxim उत्सर्गसमानदेशा अपवादः ; as this maxim is not always valid, Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds तदेकवाक्यता<sup>०</sup> i. e. वाक्यैकवाक्यता<sup>०</sup>. The meaning of the Paribhāshā is therefore : गृह्यमाणे स्त्रीप्रत्यये सत्यनुपसर्जनविषये तदादिनियमो नान्यन् तु जैवास्त्येव. P.

2. Such as स्त्री in P. I., 2, 48.

3. Such as ष्यङ् in P. VI., 1, 13.

4. One of the interpretations of P. I., 2, 64 is सरूपसमुदायाद्विहितायामेकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषः 'Ekaśeṣha takes place when one case-termination is enjoined after a combination of uniform words,' e. g. भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम्=भिक्षाणाम्. If the present Paribhāshā did apply here, the whole combination भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा would be आवन्त i. e. it would end with an affix, and it would consequently on account of the exception अप्रत्ययः in P. I., 2, 45 not be termed a Prātipadika; further the termination आम् could not be added to it, and, there being no termination, the Ekaśeṣha could not take place. But Kaiyaṭa remarks on P. I., 2, 64 that the termination आम् is added to भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा, and that in the formation of भैक्ष (i. e. भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम् + अ) it is dropped (in accordance with the Paribhāshā सर्वविधिभ्यो लुग्विभर्त्तलीयान्) before any other operation takes place. This shows that the present Paribhāshā does not apply here, the reason being, that आप् is not exclusively a feminine affix. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 64. भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम् अ इति स्थिते सर्वविधिभ्यो लुग्विभर्त्तलीयस्त्वे लुकि कृते विभक्त्यभावादेकविभक्तौ परतो विधीयमान एकशेषो न प्राप्नोति प्रत्ययलक्षणं च नास्ति न लुगताङ्गस्येति प्रतिषेधात् ॥.

Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 46.<sup>1</sup> The (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13 where it is given as an independent rule.<sup>2</sup>

1. Viz. by the circumstance that the word समास has been said to convey the restriction (नियम) that of all combinations of words that possess a meaning only a compound is called *Prātipadika*. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: यदि स्त्रीप्रत्ययास्त्रीप्रत्ययेऽप्येषा परिभाषा प्रवर्तेत तदा राजकुमारीति समुदायस्यानया प्रत्ययान्तत्वेन प्रत्ययान्तपर्युदासस्य (cf. P. I., 2, 45) प्राप्त्या समासग्रहणस्य तत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाविधायकत्वेन चारितार्थ्यसंभवेन नियमार्थत्वकथनविरोध इति तेन ध्वनितमित्यर्थः ॥

2. I. e., it is neither founded on a Nyāya nor established by a

Cf. Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13. इहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । कारीषगन्धीपुलः कारीषगन्धीपतिरिति । किं कारणम् । पूर्वपदमित्युच्यते । न ह्यलं व्यङ् पूर्वपदमस्ति । व्यङ्-न्तमेतत्पूर्वपदम् । कथम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्युच्यते परमकारिषगन्धीपुलः परमकारिषगन्धीपतिरिति न सिध्यति । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवत्यस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेति । यद्यस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेत्युच्यतेऽतिक्रान्तः कारीषगन्ध्यामतिकारीषगन्धस्तस्य पुलोऽतिकारीषगन्धपुलोऽतिकारीषगन्धपतिरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति अस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेत्युपसर्जनं न । यो ह्युपसर्जनं स्त्रीप्रत्ययो भवत्येषा तत्र परिभाषा प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवतीति ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXVII.

Now one might say that, (even when Paribhāshā XXIII. has) thus (been limited by Paribhāshās XXIV.—XXVI., affixes like तरप् and तमप् in P. I., 1, 22 ought in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. to denote word-forms ending with तरप् and तमप्, and such being the case, ष etc.) ought as a technical term by P. I., 1, 22 to denote word-forms ending with तरप् etc. (and ought not to denote merely the affixes तरप् etc.). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XXVII: An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्त 'that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tiñ') in P. I., 4, 14 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; for, if the Paribhāshā did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ् alone would in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tiñ.') Nor is it correct to say that the term पद, even if it had (in P. I., 4, 14) been assigned to the affixes (सुप् and तिङ् alone), might in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. have denoted word-forms ending with पद (or, in other words, ending with सुप् and तिङ्),<sup>1</sup> and that (the word अन्त in P. I., 4, 14) would therefore remain useless<sup>2</sup> even after having indicated<sup>3</sup> (the existence of this Paribhāshā); for as the term पद, wherever P. I., 4, 17 may be applicable, attaches to a base, it would not denote only an affix or affixes (and Paribh. XXIII. would therefore not be applicable to it.<sup>4</sup> The Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 14.

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1. *Scil.* प्रदेशेषु, in the rules in which पद is employed.

2. फलाभावः i. e. चारितार्थ्यभावः.

3. ज्ञापिते; viz. तल तदन्तविध्यभावे. *Scil.* 'and that अन्त ought therefore not to be regarded as Jñāpaka.'

4. पद would not denote word-forms ending with पद, or, in other words, ending with सुप् and तिङ्. See Paribh. XXII. pag. 122.

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Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 14 :<sup>1</sup>

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थं न सुप्तिङ् पदमित्येवोच्येत । केनेदानीं तदन्तस्य भविष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत उत्तरं पठति । पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते ज्ञापनार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । तरप्तमपौ घः । तरप्तमबन्तस्य संज्ञा न भवतीति । किं च स्यात् । कुमारी गौरितरा । घादिषु नद्या इस्वो भवतीति इस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत । यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते सनाद्यन्ता धातवः [३.१.३२] इत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च [१. २. ४६] अन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इदं तृतीयमन्तग्रहणं ज्ञापकार्थम् । द्वे तावत्क्रियेते न्यास एव । यदप्युच्यते कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति न कर्तव्यम् ।

1. Kaiyaṭa: अन्तग्रहणमिति । असत्यन्तग्रहणे सुप्तिङामेव पदसंज्ञा स्यात्तत्तत्क्षान्निधित्वाद्दौ सात्यदायोः [८. ३. १११] इति षत्वप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्ग इत्येतदर्थं यद्यन्तग्रहणं क्रियते तन्न कर्तव्यं प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहित इत्यनन्तरोक्त्या परिभाषया तदन्तविधेर्लब्धत्वादिति प्रश्नः ॥ कुमारी गौरितरेति । तरबन्तस्य घसंज्ञायां सत्यां तलोत्तरपदे परतो इस्वत्वं कुमारीशब्दस्य पुंवद्भावं परत्वाद्विधित्वा स्यात्तरपि तु परतो गौरीशब्दस्य न स्यात्ततः कुमारिगौरितरेति प्राप्नोति कुमारगौरितरेति चेष्टते । भाष्ये तु समासप्रदर्शनपरवाक्यमुपात्तम् ॥ सनाद्यन्ता धातव इति । अन्यथा सनादिनामेव केवलानां धातुसंज्ञा स्यात्तत्तत्क्षान्तिर्निरर्थमित्यत्र सन एव धातुत्वात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ तदादेरेवाङ्गत्वात्सनः पूर्वोऽट् स्यात् ॥ कृत्तद्धितेत्यत्रासत्यन्तग्रहणे केवल्योः कृत्तद्धितयोः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा स्यात्तत्तत्क्षान्तिर्निरर्थमिति न स्यात् । अर्थवत्सूत्रेण तु न भवन्त्यधातुरिति निषेधात् । नापि प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्राप्नोति प्रत्ययनिमित्तमन्यस्य यत्कार्यं विधीयते तत्प्रत्ययलोपे भवति न तु प्रत्ययस्यैव यत्कार्यं तदपि न ह्यसत्कार्यत्वेन वचनशक्तेनापि शक्यमाश्रयितुम् ॥ केवलस्य तद्धितस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां सत्यामीपगव इत्यत्रापि षष्ठ्याः प्रातिपदिकेऽनन्तर्गतत्वान्मुक्त्वा न स्यात् । तदन्त-

अर्थवादिते वर्तते । कृतद्धितान्तं चैवार्थवन्न केवलाः कृतस्तद्धिता वा ॥

विधौ तु दोषोऽनवतारः ॥ न केवला इति । ननु यद्यर्थवत्ता लौकिक्याश्रीयते सा पदस्यैव न कृतद्धितान्तस्यापि पदस्यैव लोके प्रयोगार्हत्वात् । अन्वयव्यतिरेकगम्या चार्थवत्ता केवलानामपि कृतद्धितानामस्तीति किमुच्यते न केवला इति । एवं तर्क्यैव द्रवणानुवृत्तिसामर्थ्या-  
न्नौकिकार्यप्रत्यासन्नोऽभिव्यक्ततरो योऽर्थः प्रत्ययान्तेषु लभ्यते स आश्रीयत इत्यदोषः ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXVIII.

(P. II., 1, 47 teaches that a noun in the Locative case may be compounded with क, provided that the compound so formed conveys a censure. According to Paribh. XXIII. the affix क would denote here a word-form like स्थित which begins with स्था to which क has been added and ends with the affix क, but it would not denote a word-form like नकुलस्थित because the latter does not begin with that to which क has been added, and) one might (therefore) say that the word नकुलस्थित on account of its not being कान्त (in the sense which this term would convey in accordance with Paribh. XXIII.) ought not (by P. II., 1, 47) to be compounded (with the Loc. अवतप्ते, or, in other words, that a compound) like अवतप्तेनकुलस्थित (ought not to be formed). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XXVIII : A Krit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar, in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. a word-form which begins with that to which that Krit-affix has been added and which ends with the Krit-affix ; but) moreover, (should a Gati, or a noun such as denotes

a case-relation, have been prefixed to that word-form which the Kṛit-affix would denote by Paribh. XXIII., then the Kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form) together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it.<sup>1</sup>

The employment of the word अनन्तरः 'immediately preceding' in P. VI., 2, 49,—which rule conveys the meaning that 'a Gati retains (in a compound) its own accent, when it immediately precedes a second member that ends with क, provided the latter denotes the object (of the action which is expressed by the root to which क is added)'—indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). For that (word अनन्तरः is employed) in order to guard against too wide an application (of P. VI., 2, 49, viz. the application of this rule to *e. g.* the Gati अभि) in the case of अभ्युद्धृत etc. (If the present Paribhāshā did not exist, P. VI., 2, 49) would have no concern (with the Gati अभि of अभ्युद्धृत) simply because उद्धृत on account of Paribh. XXIII. would not be (regarded as) कान्त *i. e.* 'ending with क'; as therefore the employment of अनन्तरः would (otherwise) be useless, it must indicate (the existence of) the present (Paribhāshā). Nor can one object

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1. So long then as स्थित is used by itself, the Kṛit-affix क which is valid in P. II., 1, 47 will denote in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. only this word स्थित; but as soon as the Gati य or the noun नकुल has been prefixed to स्थित, the affix क can no longer denote the portion स्थित of प्रस्थित and नकुलस्थित, but it must denote the whole प्रस्थित and the whole नकुलस्थित, and the latter may therefore by P. II., 1, 47 be compounded with अवतप्ते.

that अभि in अभ्युद्धत etc. must be anudātta by P. VIII., 1, 70, (a rule which would supersede P. VI., 2, 49) because it follows upon the latter, (that the word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49, even suppose it were to indicate the existence of this Paribhāṣhā, would consequently remain useless after having done so, and that it therefore cannot be regarded as the Jnāpaka of this Paribhāṣhā); for that (rule P. VIII., 1, 70) has no concern (with the अभि of अभ्युद्धत etc.) because (अभि) stands at the beginning of a Pāda, and because it does not follow upon a word.<sup>1</sup>

1. The words अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ of P. VIII., 1, 18 are valid in VIII., 1, 70. Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds पदात्परत्वाभावेन च because there is no proof for it that अभि stands at the beginning of a Pāda; by doing so he implies that the word पदात् of P. VIII., 1, 17 is valid in VIII., 1, 70. But Rāghavendra observes correctly that this is wrong, because पदात् is valid only as far as P. VIII., 1, 69; (पदादित्यस्य कुत्सने च सुप्ति [ ८. १. ६९ ] इत्यतः प्रागेव निवृत्तेरयुक्तमेतत्). Kaiyaṭa says that the accentlessness of अभि etc. in अभ्युद्धत etc. would result from P. VIII., 1, 70 and that Pāṇini's disregard of this rule together with the employment of the word अनन्तरः in VI., 2, 49 indicate the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā. Cf. Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 2, 49:.....एवं च कृत्वा नार्थोऽनन्तरग्रहणेन । कथमभ्युद्धतम् । उद्हरतिक्रियां विशिनष्टि । उदा विशिष्टमभिर्विशिनष्टि । तत्र गतिरनन्तर इति च प्राप्नोति गतिर्गताविति च । गतिरनन्तर इत्यस्यावकाशः प्रकृतं प्रवृत्तम् । गतिर्गतावित्यस्यावकाशोऽभ्युद्धतरन्युपसमादधाति । इहोभयं प्राप्नोत्यभ्युद्धतमुपसंहृतमुपसमाहितम् । गतिर्गतावित्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदनन्तरग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयन्त्याचार्यो भवत्येषा कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापीति ॥..... Kaiyaṭa: कथमिति । अपूर्वपदत्वा-दुच्छब्दस्य गतिस्वरः न प्राप्नोतीति तदर्थमनन्तरग्रहणं स्यादिति मत्वा प्रश्नः ॥ उद्हरतिक्रियामिति । उच्छब्देन हरतेः संबन्धादेक उद्धृतशब्दयोः समासः । तत्रोच्छब्दस्य पूर्वपदत्वाद्भवति गतिस्वरः । पश्चादभिशब्दस्य समासेऽभेर्गतिस्वरं वाधित्वा निघातेन भाव्यम् । तत्र कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणोद् एव गतिस्वरः भविष्यति नार्थोऽनन्तरग्रहणेन । अथैवद् हरतिक्रियामित्यादिनाभेर्गतिः प्रत्याच्यते ॥ एवं तर्हीति । परविप्रतिषेधमनपेक्ष्य व्यवहितगतिनिवृत्त्यर्थमनन्तरग्रहणं क्रियते । यदि च कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषा न स्यात्ततः कान्त उत्तरपदे गतिः

When,<sup>1</sup> however, the word अनन्तरः 'immediately preceding' is once employed (in P. VI., 2, 49), the 'immediate precedence' denoted thereby can be no other than the immediate precedence (of a Gati) in regard to a root which is postulated by a Gati; (so far then as P. VI., 2, 49 is concerned, only the portion धृत of अभ्युद्धृत can be considered as कान्त 'ending with क' and) it is therefore quite correct (that the Gati उद् of अभ्युद्धृत should by P. VI., 2, 49 retain, and that अभि should lose, its original accent).

Nor would it be correct to say<sup>2</sup> that the (word अनन्तरः) has been employed (in P. VI., 2, 49) in order that in अभ्युद्धृत etc.,

स्वरो विधीयमानो व्यवहितस्य न प्राप्नोतीति किं तन्निवृत्त्यर्थेनानन्तरग्रहणेन तत्कृतमेतं परिभाषां ज्ञापयति परिभाषाज्ञापनार्थमेव च परविप्रतिषेधो नापेक्ष्यते ॥ ननु च कृद्ग्रहणे गतिपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ज्ञाप्यतां कारकपूर्वस्य कथं ज्ञाप्यते । उच्यते । पूर्वाचार्यैस्तावदेषा परिभाषा पठितेह त्वनन्तरग्रहणेनासावभ्यनुज्ञाप्यते ॥

1. Hereby Nāgojibhaṭṭa refutes the opinion that, notwithstanding the employment of अनन्तरः in VI., 2, 49, अभि of अभ्युद्धृत ought by that rule to retain its own accent, just because by the present Paribhāṣhā उद्धृत is कान्त and because therefore अभि immediately precedes a second member of a compound that ends with क.

2. An opponent might say: 'The word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49 does not convey the sense which has been ascribed to it above (तद्धि-अतिव्याप्तिवारणार्थम्), but it has another meaning and it can therefore not be regarded as the Jñāpaka of this Paribhāṣhā. Without अनन्तरः the rule P. VI., 2, 49 would have no concern with the उद् of अभ्युद्धृत because the term पूर्वपदम् is valid in that rule, whereas उद् in अभ्युद्धृत is no longer the first member of a compound. We should therefore apply P. VI., 2, 144 to अभ्युद्धृत and make this word by that rule anto-datta. P. VI., 2, 49 would, if it did not contain the word अनन्तरः, not apply to words like अभ्युद्धृत, but only to words with one Gati, such as उद्धृत etc. But if we read अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49, पूर्वपदम् can of course no longer be valid and the rule गतिरनन्तरः must supersede P.

when (उद्धृत) is compounded with अभि, the उद् which immediately precedes (धृत) may retain its accent, although it is not the first member of a compound; for the udātta accentuation of उद् (in अभ्युद्धृत) would (in the absence of अनन्तरः) result from P. VI., 2, 139 because the accentuation which is taught in P. VI., 2, 144 would not concern (अभ्युद्धृत) on account of the restrictive rule, that a word-form ending with क्त (which is the second member of a compound such as उद्धृत) the first member of which is a Gati, is only then antodātta when (the whole compound) follows (as the second member of a new compound) upon a noun which denotes a case-relation, (but not when it follows,

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VI., 2, 144. The sequence of the rules which might be applied to अभ्युद्धृत is as follows :

- a. P. VI., 1, 223. Samāsa antodātta.
- b. P. VI., 2, 2. Avyaya-pūrvapada-prakṛitisvara.
- c. P. VI., 2, 139. Kṛit after Gati has Prakṛitisvara.
- d. P. VI., 2, 144. Kṛānta uttarapada after a Gati is antodātta.
- e. P. VI., 2, 49. गतिरनन्तरः ; उद् of अभ्युद्धृत retains its own accent. The object of अनन्तरः is, to make P. VI., 2, 49 supersede all the preceding rules, and therefore it cannot be a Jñāpaka.'

The above is thus refuted : ' The restrictive rule कारकादेव परं गतिपूर्वपदे क्तान्तमन्तोदात्तम् shows that P. VI., 2, 144 cannot be applicable to अभ्युद्धृत and that it can for this very reason not prevent the application of P. VI., 2, 139 to अभ्युद्धृत. By the latter rule उद् must in अभ्युद्धृत retain the accent which in उद्धृत had been assigned to it by P. VI., 2, 49 गतिः (without अनन्तरः) ; for उद्धृत being (by the present Paribhāṣhā) a Kṛit, and अभि being a Gati, P. VI., 2, 139 does apply to अभ्युद्धृत. The word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49 is consequently entirely superfluous and cannot have been employed by Pāṇini for any other purpose than for the sake of indicating the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā.'

as is the case *e. g.* in अभ्युदय, upon a Gati. This restrictive rule 'कारकाद्वैः कः' we obtain) by separating कारकात् from the rule P. VI., 2, 148 and by supplying the word गति (from P. VI., 2, 139, क being valid from P. VI., 2, 145). The word अनन्तरः has been employed therefore solely for the sake of preventing (the rule P. VI., 2, 49) from applying to any (Gati) which may be separated (from the root by another Gati) and it cannot therefore but indicate (the existence of the present Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup>

The meaning (of the Paribhāshā) is this, that wherever that word-form (which by Paribh. XXIII. would be regarded as) ending with a Kṛit-affix is combined with a Gati or with a noun that denotes a case-relation, there the Kṛit-affix can only denote that word-form together with that (Gati or noun; and) the word अपि 'moreover' (of the Paribhāshā) shows that, on the other hand, where that word-form is not combined (with a Gati or with a noun that denotes a case-relation, there the Kṛit-affix denotes that word-form) by itself.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, (*i. e.*

1. *Viz.* it indicates the existence of the whole Paribhāshā by indicating the existence of part of it.

2. The term अनङ्पूर्वे in P. VII., 1, 37 shows that only Paribhāshā XXIII. applies in this rule, and not Paribhāshā XXVIII.; for, if the latter Paribhāshā did apply, अनङ्पूर्वे would be superfluous. Suppose we did apply both Paribhāshās and read the Sūtra simply 'समासे क्त्वे ल्यप्'; as the rule contains the word समासे we could not apply it to forms like कृत्वा; we ought consequently to give up Paribhāshā XXIII. and ought to apply only the other Paribhāshā. According to the latter, क्त्वा would denote only a Gerund preceded by a Gati, not a Gerund preceded by the negative अ. Our rule समासे क्त्वे ल्यप् would teach then the substitution of ल्यप् only in forms like प्र + कृत्वा, but it would not teach the substitution of ल्यप् in forms like अकृत्वा. This would be exactly

if the present Paribhāshā did not contain the word अति 'more-over,') it would, wherever Kṛit-affixes might be employed, necessarily supersede Paribhāshā XXIII. because it follows upon (that Paribhāshā)<sup>1</sup>; and this is the reason why अति 'more-over' has been employed (in the Paribhāshā). The above

what Pāṇini intended to teach and the employment of अनङ्पूर्वे would therefore appear to be entirely useless. Pāṇini, however, does employ the word अनङ्पूर्वे, and by doing so he indicates that only Paribh. XXIII. shall be applied to the क्त of VII., 1, 37. As soon as we apply only Paribh. XXIII., the prohibition contained in अनङ्पूर्वे becomes necessary, and the meaning of VII., 1, 37 is नञ्सदृशादव्ययात्तादात्म्यासत्तिन्यायात्समासावयवत्वस्य धात्वादेः क्तान्तस्य समासे क्तो व्यप्. (Cf. Bhāshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37 below.)

Both Paribhāshās XXIII. and XXVIII. cannot apply in one and the same place. In P. VII., 1, 37 Paribh. XXVIII. alone would apply if the term अनङ्पूर्वे did not indicate that Paribh. XXIII. has to be applied there. P.

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37 says that Paribh. XXVIII. is *para* in regard to Paribhāshā XXIII. because the latter is derived from P. I., 4, 13 whereas the existence of Paribh. XXVIII. is indicated by the word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49.—The present Paribhāshā does not supersede Paribh. XXIII.; hereby the opinion of Śirādeva that Paribh. XXVIII. in an Apavāda of Paribh. XXIII., is rejected. According to Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37, Paribh. XXIII. does, in the formation of व्यावलेखी, व्यावचर्ची etc., not apply to the affix णच् in P. V., 4, 14 because it is in that case rejected by Paribh. XXVI. Paribh. XXVIII. alone applies there, but it does not by its own force supersede Paribh. XXIII.; and although the Tadādi-niyama of Paribh. XXIII. is rejected by Par. XXVI; the application of Paribh. XXVIII. to णच् is nevertheless necessary in order that णच् may denote the णजन्त when preceded by a Gati etc., but not when it is preceded by something else.



proves<sup>1</sup> the correctness of a remark (made by the author) of the Bhāṣhya on P. IV., 1, 48, 'that when according to Paribh. LXXV. and the present Paribhāshā<sup>2</sup> a compound is formed (of the Gati सम्) and of (कूटिन्) which ends with the Kṛit-affix (इनुण्), and when अण् is added to the *whole* (संकूटिन्,) the result is संकूटिन्म्, but not संकौटिन्म्. (If,) on the other hand, (Paribh. XXIII. and XXVIII. were both applicable in one and the same place, the affix) अण् might have been added also to the separate (portion) कूटिन् in संकूटिन्, because that (portion) might (by Paribh. XXIII.) likewise have been (regarded as) ending with इनुण्, and in that case it would have been difficult to prevent the formation of the incorrect form (संकौटिन्म्) which should have been formed on this alternative.—And all this is found in the Bhāṣhya and in Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. VII., 1, 37.—In P. VI., 2, 49, however,<sup>3</sup> a word-form

1. अत एव i. e. तत्समभिव्याहारे तद्विशिष्टस्यैव ग्रहणमित्यादयोऽङ्गीकारादिव. P.

2. Both Paribhāshās LXXV. and XXVIII. are necessary, as may be seen from the Bhāṣhya and from Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. IV., 1, 48. प्रातिपदिकात् being valid in P. V., 4, 15 the meaning of this rule is 'इनुणन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्.' According to Paribh. XXVIII. alone संकूटिन् would be इनुणन्त but it would not, merely as a Kṛidanta, be a Prātipadika, for the employment of the term समास in P. I., 2, 46 shows that of all combinations of words compounds alone are termed Prātipadikas. Paribh. XXVIII. alone therefore would not enable us to add the Taddhita-affix अण् to the whole संकूटिन्. We first have by Paribh. LXXV. to form the *compound* संकूटिन्, and to this compound which, as such, is a Prātipadika, and which by Paribh. XXVIII. is also इनुणन्त, we have to add the affix अण्.—To the कृत् of P. I., 2, 46 only Paribh. XXIII. is applicable.

3. P. Now one might say that, if the present Paribhāshā applies wherever a Kṛidanta is combined with a Gati, P. VI., 2, 49 ought not

without a Gati must be understood to be denoted by क्तन्त 'ending with क्त,' although that word-form (in this case) is combined with a Gati; for (P. VI., 2, 49) teaches an operation concerning a Gati which forms the first member of a compound<sup>1</sup> and is followed by a second member that ends with क्त.—And it appears from the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. IV., 1, 14 that this (Paribhāshā) is applicable wherever any particular Kṛit-affix may be employed, and also wherever any general term which denotes Kṛit-affixes may be employed, but that it is not applicable where a term is employed which may denote both a Kṛit-affix and also something else than a Kṛit-affix.

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to be applied *e. g.* to पुरोहित, because in this case the whole पुरोहित would by this Paribhāshā be regarded as क्तन्त, and because it would on that account be impossible to separate the Gati पुरः from the क्तन्त; Nāgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'In P. VI., 2, 49 however etc.' See above pag. 140.

1. पूर्वपदस्य *i. e.* वस्तुतः पूर्वपदभूतस्य । नेदमनुवृत्तिपरं तदननुवृत्तेरुक्तत्वात् । P.

2. *E. g.* The whole word कुम्भकार (P. III., 2, 1) cannot by the present Paribhāshā be called अणन्त because अण् is not merely a Kṛit, but is also a Taddhita-affix. Cf. Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 14:.....इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । प्रधानेन तदन्तविधिर्यथा स्यात् । कुम्भकारी नगरकारी । अत्र हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं यस्मात्स तददिर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्यवयवादुत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति । कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति संघातादुत्पत्तिर्भविष्यति । कृद्ग्रहणं इत्युच्यते न चैतत्कृद्ग्रहणम् । कृदकृद्ग्रहणमेतत् । कृदप्ययमण् तद्धितोऽपि ॥

Extract from the Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. VII., 1, 37:

स्नात्वाकालकादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । स्नात्वाकालकः पीत्वास्थिरकः भुक्त्वासुहितक इति ॥ तदन्तनिर्देशात्सिद्धम् । तदन्तनिर्देशात्सिद्धमेतत् । त्कान्तस्य ल्यपा भवितव्यं न चैतत्त्कान्तम् ॥ समासनिपातनाद्वा । अथवावश्यमत्र समासार्थं निपातनं कर्तव्यम् । तेनैव यत्नेन ल्यबपि न भविष्यति ॥ अनञो वा परस्य । अथवानञः परस्य ल्यपा भवितव्यम् । न चात्रानञं पश्यामः । ननु च धातुरेवानञ् । न धातोः परस्य भवितव्यम् । किं कारणम् । नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः । नञ्युक्तमिवयुक्तं चान्यस्मिन्स्तत्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञास्यते । कुत एतत् । तथा ह्यर्थो गम्यते । तद्यथाब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृशं पुरुषमानयति नासौ लोष्ट्रमानीय कृती भवत्येवमिहाप्यनञिति नञ्प्रातिषेधादन्यस्मादनञो नञ्सदृशात्कार्यं विज्ञास्यते । किं चान्यदनञ् नञ्सदृशम् । पदमित्याह ॥ अथवा प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । एवं धातुरपि त्काग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते । ननु चेयमपि परिभाषास्ति कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति । सापीहोपतिष्ठते । तत्र को दोषः । इह न स्यात् । प्रकृत्य प्रहृत्य । क तर्हि स्यात् । परमकृत्वा उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ न वा । अत्रेक्ष्यते । अनिष्टं च प्राप्नोति । इष्टं च न सिध्यति । गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेक्ष्यते । कुतो नु खल्वेतत् । द्वयोः परि-

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above: अथवेति । त्काग्रहणेन धातुप्रत्ययसमुदायस्य परिग्रहात्तदवयवत्वाद्धातोः स्वावयवेन पौर्वीपर्यासंभवाद्धातुरनञ्ग्रहणेन न गृह्यते ॥ .....

आचार्य आह । न वा अत्रेक्ष्यत इति । तस्मात्कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषाल नाश्रीयते ॥ चोदक आह । अनिष्टं चेति ॥ आचार्य आह । गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेक्ष्यत इति । प्रकृत्य पार्श्वतःकृत्येत्यादौ ल्यबादेश इष्यते । कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषीपस्थाने च न सिध्यतीति नासौ परिभाषाश्रीयते ॥ चोदक आह । कुतो न्विति ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाया अवकाश उपगौरपत्यमौपगव इत्यत्र तद्धितान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वात्सुब्लुम्भवति । कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषाया अवकाशो व्यावलेखी व्यावचर्चांति णचः स्त्रियामञिति गतिपूर्वस्य णजन्तत्वादञि सति वृद्धिस्वरौ भवतः । अत्र

भाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोः प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदा-  
देर्ग्रहणं भवति रुद्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्येतीयमिह परिभाषा भवति  
प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीतीयं न भवति रुद्रहणे गति-  
कारकपूर्वस्यापीति । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयतीयमिह परिभाषा भवति प्र-  
त्ययग्रहण इतीयं न भवति रुद्रहण इति यद्यमनञिति प्रतिषेधं शा-  
स्ति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । अयं हि नञ् न गतिर्न च कारकम् ।  
तत्र कः प्रसङ्गोऽयं नञ्पूर्वस्य स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्य इयमिह परि-  
भाषा भवति प्रत्ययग्रहण इतीयं न भवति रुद्रहण इति । ततो ऽनञि-  
ति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥ किं नञः प्रतिषेधेन न गतिर्न च कारकम् ।  
यावता नञ्पूर्वं तु ल्यङ्भावो न भविष्यति प्रतिषेधानु जानीमस्तत्पूर्वं  
नेह गृह्यते । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यावत्तावद्भवितुमर्हति ॥

हि प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषायाः स्वीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने नैति प्रातिश्रान्तदुपस्थानाभावः । एवं  
सावकाशयोः परिभाषयोर्भिन्नफलयोर्विरोधान्पर्यायोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्वी प्राप्नोति । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभा-  
षायामाश्रीयमाणायां प्रकृत्येति गतेः त्वन्तेऽनन्तर्भावात्पौर्वस्योपपत्तौ व्यप्तिश्च्यति न तु  
कृद्रहणपरिभाषाश्रयण इति फलभेदः । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषामित्यत्र दर्शने समानदेश-  
त्वात्परिभाषयोः परत्वेनापि व्यवस्था नास्ति । सांकूटिने त्वेवमव्यवस्थाप्रसङ्गाद्यथेद्विशेष  
भाश्रयितव्यः । तत्र हि परत्वेन व्यवस्थासिद्धिः । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाङ्गसंज्ञासूत्रे योगि-  
भागेन व्यवस्थापिता । कृद्रहणपरिभाषा तु गतिरनन्तर इत्यनान्तरग्रहणेन ज्ञापनात्परा  
भवति ॥ यद्यमिति । कथं पुनरेतद्व्यापकं यावता सत्यामपि कृद्रहणपरिभाषायामपिशब्दा-  
त्केवलस्यापि त्वन्तस्य ग्रहणादकृत्वेत्यादौ नञोऽगतित्वादकारकत्वाच्च त्वन्तेऽनन्तर्भावा-  
दसत्यनञ्ग्रहणे व्यप्तिप्रसङ्गो ऽप्रकृत्येत्यादौ च प्रातिषेधार्थमनञ्पूर्वस्य ग्रहणं स्यात् । उच्यते ।  
अपिग्रहणेन प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषा समुच्चियते न त्वन्यपूर्वम् । तत्र समास इति वचनात्केय-  
लस्य कृतादेर्ग्रहणाभावादपिशब्दसमुच्चैतव्यस्याभावाद्गनिकारकपूर्वस्यैव समासस्य ग्रहणं भवि-  
ष्यतीति किमनञ्पूर्वं इत्यनेन । तन्क्रियमाणं कृद्रहणपरिभाषाया अनुपस्थानं ज्ञापयति । तदु-  
पस्थाने तु तूष्णींभूय नानाभूय द्विधाभूयेत्यादौ व्यञ्जनं स्यात् । तदेवं कृद्रहणपरिभाषानुपस्था-  
ने नञ्सदृशादव्ययात्पदात्मन्यासत्तिन्यायात्समासायवात्यरस्य भावादेः त्वन्तस्य समासे त्वे  
व्यञ्जिनीयमानं स्नात्वाकालकः परमकृत्वेत्यादौ न भवति । परमं कृत्वा परमकृत्वेति सन्म-  
हत् [ २. १. ६१ ] इति समासः परमत्वस्य क्रियाविशेषणत्वात्सामानाधिकरण्यात् ॥  
तन्पूर्वमिति । गतिकारकपूर्वमित्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहण इति । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाया अत्र द्वाभ्यां  
सावकृते ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXIX.

P. XXIX: (A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद or भङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base).

What ought to be qualified (by the word or base that may occur in a rule where this Paribhāshā is applicable) is a Pada, or a base, and (the word or base) which qualifies these (qualifies them in accordance with P. I., 1, 72 in such a manner that they must be regarded) as ending with that (word or base which occurs in the rule). This is a more developed form of the rule P. I., 1, 72.

Accordingly short (अ is substituted) by P. VI., 3, 65 (where उत्तरपदे<sup>1</sup> is valid from P. VI., 3, 1, for the final आ not only of इट्का, but also *e. g.* of पक्केट्का), a circumstance which accounts for the formation of इट्कचितम्, पक्केट्कचितम् etc.; (similarly) long (आ is substituted) by P. VI., 4, 10 (where भङ्गस्य is valid from P. VI., 4, 1, for the penultimate अ not only of महत्, but also *e. g.* of परममहत्, परमातिमहत्, and) this accounts for the formation of महान्, परममहान्, परमातिमहान् etc. The fact (that P. VI., 4, 10 concerns also परमातिमहत्) proves, as appears from the Bhāshya,<sup>2</sup> that the reading तदुत्तरपदस्य 'a compound' of which that (word or base) is the second member' (instead of

1. It will be stated below that पदाधिकार in this Paribhāshā denotes also उत्तरपदाधिकार; cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72: पदशब्देनोत्तरपदं गृह्यते पदैकदेशलोपात् | उत्तरपदेन सामर्थ्यादाक्षिप्तं पूर्वपदमित्येकादिभिर्विशेष्यते ||

2. Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 792. There the Vārttika पदाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च is given, and further on

तदन्तस्य) is incorrect. The word पदाधिकार in this (Paribhāshā denotes<sup>1</sup> a rule) in which (the term) उत्तरपद is valid and also (a rule) in which merely पद is valid. To suit the various forms (that have to be accounted for by the rules of grammar, the word पाद) in P. VI, 3, 52 does (contrary to the present Paribhāshā) not denote (words) ending with पाद (but it denotes only पाद by itself).<sup>2</sup> All this is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72.

it is shown that if this Vārttika be adopted, the restriction अलेवानर्थकेन (तदन्तविधिः) of P. I., 1, 72 becomes unnecessary. Then the question is raised whether it be better to adopt the Vārttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च or to retain P. I., 1, 72 with the restriction अलेवानर्थकेन, a question which is answered in favour of the latter alternative, because thus the formation of परमातिमहन् also can be accounted for. The latter cannot be formed by means of the Vārttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च, because परमातिमहन् is neither महन् nor a compound the second member of which is महन्, the second member of the compound being अतिमहन्.

1. केवलपदाधिकारश्च; *scil.* गृह्यते. P.

2. According to the remarks in the Bhāshya on the Vārttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च the portion तदुत्तरपदस्य च of this Vārttika does not apply to पाद्, nor to पाद, (for which पद् is substituted), in a Padādhikāra, but it applies only to पाद् and पाद in the Angādhikāra. It applies therefore *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 130 (cf. द्विपदः पश्य), but not in P. VI., 3, 54. According to the latter rule one has to form पत्काशी, but one can, as Kaiyaṭa observes, say only परमपादेन कषति, परमपादकाशी, (not परमपत्काशी). When one wishes to say परमः पत्काशी, one has of course to form परमपत्काशी. In the same manner the portion तदुत्तरपदस्य च does not refer to पाद in P. VI., 3, 52; by this rule one forms पादिनोपहतम्, पदोपहतम्, but दिग्भपादिनोपहतम् becomes दिग्भपादोपहतम्, and not दिग्भपदोपहतम्.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXX.

(P. IV., 1, 95 अत् इत् teaches that, in order to denote a descendant, the affix इत् is added to a Prâtipadika which is अत् i. e. अ. Here then) one might say that, (as neither पद् nor अङ्ग is valid in P. IV., 1, 95, the term अत् of this rule ought by P. I., 1, 72 to denote a Prâtipadika ending with अ, but that it ought not to denote the Prâtipadika अ, and that consequently) इत् ought not to be added to (the Prâtipadika) अ (i. e. 'Vishnu') to denote 'a descendant of A,' just because this Prâtipadika does not end with अ.<sup>1</sup> To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXX: (An operation which affects) something on account of some special designation which (for certain reasons) attaches to the latter, (affects) likewise that which stands alone (and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach).

The meaning is this: *Vyapades'in* is that which for certain reasons has received some special designation, i. e. is called by a name which expresses what that to which it is assigned, actually is; when, on the other hand, something which stands alone has not that special designation, because the reasons for it do not exist, it is, so far as the application to it of some (grammatical) operation is concerned, equal to that (to which

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1. अ cannot be called the end of अ because the definition of the word 'end,' सत्यन्यस्मिन्परमापरं नास्ति पूर्वमस्ति सोऽन्त इत्युच्यते 'end is called that which, while it is accompanied by something else, is not followed by anything, but is preceded by something' (Mahābhāṣya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 406), does not apply to it.

the special designation does attach), and an operation (which affects that to which the special designation does attach), must consequently affect also that which stands alone.<sup>1</sup> Because, accordingly, also the letter अ ends with ऌ, (P. IV., 1, 95 may be applied to the Prâtipadika अ, just as it may be applied *e. g.* to दक्ष etc., and) it can therefore not be incorrect (to form ई in the sense of 'a descendant of A').

On account of the employment (in this Paribhâshâ) of the word एकस्मिन् 'that which stands alone' the letter आ in सभासंनयन cannot be (regarded as) the *first* (vowel of that word) nor can the letter इ in the root दरिद्रा be (regarded as) *final*. (Had), on the other hand, (एकस्मिन् not been employed, the letter आ in सभासंनयन might, when taken by itself, have been regarded as the *first* vowel; the whole word would in that case have been termed *vridhha* by P. I., 1, 73, and) the affix उ would by P. IV., 2, 114 have been added (to it) to express the meaning सभासंनयने भवः; in like manner (the letter इ of दरिद्रा might, when considered by itself, have been regarded as *final*, and the affix) अच् which

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1. In a Prâtipadika like दक्ष the letter अ is final, because it is accompanied by other letters, has no letters after it, but is preceded by other letters; consequently दक्ष receives the *Vyapades'a* अदन्त 'ending with अ' which expresses what दक्ष really is, and P. IV., 1, 95 applies to it. In the Prâtipadika अ, on the other hand, अ cannot properly be called final, because it is not accompanied by other letters etc.; the Prâtipadika अ ought therefore not to be called अदन्त 'ending with अ,' and P. IV., 1, 95 ought not to apply to it. The present Paribhâshâ, however, teaches that the same operation which affects *e. g.* दक्ष because it is अदन्त, affects also the अ which stands alone (and which properly ought not to be called अदन्त), and P. IV., 1, 95 applies therefore also to the Prâtipadika अ.



(according to P. III., 3, 56) is added to roots ending with the vowel इ, might have been added to दरिद्रा. For the same reason the सु in हरिषु etc. is not termed a 'Pada'.<sup>1</sup> In ordinary life, likewise, a man does not, provided he has many sons, call one of them his eldest and his youngest son etc., by saying 'this is my eldest (son), my youngest, my second etc.,' but (he does so) only in case that he has only one son.

And<sup>2</sup> by this (Paribhāshā) something which is not taught in grammar, may likewise be ascribed (to that which stands alone). This is the reason why reduplication, (the taking place of) which depends on there being something which contains one vowel (and which therefore ought to be something more than one vowel), does take place *e. g.* in the Perfect of इ<sup>3</sup> (notwithstanding that इ is nothing but a vowel.) For the same reason is भू in भवति etc. termed 'Anga' (in regard to

1. If एकस्मिन् had not been employed in the Paribhāshā, सु would have been termed a Pada because it would by the Paribhāshā व्यपदेशिवत् have been regarded not only as सुवन्त 'ending with सुप्,' but also as यस्माद्विहितस्तदादि 'beginning with that to which it has been added.' (P.: अन्यथा यस्माद्विहितस्तदादितस्याशास्त्रीयस्यानयतिदेशाच्चत्वं दुर्वारमिति भावः; see below.)

2. Nāgojibhaṭṭa, being about to censure Kaiyata, gives herewith his own Siddhānta. अपि 'likewise' indicates that that which is taught in one of Pāṇini's rules is likewise ascribed to that which stands alone. शास्त्रीय means here 'taught in a rule'; *e. g.* the अदन्तत्वं in the case of अस्यापत्यमिः is *s'āstrīya* because it is taught in P. I., 1, 21, but the एकाच्च in the case of इ, इयाय, and the यस्माद्विहितस्तदादिन् in the case of भवति (see below) etc. are अशास्त्रीय 'not taught in a rule.'

3. *Viz.* because एकाच्च which properly belongs only to णच् etc., and which is not taught in any rule of grammar, is by this Paribhāshā ascribed to इ etc., and because we are thereby enabled to apply the rules of reduplication P. VI., 1, 1, etc. also to the latter.

the following शप्, although भू does not begin with भू but is nothing else than भू);<sup>1</sup> similarly इयत् etc. is on the Kāryakālapaksha termed a 'Prātipadika,' a term which ought not to be applied except to that which ends with a Taddhita-affix, (whereas इयत् is nothing but a Taddhita-affix.<sup>2</sup> Were), on the other hand, (something that is not taught in grammar not by this Paribhāshā ascribed to that which stands alone, भू) could not have been (termed 'Anga,' nor इयत् 'ending with a Taddhita' and 'Prātipadika'), because (in that case) neither could have been (regarded as) beginning with that to which (the affixes शप् and वत्) have been added.<sup>3</sup>

1. In भवति, भव is by P. I., 4, 13 termed 'Anga' in regard to the termination ति, because it is यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादित् i. e. because भव begins with that (भू) to which the affix ति has been added. But भू would in regard to शप्, which is likewise an affix, not be termed 'Anga,' because it does not begin with that to which शप् has been added, if by the present Paribhāshā यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादित् were not ascribed to it.

2. According to P. I., 2, 46 a Taddhitānta like दाक्षि (i. e. दक्ष + इ) is termed Prātipadika; इयत् is properly not a Taddhitānta, but is only a Taddhita, because its base इदम् has disappeared (see pag. 118, note 1) and it ought therefore not to be termed Prātipadika. By the present Paribhāshā however तद्धितान्तत्वं is ascribed to इयत् and the latter is therefore likewise called a Prātipadika.—The इत्यादौ 'etc.' after इयान् includes अभुना etc.; cf. P. V., 3, 17, Si. Kau. I, 693.—कार्यकालपक्षे, P.: तस्यैव मुख्यत्वादिति भावः; Rāghavendra: यथोद्देशे तु स्थानिवत्तेनैव प्रातिपदिकत्व-सिद्धिरिति भावः.

3. Viz. because यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादित्, being not taught in any of Pāṇini's rules, would not by this Paribhāshā have been ascribed to भू and इयत्.—In the same manner in which the Paribhāshā is applied in the case of भू and इयत्, it must be applied also in the case of इ, इयाय,

But when Kaiyaṭa<sup>1</sup> maintains that (the root इ) has the special designation एकाच् 'containing one vowel' (which implies that इ is something more than one vowel), because that which possesses a meaning may be (considered both as) void of that meaning and (as) endowed with it, so that, when about to form e. g. the Perfect of इ, one may say 'this one vowel (इ), considered merely as a letter, of the root (इ) endowed with a meaning,' (and when Kaiyaṭa then applies the present Paribhāshā), he is wrong, because that (root इ endowed with a meaning) is called एकाच्, a term which (in this case) expresses what इ actually is, in the same manner in which according to the Bhāshya in एकपदा ऋक् 'a Rīch containing one Pāda' (the term एकपदा expresses what the Rīch really is, and because under these circumstances the present Paribhāshā becomes inapplicable). It has been said in the Bhāshya that in एकपदा ऋक् the special designation (एकपदा) is connected with the meaning, (i. e. that the Rīch as a meaning is qualified by the Bahuvrīhi-compound एकपदा).<sup>2</sup> The import of this (passage of the Bhāshya) so far as the meaning (of एकपदा ऋक् is concerned) in this that, because what

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i. e. एकाच्च must be ascribed to इ, and Kaiyaṭa's view, which will now be stated, cannot therefore be correct.

1. According to Kaiyaṭa, इ can really be called एकाच्, because besides containing one vowel it contains also a meaning. But, if this view be adopted, the present Paribhāshā cannot be applied to इ, because in that case एकाच् is a *vyapades'a* and इ *vyapades'in*. See Mahābhāshya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 408.

2. Of. Bhāshya Ed. Ball. p. 409. भवति चैतदेकस्मिन्नपि । एकवर्णं पदम् एकपदकं एकचं सूक्तमिति । अत्राप्यर्थेन युक्तो व्यपदेशः । पदं नामार्थं ऋङ्नामार्थः सूक्तं नामार्थे इति ॥ Kaiyaṭa: अत्राप्यर्थेनेति । पदादीनां योऽर्थः सोऽन्यपदार्थे इत्यर्थः । अभेदोपचाराच्चायं एव पदादिभिरभिधीयते ॥

one calls a Rich etc. is both a meaning and also certain sounds, (one may say) 'the Pāda, considered merely as certain sounds, forms one part of that (Rich).' As one then by assigning several properties to an only (son) may call him equally 'the eldest, (the youngest)' etc., and as one in such expressions as 'the body of a round stone-piece,' by ascribing various states to the one (stone-piece) and by thus ascribing to it an existence in various (states) etc., may speak of its body<sup>1</sup> etc., in the same manner<sup>2</sup> one may (also) in the case (of इ, इयाय etc.) without impropriety speak (of इ etc.) as 'containing one vowel' etc., and this (Paribhāshā) is therefore established by a maxim of ordinary life.

And it cannot be said that, as this (Paribhāshā) concerns only that which is not accompanied by anything else, भू in भवति ought not (by this Paribhāshā to be considered as यस्माद्विहितस्तदादि and ought therefore not) to be termed 'Anga' (in regard to the following शप्), because (भू) is accompanied (by शप् etc.); for as शप् is the cause<sup>3</sup> of the assignment of the term 'Anga' (to भू), the latter, so far as its being that which begins with that to which (शप्) has been added, is concerned, is not accompanied by anything. The case is the same as when in ordinary life a man who has (only) one son, even though he

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1. P. वयस्कृतावस्थानामपि प्राणिनिष्ठत्वेन वस्तुतस्तत्रासत्त्वादाह | आरोपितेति || समुदायरूपतेति | अनेकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुलकत्वेत्यर्थः | आदिनैकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुलकत्वापरिग्रहः || तस्येति | अनेकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुलकस्यैकावस्थाविशिष्टमिदं शरीरमवयव इत्यादिव्यवहार इत्यर्थः || In reality the body does not form part of the round stone-piece because the latter is nothing else than the body; it exists only in this one state, viz. as body.

2. But not in the way in which Kaiyaṭa calls इ एकाच्.

3. अङ्गत्वे कार्ये; जन्यजनकभावः सप्तम्यर्थः | तद्वजनकीभूत इति यावत् || P.

possesses children of the other sex, *viz.* daughters etc., calls that same son his eldest etc.<sup>1</sup> Nor can one say that, (if this Paribhāshā did) then (apply only to that which is not accompanied by anything else,) the statement in the Bhāshya (on P. VI., 1, 1) 'that there are in निञ् four things which contain one vowel (*viz.* नि, निञ्, इ, and इञ्)' would be incorrect because (in this case) the letter इ, being really accompanied by something else (*viz.* by न् and ज्), cannot (in accordance with this Paribhāshā) fitly be said to contain one vowel; for that (statement) has been made without any regard to the word एकस्मिन् (of the present Paribhāshā).<sup>2</sup>

The word<sup>3</sup> अर्थवन् 'possessed of a meaning' in the expression अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः likewise denotes by implication that (that which is possessed of a meaning) is (at the same time) not accompanied by anything else. The meaning of that (expression) is, that a word which possesses a meaning, (although on account

1. भ् is not accompanied by anything *sajātīya*, i. e. by anything which, like itself, is कर्त्तृन्; the ज्ञप् by which it is accompanied is, as the निमित्त of the term अङ्ग, *vijātīya*.

2. And this shows that that statement of the Bhāshya belongs to the Pūrvaapakshin, and not to the Siddhāntin.

3. P. Now one might say: 'It follows from the expression of the Bhāshyakāra अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः that Patanjali approves only of that meaning of the present Paribhāshā which has been assigned to it by Kaiyaṭa, on the ground that, wherever (in interpretation) *Ekavākyatā* is possible (as is the case in the explanation of अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः), *Vākyabheda* (which we see in the explanation of व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, the meaning being असहाये तत्कार्त्त कर्त्तव्यं सहाये तु न,) ought not to be had recourse to, and Kaiyaṭa has therefore been censured unjustly.' To refute this Nāgojibhaṭṭa says: 'The word अर्थवत् etc.'

of the absence of certain causes a particular designation may not attach to it), undergoes the same operation as another word to which that particular designation does attach. (We said that the word अर्थवत् denotes by implication that that which is possessed of a meaning is at the same time not accompanied by anything else), because usually<sup>1</sup> only that is possessed of a meaning which is not accompanied by anything else.

In<sup>2</sup> (the formation of) कुरुते etc. (from कुरुत etc.) the letter

1. Not always; e. g. in forms like अद्यते in which a root is accompanied by a preposition, which does not convey a meaning but is merely *dyotaka*, the root accompanied by something else possesses a meaning. But though this is the case, nevertheless, wherever the present Paribhāshā may be applicable, the अर्थवत् is असहाय and अर्थवत् does therefore imply असहायत्.

2. One might maintain, that the अ of the Âtmanepada termination त of कुरु-त cannot be termed टि, because it is accompanied by something else, viz. by त्, and because therefore the present Paribhāshā ought not to apply to it. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'In the formation of कुरुते etc.' Although अ has a *vijātiya* companion त्, it has no *sajātiya* companion, because the Âtmanepada termination त contains no other vowel besides अ; the Paribhāshā is therefore applicable to it. By it अ may be considered as 'beginning with the last vowel of त,' and it is consequently termed टि and undergoes the operation taught in P. III., 4, 79.—Hereby the opinion is refuted that this Paribhāshā and अर्थवत् व्यपदेशिवद्भावः are two separate Paribhāshās. This Nâgojibhaṭṭa indicates by the concluding words इत्यन्यत्र विस्तरः; 'elsewhere' i. e. in the Uddyota etc.—Of. the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 21, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 406, of which the following is a short analysis:

1. आदि and अन्त are defined thus: 'आदि is that which, while it is accompanied by something else, is not preceded by anything but is followed by something;' 'अन्त is that which, while it is accompanied

अ of the syllable त is, so far as the expression 'last of the vowels' and the expression 'that which begins with it' are concerned, decidedly not accompanied by anything else, and as therefore the present Paribhāshâ does apply to it, it is termed

by something else, is not followed by anything but is preceded by something.' These definitions accepted, the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् becomes necessary.

2. (a.) It is objected that Pāṇini, to give a more comprehensive rule, should have said 'व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्.' For what object? एकाचो द्वे प्रथमार्थम् । वक्ष्यतेकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य [ ६. १. १ ] इति बहुव्रीहिनर्देश इति । तस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात् । पपाच पपाठ । इयाय भार इत्यत्र न स्यात् । व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्कार्यं भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ॥ षत्वे चादेशसंप्रत्ययार्थम् । वक्ष्यतेचादेशसंप्रत्यययोः [ ८. ३. ५९ ] इत्यवयवषष्ठ्येवेति । एतस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । इह न स्यात् । इन्द्रो मा वक्षत् स देवान्यक्षदिति । (Here the affix consists of only स् and स् cannot be part of स् ); व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्कार्यं भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ॥

(b.) Nevertheless the rule व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन् need not be given because it contains a maxim which is generally valid and applies therefore also in grammar.

3. Lastly the objector tries to show that the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is altogether superfluous. आदि, he says, is that which is not preceded by anything else, अन्त that which is not followed by anything else. If anything stands quite alone, it may according to these definitions be considered as both आदि and अन्त, and the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is superfluous. Patanjali (गोमर्दायः), however, says that these definitions of आदि and अन्त are incorrect, and those given above correct, and that therefore the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is not superfluous.

But why is the Sūtra given at all? Does not its meaning result from the general maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्? This question is answered by Keisya: यद्यपि लौकिकेन व्यपदेशिवद्भावेनाद्यन्तव्यपदेश एकस्मिन्नपि सिध्यति तथापि गौणत्वात्कार्येण न भवितव्यमिति यस्य भ्रान्तिः स्यात्तं प्रति योगो ऽयमारब्धः ॥

टि (by P. I., 1, 64 and undergoes the operation which is taught in P. III., 4, 79). This has been fully discussed elsewhere.

4. Which are the objects of the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ?

- a. आदिवत्त्वे प्रयोजनं प्रत्ययञ्जिदाद्युदात्तत्वे *e. g.* कर्तव्य—औपगव. P. III., 1, 3.
- b. वलादेरार्धभानुकस्येष्ट् प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* करिष्यति—जोषिषत्. P. VII., 2, 35.
- c. यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादित्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* श्रियः—श्रियौ. P. VI., 4, 77.
- d. अजाद्याद्वत्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* ऐहिष्ट—ऐष्ट. P. VI., 4, 72.
- e. अन्तवद् द्विवचनान्तप्रगृह्यत्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* पचेते—माले. P. I., 1, 11.
- f. मिदचोऽन्यात्परः प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* कुण्डानि—यानि. P. I., 1, 47; VII., 1, 72.
- g. भचोऽन्यादि टि प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* कुर्वीथे—कुरुते.

Kaiyaṭa: कुरुत इति | अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्वावात्तशब्दाकारस्यानर्थ-  
कत्वादिह प्रयोजनत्वेनोपन्यासः ||

Nāgojibhaṭṭa: अर्थवतेति | तल्लक्ष्यस्य त्यागोपादानाभ्यां भेदः सुकर-  
इति भावः | इदं चिन्त्यम् | यद्यपि व्यपदेशिवद्वावेन सिध्यति तथापि गौणत्वा-  
ज्ज्ञेति यस्य भ्रान्तिस्तं प्रति सूत्रारम्भ इति पूर्वग्रन्थविरोधात्सूत्रकारेण तदज्ञा-  
नात्तदुदाहरणसंभवाच्चार्थवतेति चासहायत्वस्यैवोपलक्षणं ससहायस्य प्रायेणानर्थक-  
त्वात्तदशब्दाकारश्चासहाय एव | येन सहायेनाचामन्यत्वस्य बहुव्रीह्यर्थस्य चोपपत्ति-  
स्तादृशसहायाभावात् | अन्यथाद्यन्तवद्वावोऽपि न स्यात् ||

- h. अलौऽन्यस्य प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* पटाभ्याम्—आभ्याम्. P. VII., 3, 102.
- i. येन विधिस्तदन्तत्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* चैयम्—अध्येयम्. P. III., 1, 97.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXI.

One<sup>1</sup> might say that (the affix) यञ् which (by P. IV., 1, 105)

1. The sequence of the Paribhāshās XXIX.-XXXII. is thus ac-  
counted for by Pāyagunda: Paribh. XXIX. is, as has been stated, a  
further developed form of P. I., 1, 72. It is followed by Paribh. XXX.  
because the portion तस्य च in the former suggests at once the latter  
Paribhāshā. Then follows Paribh. XXXI. which restricts P. I., 1, 72,



may be added to गर्ग etc., may be added also<sup>1</sup> to परमगर्ग etc., because (गर्ग etc. qualify प्रातिपदिकात् which is valid from P. IV., 1, 1, and) should denote (therefore according to P. I., 1, 72 Prâtipadikas) that end with (गर्ग etc.). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

**P. XXXI :** That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika<sup>2</sup> does (contrary to P. I., 1, 72) not denote that which ends with it, (but it denotes only itself).

and Paribh. XXXII. is given after XXXI., because XXXI. prevents too wide an application of P. I., 1, 72, on which Paribh. XXIX. is based, whereas Paribh. XXXII. prevents too wide an application of Paribh. XXX.

1. *I. e.* besides being added to गर्ग etc. by Vyapades'ivadbhâva.

2. *E. g.* गर्ग in IV., 1. 105 or ऋषि 'the name of a Rishi' in P. IV., 1, 114, which cannot possibly be anything else than Prâtipadikas ; but not अस् in P. V., 2, 121, nor अत् in P. IV., 1, 95, nor उगित् in P. IV., 1, 6, because अस्, अत्, and उगित् do not necessarily denote a Prâtipadika, but may refer also to something else than a Prâtipadika. Nâgoji-bhaṭṭa explains the word ग्रहणवत् in the following by विशिष्य *i. e.* तत्तद्रूपेण गृहीत ; Pâyagunda by विशिष्य *i. e.* तत्तद्रूपेणोच्चारणवत्. Râghavendra remarks on तत्तद्रूपेण, उगिद्वर्णीन्यरूपेणेत्यर्थः । तेनावृद्धाभ्यः [ ४. १. ११३ ] ऋष्यन्धकेत्यादौ न तदन्तविधिः ; cf P. IV., 1, 114. Bhairavamis'ra comments on the same word : तत्तदित्यस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्येत्यर्थः, and he illustrates this explanation by the following remark on the meaning of the present Paribhâshâ : अत्र यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सूत्रे ग्रहणमुपादानं तेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीत्यर्थकरणे उस्मायामेधास्त्रजो विनिः [ ५. २. १२१ ] इति सूत्रे समासघटकास्यदस्योपात्तस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वात्तदन्तविध्यभावापत्तौ यशस्वीत्यादिरूपासिद्धिरतः प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मवत्त्वेनोपादानं यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः कार्यः । अस्त्वं तु प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकसंभारणमिति भवति तेन तदन्तविधिः ॥. Similarly the Sarvamangalâ : अत्र ग्रहणवत्त्वं च न साक्षादुपात्तत्वं किंतु प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मवदुपस्थापकत्वम्.

(Accordingly गर्ग in P. IV., 1, 105 cannot denote परमगर्ग but it can only denote गर्ग by itself, and यञ् can therefore not by P. IV., 1, 105 be added to परमगर्ग). This (Paribhâshâ) conveys the same sense as the portion relating to affixes of the Vârttika (on P. I., 1, 72) according to which (P. I., 1, 72) does not apply in rules that teach the formation of a compound or the addition of an affix, except that it does apply to उगित् and to letters employed (in such rules). Therefore (the prohibition contained in) this (Paribhâshâ) is (likewise) applicable only in such rules as teach the addition of an affix. It is for this reason, that the application in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 of this rule also to a Prâtipadika given in a rule like P. VI., 4, 11 which does not teach the addition of an affix, and the quotation of an example like स्वसा, परमस्वसा, are not at variance (with this Paribhâshâ)<sup>1</sup>. And for the same reason<sup>2</sup> (the prohibition which) this (Paribhâshâ conveys) has not, like the prohibition समास-प्रत्ययविधौ etc., been mentioned in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72. That (prohibition which is contained in the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः) refers likewise only to rules in which a Prâtipadika is given by means of some particular form.<sup>3</sup> This is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 20.<sup>4</sup> And (the existence of) the

1. I. e. P. I., 1, 72 does apply to the Prâtipadika स्वसु in P. VI., 4, 11, because this rule does not teach the addition of an affix.

2. Viz. because this Paribhâshâ conveys the same sense as the portion relating to affixes of the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ.....

3. Sci. which necessarily must denote a Prâtipadika; cf. pag. 160, note 2. The exception उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम् does not therefore teach something new, but teaches something that is contained already in समासप्रत्यय-विधौ प्रतिषेधः.

4. There it is stated that Pāṇini employs the word असमसि in V.,

present (Paribhāshā) is indicated by the rule P. V., 2, 87 सपूर्वाच्च (according to which the affix इनि which by P. V., 2, 86 is added to पूर्व, is added to पूर्व also when the latter is preceded by another word, as is the case e. g. in कृतपूर्व. If), on the other hand, (the present Paribhāshā did not exist, इनि) might already by P. V., 2, 86 have been added (to कृतपूर्व etc.) because (in that case the word पूर्व of that rule) would have denoted (any Prāti-

1, 20, in order to show that the Tadantavidhi applies in the preceding rule V., 1, 18 प्राग्नेष्टञ्, and that for this reason ठञ् may be added by P. V., 1, 18 to परमनिष्क. This however is rejected; the Nishedha ग्रहणवता etc. does not concern P. V., 1, 18, because in this rule no particular base is given to which the affix might be added, and consequently the Tadantavidhi would apply even in case Pāṇini had not said असमासे in V., 1, 20. If the Nishedha ग्रहणवता etc. were applicable both in rules where a particular Prātipadika is given and also where this is not the case, the Bhāṣya would be wrong. Cf. Bhāṣya on V., 1, 20 :

असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । असमास इति किमर्थम् । परमनिष्केण क्रीतं परमनैष्ठिक-  
म् । नैतदस्ति । निष्कशब्दात्प्रत्ययो विधीयते तल कः प्रसङ्गो यत्परमनिष्कशब्दात्स्यात् ।  
नैव प्राप्नोति नार्थः प्रतिषेधेन । तदन्तविधिना प्राप्नोति । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त-  
विधिः प्रतिषिध्यते । अत उत्तरं पठति । निष्कादिष्वसमासग्रहणं ज्ञापकं पूर्वं तदन्ताप्र-  
तिषेधस्य । निष्कादिष्वसमासग्रहणं कियते ज्ञापनार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः  
पूर्वं तदन्ताविधेः प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । प्राग्नेष्टञ्  
[५. १. १८] इत्यल तदन्तविधिः सिद्धो भवति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । ग्रहणवता प्राति-  
पदिकेन तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते न च ठञ्विधौ काचित्प्रकृतिर्गृह्यते ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयो-  
जनम् । आहौदगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणाद् [ १९ ] परमगोपुच्छेन क्रीतं परमगोपुच्छि-  
कम् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । विधौ प्रतिषेधः । प्रतिषेधश्चायम् ॥ . . . .

Kaivya: प्राग्नेष्टञ्... | तेन परमनिष्कशब्दाद्भिसिद्धो भवति । केवलात्प्रातिपदि-  
काद्विधीयमानः समासाज् स्यादित्याभासमात्रेणेदमुक्तम्... ॥

padika) ending with (पूर्व), and (P. V., 2, 87) would consequently be superfluous.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Jñāpaka of this Paribhāshā is mentioned by Kaiyaṭa in his comment on P. V., 1, 20: पूर्वादिनिः सपूर्वाच्चेति प्रत्ययविधौ ग्रहणवर्तेत्येतस्याः परिभाषाया ज्ञापितत्वाद्यत्रैव प्रत्ययो विधीयते तत्रैवानया तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते । भगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणात् [५. १. १९] इत्यनेन तु ठक् प्रतिषिध्यत इति न तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधो नापि व्यपदेशिवद्भावप्रतिषेधः ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXII.

(P. IV., 2, 60 teaches that the affix ठक् is added to a Prâtipadika which ends with सूत्र; P. V., 2, 45, that ड is added to a Prâtipadika which ends with दशन्; P. V., 2, 118, that ठक् is added to a Prâtipadika which begins with एक or with गो). Now one might say that, (as the preceding Paribhāshā forbids only the application of P. I., 1, 72, but not that of Paribh. XXX., to Prâtipadikas, सूत्र alone may by Paribh. XXX. be regarded as 'ending with सूत्र,' दशन् alone as 'ending with दशन्,' and एक or गो as 'beginning with एक or with गो,' and that therefore) the rules P. IV., 2, 60, P. V., 2, 45, P. V., 2, 118 etc. may in accordance with Paribh. XXX. be applied also to the word सूत्र alone, to the word दशन् alone, and to the words एक etc. alone. To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshâs) says :

P. XXXII : Paribhāshâ XXX does not apply to a Prâtipadika.

(सूत्र alone can consequently not be regarded as 'ending with सूत्र,' एक alone not as 'beginning with एक' etc.).

The fact that (Pāṇini) makes the (two) separate rules (V., 2, 86 पूर्वदिनिः and 87 सपूर्वाच्च) which he certainly, (in case this Paribhāshā did not exist), might have united in the one rule पूर्वत्सपूर्वादिनिः, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, the one rule पूर्वत्सपूर्वादिनिः would have sufficed, because पूर्व would by Paribh. XXX. likewise have been considered as पूर्व सपूर्व *i. e.* as 'ending with पूर्व' and इनि would then by the rule पूर्वत्सपूर्वादिनिः have been added also to पूर्व when standing alone). Nor can one maintain that (the two rules P. V., 2, 86 and 87) are read as we read them (*i. e.* as two separate rules) in order that (सपूर्वाच्च) may be valid in (the following) rule 88, and that in consequence of this (validity of सपूर्वात् in 88) words like अनिटिन् are formed (by P. V, 2, 88); for on the authority of the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> in which (the separate reading of P. V., 2, 86 and 87) is regarded as the Jnāpaka (of this Paribhāshā), forms like अनिटिन् are inadmissible; and moreover there would have been no reason why (only) so much (of the whole पूर्वत्सपूर्वादिनिः as सपूर्वात्) should not have been valid<sup>2</sup> in the sequel even if (the two rules 86 and 87) had been united so as to form one rule.

It is only<sup>3</sup> because (the present Paribhāshā does exist) that the rule P. V., 2, 49 (by which the augment म is prefixed to the affix ङट् when the latter is added to a numeral that does not begin with a numeral) serves a purpose. On the other hand, (if the Paribhāshā did not exist,) णञ्चन् etc. might by Paribh. XXX.

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1. See Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72; Ed. Ballantyne p. 789.

2. *Viz.* by Paribh. XVIII.

3. P.: Nāgojibhaṭṭa mentions now another Jnāpaka of the present Paribhāshā; in doing so he does not state his own view but that of former grammarians (प्राञ्चः).

likewise be considered as 'beginning with a numeral,' and in that case P. V., 2, 49 would clearly be altogether useless. And<sup>1</sup> this (Paribhāshā) applies wherever a term is employed which cannot denote anything but a Prâtipadika, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both a Prâtipadika and also something else than a Prâtipadika. There is therefore nothing strange (in its not applying to the term उगित्<sup>2</sup>) in P. IV., 1, 6; this may be seen in the Bhâshya<sup>3</sup> on that very rule. According to the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. V., 1, 20<sup>4</sup> this and the

1. P.: In order to indicate that the statement of former grammarians which has just been repeated, is incorrect, and desirous of stating distinctly where the present Paribhāshā applies and where it does not apply, Nâgojibhaṭṭa gives us now his own Siddhânta, by way of guarding against too wide an application of this Paribhāshā. The word ग्रहणवत्ता is valid from the preceding Paribhāshā, and this is one more reason why this Paribhāshā has been placed after Paribh. XXXI.

2. Viz. because उगित् does not denote merely Prâtipadikas, but denotes also affixes etc., and because the term प्रातिपदिकात्, although it is valid from P. IV., 1, 1, is not actually employed in P. IV., 1, 6.

3. There it is stated that उगितश्च may mean उगिदन्ताप्रातिपदिकात् 'after a Prâtipadika which ends with an उगित् etc.'; against this explanation the objection is raised that according to it डीप् would by P. IV., 1, 6 be added to भतिभवत् etc., but that on account of the prohibition व्यपदेशिवद्भावो प्रातिपदिकेन it could not be added to भवत्. This objection is afterwards refuted with the remark that व्यपदेशिवद्भावो प्रातिपदिकेन does not concern उगित् because नेतृप्रातिपदिकग्रहणं प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकयोरेतद्ग्रहणम्, on which Kaiyaṭa comments: उगितस्य तदुगदिति शब्दरूपमात्रमन्यपदार्थं आश्रीयते न तु प्रातिपदिकमेवेत्यर्थः.

4. There it has been said that Pāṇini employs the word असमासि in V., 1, 20 in order to show that the Tadantavidhi is not forbidden in

preceding Paribhāshā are applicable only where the addition of an affix is taught; the rule P. VIII., 2, 68, *e. g.*, concerns therefore the word परमाहन् and also the word अहन् alone.<sup>1</sup>

the preceding rule V., 1, 19, and that उक् may therefore be added *e. g.* to परमगोपुच्छ. This however is rejected by the statement that the Tadantavidhi is forbidden where the addition of an affix is taught, whereas by अगोपुच्छ etc. the addition of the affix उक् is prohibited; cf. note on pag. 163. Pāyagunda goes on to say that the fact that this Paribhāshā applies only where the addition of an affix is taught, proves the incorrectness of the opinion of former grammarians regarding the rule P. V., 2, 49, which has been repeated by Nāgojibhaṭṭa above; for, he says, this Paribhāshā cannot apply in P. V., 2, 49 because no addition of an affix is taught in that rule. One ought therefore to supply the words इति केचित् after the sentence अत एव नान्ताद°... स्यमेव. He further refutes the objection that this Paribhāshā does not apply merely where the addition of an affix is taught, but that it is likewise applicable where something connected with an affix is taught, and that it might therefore apply also in P. V., 2, 49; for, he remarks, even if this were admitted, the Paribhāshā would not be applicable in P. V., 2, 49, because the term नान्तात् in that rule differs in no way from उगितः in IV., 1, 6 (नान्तात् being a Varnagrahana and no Prātipadika being given in V., 2, 49); as the Paribhāshā is not applicable in P. IV., 1, 6, it can likewise not be applied in P. V. 2, 49. In the latter rule no Vyapadesivadbhāva takes place either on account of the Vis'eshana असंख्यादेः or because, if it did take place, the rule would have no sense. Pāyagunda thus tries to defend Nāgojibhaṭṭa from an inconsistency, but there is nothing to prove that the latter did not consider P. V., 2, 49 as offering a genuine example for this Paribhāshā.

1. Kaiyata remarks on P. I., 1, 72 (Ed. p. 789) that the Paribhāshā व्यपदेशिवद्भावेऽप्रातिपदिकेन applies where the word अन्त has actually been given in a rule, as *e. g.* in दशान्ताङुः; and Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his comment

More elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

on Kaiyaṭa's words observes that the word अन्त denotes by implication other words, and that the Paribh. applies therefore also in the case of एकगोपूर्वात् etc. According to this view the Paribhāshā could not possibly apply in P. VIII., 2, 68. Rāghavendra observes therefore in regard to the words तेनाहन् etc.: 'Really this Paribhāshā applies only when words like अन्त etc. are given in a rule (and it can therefore not apply in P. VIII., 2, 68) etc.'

1. Pāyagunda concludes his remarks on this Paribhāshā with a passage which is taken from Nāgojibhaṭṭa's commentary on P. I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne p. 788 ननु समास<sup>०</sup>—चमत्कारि. If we consider a word which occurs in a rule, in which प्रातिपदिक is valid, as Vis'eshana of प्रातिपदिक, we have a Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhāva and must apply the Tadantavidhi (P. I., 1, 72); but if we consider the word प्रातिपदिक as Vis'eshana of the word which is actually given in the rule, we have a Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhāvavyatyāsa, i. e. a reversion of the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhāva; in the latter case the Tadantavidhi is not applicable. Now one might argue thus: 'As the Vārttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः etc. shows us only the import of the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhāvavyatyāsa, i. e. shows us where the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhāva is reversed (viz. in a Pratyaya-, and a Samāsa-vidhi), the Tadantavidhi might, just as it is applied to दिति (cf. Bhāshya p. 788) be applied also to दशन् etc., and the actual addition of the word अन्त to दशन् in दशान्ताङ्गः is in itself sufficient to show that this rule has no concern with the simple word दशन् etc; consequently the Paribhāshā व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन is useless. (Hereby the opinion that in consequence of the prohibition Paribh. XXXI. ग्रहणवता etc. P. V., 2, 45 would not apply to a Prātipadika that ends with दशन् if the word अन्त had not been added to दशन् in V., 2, 45, is rejected). Moreover the Paribh. व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन is useless, because, just as it was said before (cf. Kaiyaṭa p. 788) that the affix ण्य cannot be added to परमदिति because the new word which would re-



sult from the addition of the affix, is not in use, so one may say here, that the affix उ cannot be added to the simple दशन् etc., because the new word that would result from the addition of the affix is not used.'

This, however, is untenable. Just as the prohibition समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः is necessary as showing the import of the Vis'eshanavis'eshya-bhāvavyatyāsa, so the Paribhāshā व्यपदेशिवद्भावीऽप्रातिपदिकेन is necessary (as showing where the Tadantavidhi alone is applicable). The Tadantavidhi would be applied too widely if it were applied also in the absence of that which shows the meaning intended by the Sūtra, Vārttika and Bhāshya (i. e. if it were applied everywhere, without any regard to the Vārttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ etc.). Therefore उगिद्धर्णग्रहणवर्जम् (which would have no meaning if the Tadantavidhi were applicable everywhere) serves a purpose. On the other hand, to reject (the addition of an affix) by saying that the new word which would result from the addition of the affix would not denote anything or would not be in use, has nothing strange in it (and this course has therefore been rightly adopted in the case of परमदिति).

To indicate all this, Nāgojibhaṭṭa concludes with the words इत्यन्यत्र (i. e. उद्योतादी) विस्तरः 'more elsewhere.'

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXIII.

One might ask : How is it that (the words यि प्रत्यये etc.) in P. VI., 1, 79 etc. mean 'when an affix follows which *begins* with य्'?<sup>1</sup> To answer this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

**P. XXXIII:** When a term which denotes a letter<sup>2</sup>

1. यि प्रत्यये ought according to P. I., 1, 72 to convey the meaning 'when an affix follows which *ends* with य्.'

2. अल्पग्रहणे does not mean अलो ग्रहणे i. e. उच्चारणे 'when a letter is enunciated (in a rule)' for in that case the Paribhāshā would not apply

is exhibited (in a rule) in (the form of) the Locative case (and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as) beginning with the letter (which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it).<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā) is an exception to P. I., 1, 72. It is given verbatim in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 72 as an independent rule.<sup>2</sup> And it is applicable where (a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule) in the *form* of the Locative case, (but it is not necessary that this Locative case should convey the meaning of the Locative.<sup>3</sup> It applies) therefore *e. g.* in P. VII., 2, 8 (notwithstanding that the Locative वशि कृति conveys the sense of a Genitive case, and) and we derive (by it) (from वशि

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to Pratyāhāras like वश् etc., but it means अलः प्रतिपादकशब्दे 'when a word is employed which denotes a letter'. For this reason Patanjali on P. VII., 1, 73 is right in explaining व्यञ्जने by व्यञ्जनादौ. (अङ्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् | इकोऽचि व्यञ्जने मा भूत् | इकोऽचीत्युच्यते व्यञ्जनादौ मा भूत् ).

1. यि प्रत्यये in P. VI., 1, 79 means therefore 'when an affix follows which begins with य्.'

2. Cf. Mahābhāshya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 800, where the following example is given: अचि भुभातुभ्रुवां खोरियडुवडी [ ६. ४. ७७ ] इतिहेव स्यात् त्रियौ भ्रुवौ | त्रियो भ्रुव इत्यल न स्यात् |. Kaiyaṭa observes that the Paribhāshā is an exception to P. I., 1, 72, अत एव विशेषणेन भवति नान्येन; and Nāgojibhaṭṭa comments on the last words thus: अत एवेको यणचोत्यादौ न दोषः | यस्मिन्विधिरिति वाचनिकमेव | यस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यन्तोपलक्षणम् | सप्तम्यन्तं यल विशेषणं तत्रेति यावत् ||

3. स्वरूपसती; न तु स्तार्थविशिष्टा. P.

कृति) the meaning, 'of a Kṛit-affix which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra वल्.' And the fact that (Pāṇini), in saying वलादेः in the rule VII., 2, 35, employs the word आदि (after वल्, instead of saying simply वलि,) proves that this (Paribhāshā) is only then applicable, when the term which denotes a letter and also something that is qualified by it stand both in the Locative case.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly (सि) in P. VIII., 3, 29, *e.g.*, (which does not qualify anything else) does not mean 'of that which follows provided it begin with स्' (but it means simply 'of the following स्'). How (ति) in P. VII., 2, 48, (सि) in P. VII, 2, 57 etc. come to mean 'of that which begins with त्' etc., has been considered in the S'abdendus'ekhara.<sup>2</sup>

1. In P. VII., 2, 35 the Vis'eshya आर्धधातुक stands in the Genitive case.

2. P.: There the त् in P. VII., 2, 48 is made to qualify the वल् in वलादेः (of VII., 2, 35) which in its turn qualifies आर्धधातुक, and VII., 2, 48 is accordingly explained by तरूपवलादिरार्धधातुकस्य etc.; the Locative ति has, as referring to वल् in वलादेः, the meaning of a Nominative. The same applies to सि in VII., 2, 57. Pāyagunda adds: 'The construction of VII., 2, 48 is really not artificial; it is namely this, तकाराव्यवहितपरकै-च्छत्यादेः परवलाद्यार्धधातुकस्येत्, and to indicate this the word अलम् has been employed there (in the S'abdendus'ekhara).' He remarks further, in order to show how हलि which from P. VI., 4, 100 is valid in 101, where it qualifies हि, can mean 'beginning with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra हल्,' although that which is qualified by it does not stand in the Locative: एवं हुझल्भ्यो हेधिरित्यत्र हलीत्यनुवृत्त्या हलादेर्हेरिति व्याख्यानपक्षे हल्प्रहणानुवृत्तिसामर्थ्याद्धैस्तदन्तत्वासंभवात्तत्काम इति बोध्यम्.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXIV.

In order to show how (it is that *e. g.* of घट and पट two compounds) घटपटम् and घटपटी<sup>1</sup> 'a jar and a piece of cloth' may be formed, (the author of the Paribhāshā) says :

**P. XXXIV :** Every Dvandva-compound may optionally take the terminations of the Singular.<sup>2</sup>

('Every Dvandva-compound') means, 'every Dvandva-compound which does not fall under (any of the rules in) the chapter that begins with (the rule) P. II., 4, 2.'<sup>3</sup> As (Pāṇini) teaches by the rule II., 2, 29, that a Dvandva-compound (may) be formed (of any two or more nouns) without distinction<sup>4</sup> to denote the aggregate or the mutual union (of the persons or things denoted by those nouns), this (Paribhāshā) is established by a maxim (accepted in grammar.<sup>5</sup> Moreover) the employment of the

1. One cannot object that by P. II., 4, 6 घटपटम् only ought to be formed; for that rule would apply if the genus 'jar' and 'cloth' were intended to be denoted by the nouns compounded, whereas घट and पट denote in this case an individual jar, and an individual piece of cloth. P.

2. Literally: 'That which is denoted by a Dvandva-compound may, (although it must really be more than one and although the compound ought therefore to take either the terminations of the dual or those of the plural), always be optionally considered as one, (and the compound may accordingly optionally take the terminations of the singular).'

3. If the Paribhāshā did concern also such compounds as fall under the rules P. II., 4, 2 etc., that whole chapter would be useless.

4. *I. e.* Pāṇini's rule II., 2, 29 applies equally to all Dvandva-compounds except those which fall under any of the rules in the chapter beginning with the rule II., 4, 2.

5. *I. e.* it is established by the maxim expressed in P. II., 2, 29;

word बहुवचनस्य 'for the plural' in the rule P. I., 2, 63 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); for that (word बहुवचनस्य) serves the purpose of preventing (P. I., 2, 63) from applying to the neuter singular तिष्यपुनर्वसु; (this singular must therefore exist, because otherwise P. I., 2, 63 could not possibly apply to it, and बहुवचनस्य would be superfluous).<sup>1</sup> And one cannot say that even (if बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 were to indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā) the rule I., 2, 63 would serve no purpose because a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू<sup>2</sup> ought by P. II., 4, 6 necessarily to take the terminations of the singular and because therefore a plural (of तिष्यपुनर्वसु) would not exist. (To say so would be wrong) because the rule I., 2, 63 indicates that also<sup>3</sup> that rule II., 4, 6 is optional (so far as a compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू is concerned<sup>4</sup>). Nor can one say that Tishya

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for when the Dvandva-compound denotes the aggregate of the persons or things denoted by the nouns, it must take the terminations of the singular, otherwise those of the dual or plural.

1. If the present Paribhāshā did not exist, a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू could take only the terminations of the plural, and the singular इदं तिष्यपुनर्वसु would not exist.

2. *Sci.* Both not being living beings.

3. *I. e.* besides indicating by बहुवचनस्य that every Dvandva-compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular.

4. Because exactly so much is indicated by a Jñāpaka as is absolutely necessary for the removal of any inconsistency; (यवता विनानुपपत्तिस्तावन्मात्रस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वात् P.). Pāyagunda adds: or it may be that the restriction contained in II., 4, 6 refers to Dvandva-compounds the members of which denote a genus, and not to compounds the members of which denote individual things. And thus neither the word बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 is useless, nor that whole rule, nor the rule II., 4, 6.

etc. are living beings, (that therefore a compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू does not fall under P. II., 4, 6 and that consequently I., 2, 63 cannot indicate that P. II., 4, 6 is optional); for according to the Veda-passage 'life consists of water' only those are living beings whose life wastes away in the absence of water, (which is not the case with Tishya etc.). And (all) this is found in the Bhāṣhya on the rule P. I., 2, 63.<sup>1</sup> The<sup>2</sup> employ-

1. Cf. Bhāṣhya on P. I., 2, 63 : बहुवचनस्येति किमर्थम् । उदितं तिष्यपुनर्वसु । कथं चतैकवचनम् । जातिद्वन्द्व एकवद्ववतीति । अप्राणिनामिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्वहुवचनग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः सर्वो द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्ववतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । बाभ्रवशालङ्कारयनं बाभ्रवशालङ्कारयना इत्येतत्सिद्धं भवति । अथवा नात्रभवन्तः प्राणिनः प्राणा एवात्रभवन्तः ॥

Kaiyaṭa : जातिद्वन्द्व इति । कथमनयोर्जातिशब्दत्वं यावता जातिप्रदेशेषु भिन्नाभारा जातिर्गृह्यते न त्ववस्थाभेदकालितभेदैकवस्तुविषया । एवं तर्हि प्रतिमन्वन्तरं भिन्नानि न-क्षत्राणीति दर्शने भिन्नाभारा जातिः संभवतीति न कश्चिदोषः ॥ सर्वो द्वन्द्व इति । अप्रा-णिजातिद्वन्द्वो नित्यमेकवद्ववति प्राणिद्वन्द्वस्तु विकल्पेन । न्यायसिद्धश्चार्यो बहुवचनग्रहणेन लिङ्गेन सूच्यते । एकवद्वावप्रकरणं हि विषयविभागार्थमारब्धम् । प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव न तु प्राण्यङ्गादीनामेव समाहार इति । ततस्तत्प्रकरणानुपात्तानां समाहारेतरेतरयो-गयोर्द्वन्द्वः सिद्ध एव ॥ अथवेति । न ह्येतेषु लोके प्राणिव्यवहारः सिद्ध इति भावः ॥ प्राणा एवेति । तदधीनस्थितित्वात्प्राणिनमित एव प्राणा उच्यन्ते ॥

2. Now one might say : 'on the alternative that Tishya etc. are living beings, the rule P. I., 2, 63 cannot indicate that P. II., 4, 6 is optional, because a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य etc. would not fall under that rule ; as further the restriction conveyed in P. II., 4, 2 etc. is this, that aggregative Dvandva-compounds are formed only of nouns that denote members of living beings etc., and not of any other nouns, no aggregative compound can be formed of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू ; consequently the singular तिष्यपुनर्वसू does not exist, and बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63, which was said to have been employed in order to prevent the applica- tion of that rule to the singular तिष्यपुनर्वसू, is useless.' To meet this

ment of बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63 proves also, that the restriction (which is intended to be) conveyed by P. II., 4, 2, etc. (is this, that the compounds treated of in those rules denote only an aggregate but no mutual union, and that it) cannot be the inverse restriction, viz. that aggregative Dvandva-compounds are formed only of such nouns as denote members of living beings etc. (but not of any other nouns, for with the latter restriction बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 would be superfluous<sup>1</sup>).

objection, Nâgajibhaṭṭa says अत एव *i. e.* because बहुवचनस्य has been employed in P. I., 2, 63.

1. *Viz.* because the formation of the aggregative Dvandva-compound would be impossible.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXV.

P. XXXV : All rules are optional in the Veda.

This (Paribhāshā) has been established in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. III., 1, 85, where a separate rule is made of the portion बहुलम् 'variously' (of III., 1, 85, छन्दसि being valid from the preced-

1. *Viz.* by the formation of the rule छन्दसि बहुलम्, or of the rule छन्दसि वा, which is still shorter. Cf. Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 9 :

षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि । षष्ठीयुक्तः पति-  
शब्दश्छन्दसि घिसंज्ञो भवति । ततो वा । वा छन्दसि सर्वे विधयो भवन्ति । सुपां व्यत्ययः ।  
तिङां व्यत्ययः । वर्णव्यत्ययः । लिङ्गव्यत्ययः । कालव्यत्ययः । पुरुषव्यत्ययः । आत्मने-  
पदव्यत्ययः । परस्मैपदव्यत्ययः ॥ सुपां व्यत्ययः । युक्ता मातासीद्भुरि दक्षिणायाः  
[ ऋग्वे° १. १६४. ९ ] दक्षिणायामिति प्राप्ते ॥ तिङां व्यत्ययः । चषालं ये भश्चयूपाय  
तक्षति [ ऋग्वे° १. १६२. ६ ] तक्षन्तीति प्राप्त इत्यादि ॥

\* Kaiyaṭa : योगविभाग इति । तेन परिभाषा संपद्यते । यावदिह शास्त्रे कार्यं तच्छ-  
न्दसि वा भवति । तत्रानयैव सिद्धत्वाद्बहुलं छन्दसीत्यादि न वक्तव्यम् ॥

ing rule), and also (in the Bhāshya) on P. I., 4, 9, where a separate rule is made of the portion ण 'optionally' (of I., 4, 9, छन्दसि being supplied from the same rule). This accounts *e. g.* for (the Parasmaipada युध्यति in the Veda-passage) प्रतीपमन्य ङर्मयुध्यति; (according to P. I., 3, 12) युष् ought to have taken the termination of the Ātmanepada.

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## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXVI.

One might ask: How is (it that) *e. g.* in क्षियः (of P. VI., 4, 59, and VIII., 2, 46) इयङ् (has in accordance with P. VI., 4, 77 been substituted for the इ of क्षि, although the latter is not a root but is merely the imitative name of the root क्षि<sup>1</sup>)? To answer this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XXXVI: An imitative name is like its original.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that (the substitute) इयङ् has (in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46) actually been put down in क्षियः, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā, for it shows that the imitative name क्षि of the root क्षि is treated exactly like the latter). When, on the other hand, in the same (form क्षियः of P. VI., 4, 59 etc.) a case-termination, which cannot be added except to a Prâtipadika, has been added (to क्षि), this proves that the present (Paribhāshā) is not invariably valid. (If the imitative name क्षि of

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1. A root denotes an action, whereas क्षि in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46 denotes the root क्षि and is therefore not a root.

2. *Scil.* and undergoes therefore the same operations which the original would have to undergo.



the root क्षि were invariably treated like the root क्षि, no case-termination could have been added to it, because according to P. I., 2, 45 a root is not termed *Prātipadika*). This is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VIII., 2, 46.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Paribhāshā is, so far as क्षि : is concerned, unnecessary because क्षि may be considered as an imitative name of that form of the root क्षि which the latter assumes before vowel-terminations.

Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VIII., 2, 46 : क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ दीर्घादिति किमर्थम् । अक्षितमासि मा मे क्षेष्टाः । दीर्घादिति शक्यमवक्तुम् । कस्मान्न भवति । अक्षितमासि मा मे क्षेष्टा इति । निर्देशादेवेदं व्यक्तं दीर्घस्य ग्रहणमिति । यदि इस्वस्य ग्रहणं स्यात्क्षेरित्येव ब्रूयात् ॥ नात्र निर्देशः प्रमाणं शक्यं कर्तुम् । यथैव ह्यत्राप्राप्ता विभक्तिरेवमियडादेशो ऽपि । नात्राप्राप्ता विभक्तिः । सिद्धात्त्र विभक्तिः प्रातिपदिकादिति । कथं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा । अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकमिति । ननु चाधातुरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । नैष धातुः । धातोरेतदनुकरणम् । यदनुकरणाभियडादेशो न प्राप्नोति । प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीतीयडादेशो भविष्यति । यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति । एवं तद्व्यातिदे-

1. Kaiyata: अक्षितमिति । क्षयः क्षितमिति भावे क्तः । भावश्च प्यदर्थ इति दीर्घाभावात्त्राभावः ॥ क्षेरिति । इयडादेशात्परत्वाद्धेङिति [७. 3. १११] इति गुणस्य न्याय्यत्वात् ॥ नात्र निर्देश इति । न हीयडादेशादीर्घस्य ग्रहणं प्रत्येतुं शक्यत इयङ्गमि-त्तस्य विभक्तेर्दुर्लभत्वात्ततो ऽप्राप्ता यथा विभक्तिः सौलत्वान्निर्देशस्य भवत्येवं इस्वस्यापी-यडादेशः स्यादिति दीर्घग्रहणमर्थवत् ॥ नैष धातुरिति । क्रियावाचिनो धातुसंज्ञाविधानान्निर्देशो चाक्रियावाचित्वान् ॥ प्रकृतिवदिति । अर्थभेदादनुकार्यानुकरणयोर्भेदाद्वाचनिकः कार्या-तिदेशः ॥ स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्नेति । अधातुरिति प्रकृतेः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिषेधादनुकरणस्यापि तत्प्रसङ्गात् ॥ व्यातिदेशिकानामिति । अतिदेशः प्रयोजनं येषां तान्यातिदेशिकान्यातिदेशभा-

शिकानां स्वाश्रयाप्यापि न निवर्तन्ते । अथाप्येतन्नातिदेशिकानां स्वाश्रयाप्यापि न निवर्तन्त इति । एवमपि न दोषः । अवश्यमत्र सर्वतो नैर्देशिकी विभक्तिर्वक्तव्या । तद्यथा नैर्विशः [ १. ३. १७ ] परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः [ १. ३. १८ ] विपराभ्यां जेः [ १. ३. १९ ] इत्येवमर्थम् । अथाप्येतन्नास्ति प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीति । एवमपि न दोषः । धातोरजादौ यद्रूपं तदनुक्रियते ॥

ञ्युच्यन्ते । ननु यदतिदेशकार्येणाविरुद्धं स्वाश्रयं कार्यं तन्मा निवर्ततां यन्नु विरुद्धं तत्कार्यं न निवर्तत । एवं तर्हीधातुरिति पर्थुदासो न प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध इत्यातिदेशिकस्य कार्यस्याभावाद्धातोरन्यत्वात्स्वाश्रया प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्रवर्तते प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधे तु निषेध एवातिदेशिकः स्यात् । इयङादेशस्वातिदेशिको धातोर्विधीयमानत्वाद्भवति स च दीर्घस्यैवेति दीर्घग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ अथापीति । यन्नाप्यधातुरिति प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध इति भावः ॥ अवश्यमिति । यस्मात्प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिषेधादप्राप्ता यस्माच्चोत्पन्ना लुप्ता तस्मात्सर्वस्मादित्यर्थः ॥ नैर्विश इति । नेरिति लुप्तविभक्तिकाव्ययानुकरणान्निर्देशार्थी विभक्तिर्विश इति निर्देशादेवाप्राप्ता विभक्तिरियङ् तु दीर्घानुकरणस्यैवेति दीर्घग्रहणमनर्थकम् ॥ अथापीति । इहानुकर्ता कदाचित्सामान्यमनुकरोति कदाचिद्विशेषं तत्र यदा सामान्यमनुक्रियते तदा विशेषनिबन्धनस्य कार्यस्य सामान्येऽभावात्प्रकृतावदृष्टादनुकरणेऽप्यभावो यदा तु विशेषोऽनुक्रियते तदा तन्निबन्धनं कार्यमनुकरणे प्रवर्तते । तत्र यदा धात्वधातुसामान्यं क्षिमात्तमनुक्रियते तदैयङोऽप्राप्तिरिति चिक्षियतुरित्यादौ कृतेयङादेशस्यैवमनुकरणमिति दीर्घादिति कर्तव्यम् ॥

### PARIBHĀṢĀ XXXVII.

One might ask : How is it that *e. g.* रामौ, after the Vṛiddhi vowel (औ) has been substituted (for the final अ of राम and the case-termination औ), should also on the Kâryakâlapaksha be termed a *Pada* ?<sup>1</sup> For (one might argue), as (औ) cannot be

1. The question whether रामौ be a *Pada* or not, arises when रामौ is employed before a verb, in such phrases as रामौ पश्य. P. VIII, 1, 28 teaches that a *Pada* which ends with a तिङ् is anudatta when it fol-

considered both as the final (of that to which the termination औ has been added) and at the same time as the initial (of the

lows upon a Pada which does not end with a तिङ्. If रामौ be a Pada, पश्य must by this rule be anudātta, but if it be no Pada, P. VIII., 1, 28 does not apply to पश्य. The Samjñā-rule P. I., 4, 14 which teaches that a word which ends with a सुप् or a तिङ् is termed a Pada, is on the Kāryakūlapaksha placed near P. VIII., 1, 28 and applies when that rule applies; that rule however takes effect only when रामौ is followed by पश्य i. e. after the formation of रामौ has been completed; consequently P. I., 4, 14 ought likewise to be applied after रामौ has been formed; but at that time रामौ cannot be called 'ending with a सुप्' and it can therefore on the Kāryakūlapaksha not be termed a Pada. Nor can रामौ be termed a Pada on the Yathoddes'apaksha, for although on this alternative P. VIII., 1, 28 takes its position near P. I., 4, 14, the latter rule can also in this case not be applied until P. VIII., 1, 28 is applicable, i. e. until रामौ has been formed and is followed by पश्य. If one however accepts Kaiyaṭa's view (pag. 6) that the Yathoddes'apaksha 'refers to those scholars who accept what they are taught as they hear it, and who, when they have understood the meaning of a particular sentence (in which a Samjñā or a Paribhāṣhā is taught) rest satisfied with the general knowledge that what they have learned will be of some use on a future occasion,' one has to apply the term Pada already to राम + औ i. e. before the substitution which is taught in P. VI., 1, 88, has taken place.

Pāyagunda and Bhairavamis'ra adopt the view that रामौ can neither on the Kāryakūlapaksha nor on the Yathoddes'apaksha be termed a Pada, the reason which Bhairava brings forward being 'यथोद्देशपक्षेऽपि पूर्वकालप्रवृत्तस्य पदत्वस्यैकादेशो कृते रामावित्यादौ समुदायस्यान्यत्वादलाभात्.' According to the author of the Sarvamangalā, on the other hand, there is no reason 'why रामौ on the Yathoddes'apaksha should not be termed a Pada. His own words are: न च यथोद्देशे राम औडित्यत्र परत्वाज्जित्यत्वा-

termination औ,<sup>1</sup> रामौ) does not begin with that (राम) to which (औ) has been added and end with that (termination औ, and it ought consequently not to be regarded as 'ending with a case-termination' or, in other words, it ought not to be termed a *Pada* by P. I., 4, 14). To answer this (the author of the *Paribhāṣhās*) says :

P. XXXVII : That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place).

(Literally, 'it is not like something else'). The word भनन्यवत् means 'not like something else.' As that (which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts) is (hereby) forbidden to be (considered as) *similar* to something else (than what it

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दन्तरत्नत्वाद्विरेचि [ ६. १. ८८ ] इत्यस्य प्रवृत्त्या पदत्वस्य स्थानिधर्मत्वाभावेन तत्रापि तदसिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् । वृद्धिरेचीत्यस्य पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घेण वाधे प्राप्ते (by VI., 1, 102) तस्य नादिचि [ ६. १. १०४ ] इति निषेधे ततो वृद्धिनिषेधसमकालमेव पदत्वमिति न दोषः ॥. Rāghavendrāchārya says that some remark that what Nāgojibhaṭṭa says here concerning the Kūryakālapaksha of the Padasamjñā-rule I., 4, 14 is contrary to the statement made above (pag. 12) that in regard to the terms *Bha*, *Pada* etc. in P. I., 4—II., 2, there exists only the Yathoddes'apaksha. But Bhairavamis'ra refutes this remark by stating that the terms *Bha*, *Pada* etc. are restricted to the Yathoddes'apaksha only when two of those terms apply simultaneously.

1. The substitute औ for अ + औ may either be considered as part of the base, and in that case it cannot be called a case-termination ; or it may be regarded as case-termination, but if this be done the base to which the case-termination has been added (*viz.* राम) ceases to exist.

was before the change had taken place), it can *a fortiori* not be (considered as altogether) something else.<sup>1</sup> On this account such (a word) conveys (after it has undergone the change in regard to one of its parts) the meaning (which it conveyed before. If) on the contrary (the word subsequently to the change were a different word) it would not convey (the meaning which it conveyed before), because one would no (longer) observe in it the sequence (of letters etc.) which determines its ability of possessing a particular force. And thus (राम remains after the loss of its final अ, *i. e.* after it has been changed to) राम्, when it (really) ends with म्, (still राम, and राम्) is (therefore like राम) that to which (औ) has been added; the (remaining) औ (which has been substituted for अ + औ) may be considered as the initial of the latter (औ) and is therefore a case-termination; accordingly the fact that (रामौ) begins with that (to which औ has been added) and ends with (औ, in other words, its ending with a case-termination or its being a Pada) is established by the circumstance that it combines in itself the meanings<sup>2</sup> (of a base and a case-affix. राम्) ending with म् is considered as that (to which औ has been added, *i. e.* as राम), after the manner in which one calls a dog whose tail has been cut off (still) a dog, (and its being regarded as such is there-

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1. Some explain अनन्यवत्, which they consider to be formed by means of the possessive affix मतुप्, by 'not possessed of the peculiarities or properties inherent in something else.' (केचित्तु वृत्तिविषयेऽत्रान्यशब्दस्य धर्मपरत्वेन मतुपा चान्यत्वस्यैव निषेधोऽनयेत्याहुः P.).

2. आर्थसमाज्यस्तमिति । अर्थानामयमर्थः समाजस्तेन यस्तमालिङ्गितम् । वर्तमानार्थसमुदायान्तर्गतम् । तदादितदन्तत्वं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययरूपार्थसमुदायान्तर्भूतमिति यावत् ॥ Sarvantangalā.

1. Ms. °न्तर्गततदन्तत्वं प्रकृति.°

fore) established by a maxim of ordinary life.<sup>1</sup> Just because this (maxim of ordinary life is adopted also in grammar), it has been remarked in the Bhāshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 83, subsequently to the statement that (दीव्यत् in) that (rule) represents the portion दीव्यत् of the word दीव्यति (in P. IV., 4, 2): 'why has (दीव्यति) been put down without (its final इ, viz. as दीव्यत्)? Pāṇini indicates (thereby), that the Paribhāshā "that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts etc." is in existence (and is valid in his grammar).' This (circumstance that the validity of this Paribhāshā which is established by a maxim of ordinary life is indicated by दीव्यत् in P. IV., 1, 83) proves the futility of the view, according to which this maxim applies only in the case of an operation that is taught in grammar and only in the case of a change that is taught in grammar, (for the dropping of the इ of दीव्यति is neither the one nor the other). But in regard to an operation that would depend on the part which has undergone a change (*e. g.* has been lost) this (maxim) is not (applicable), because, just as in the case of a dog whose tail has been cut off, it would be difficult to speak of (the dog) as having a tail, so it would (here) be difficult to make out that the part, after it has been dropped, is still present.<sup>2</sup> From the said consideration this (maxim) is

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1. This maxim of ordinary life is based on the circumstance that even though an object may be deprived of some of its parts, the perception of the greater number of parts that remain will still tell, to what kind or class the perceived object belongs. (भूयोऽयवदर्शनं जातिव्यञ्जकम् P.).

2. Viz. because the greater number of parts that remain tells us nothing about the part which has been lost. An operation therefore which solely depends on the part that has disappeared cannot take effect by this Paribhāshā.

likewise not (applicable) in the case of (a word etc.) which is given (in a rule) by means of a definite sequence (or limited number of letters etc.)<sup>1</sup> This is suggested in the Bhāshya and by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72.<sup>2</sup>

Where,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, half<sup>4</sup> or more than half<sup>5</sup> (of any word etc.) has undergone a change, there the Sthānivatsūtra (P. I., 1, 56 alone) can teach us that (any) operations (which would have depended on the original) take effect (also in the changed form); for here one does not recognize (that which has undergone the change) to be the same (what it was before the change had taken place), because one does not perceive (in the changed form) the greater number of parts (of the original) which, (had they been perceptible), would have indicated the

1. Although *e. g.* we perceive in सर्वक the greater number or rather all the parts of सर्व, which perception could tell us the kind or class to which the word सर्वक belongs, nevertheless, as the name *Sarvanāman* is given to the particular sequence of letters सर्व, we cannot term सर्वक a *Sarvanāman*, because it neither contains the particular sequence of letters सर्व, nor does it end with it.

2. See Mahābhāṣya I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 783 etc., especially the remarks of Nāgojibhaṭṭa :

भक्तपरिमाणानामिति । अत्र परिमाणमानुपूर्वविशेषोऽपि । परिमाणेत्युपलक्षणं परि-  
च्छिन्नार्थानां तदाह संख्येति ॥ नन्वधिकगङ्गादिजननेऽपि श्रुतः श्वत्त्वदकस्याधिकस्थो-  
पजनेऽपि सर्वकस्य सर्वशब्दत्वमक्षतमेवेत्यत आह । नित्या इति । वस्तुतः परिच्छिन्नप-  
रिमाणकग्रहण एकदेशविकृतन्यायस्याप्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भाष्याशयः ॥

Pāyagunda refers us also to the Bhāṣya etc. on P. I., 4, 13.

3. This is to prevent the supposition that the present Paribhāṣhā renders the Sthānivatsūtra superfluous.

4. As *e. g.* by P. III., 4, 86 एरुः.

5. As *e. g.* by P. VI., 4, 20 चरत्तर°.

class (or nature of the changed form; and consequently this Paribhāshā cannot be applied. The Sthānivatsūtra is) likewise (necessary) to make one recognize that (portion of anything) which undergoes the change, as still part (of the whole even after the change has taken place), except when that portion is a letter.

Occasionally, however, to suit particular forms (which have to be formed or to be accounted for by certain rules) the maxim (which is expressed in this Paribhāshā) is disregarded. In this manner we are able to account for such forms as अभीयात्.<sup>1</sup> And that a maxim occasionally is not applied has been distinctly stated by Kaiyaṣa<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1, 102. More elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

1. If this Paribhāshā were everywhere applied, the part भम् of अभीयात् would after the substitution of ई for the final of अभि and the initial of इयात् or ईयात् be termed a *Pada*, just as the original अभि is termed a *Pada*; subsequently व् should be substituted for भ् by P. VIII., 2, 39. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: न चालोपसर्गसंज्ञाया अक्षपरिमाणनिष्ठतया नेन न्यायेनोपसर्गत्वाभावात्पूर्वोपपादितरीत्यैव सिद्धिरिति लभ्यानुरोधपर्यन्तानुसंधानं विफलमिति वाच्यम् । पदत्वस्याक्षपरिमाणनिष्ठत्वाभावेन भान्ते जज्ञ्वाभावसिद्ध्यर्थे लभ्यानुरोधस्यावश्यकत्वात् ॥. See P. VII., 4, 24, by which, one might suppose, इ should be substituted also for the ई of अभीयात्; but this cannot be because भम् is no *Upasarga*.

2. न हि वचनस्यासत्तासंभावना न्यायस्तु क्वचित्कश्चिदाश्रीयत इति युज्यते वक्तुम्.

3. *Viz.* in the S'abdendus'ekhara. There it is stated that this Paribhāshā must be approved of by Patanjali because otherwise his remarks on P. I., 1, 57 (Ed. p. 661) about आयसौ would be wrong. श्रेयस् with अण् becomes आयस by P. VII., 3, 1; the Nom. Du. Masc. of आयस is आयस + औ=आयसौ. After the substitution in this form of औ for the final अ of आयस and the termination औ, आयस् is by this Paribhāshā termed *Anga* just as the original आयस was termed *Anga*. Now आयस् being termed *Anga*, and this *Anga* the final of which is स being besides



उगित्, and moreover the following औ being *Sarvanāsthāna*, आयस् should in accordance with P. VII., 1, 70 receive the augment नुम्. This is prevented in the Bhāṣya by the rule अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ. But if the present Paribhāṣhā were not valid, आयस् would not be termed *Anga*; consequently there would be no reason why it should receive the augment नुम्, and to prevent the addition of this augment by means of the rule अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ would be useless. This shows that Patanjali must have approved of the Paribhāṣhā.

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## PARIBHĀSHĀ XXXVIII.

**P. XXXVIII :** Of (these five kinds of rules,—*viz.*) a preceding (rule), a subsequent (rule), a *nitya* (rule), an *antaranga* (rule), and an *Apavāda*,—each following (rule) possesses greater force (than any one of, or all, the rules which in this Paribhāshā are mentioned before it).<sup>1</sup>

**A** subsequent (rule) possesses greater force than a preceding

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1. This Paribhāshā stands at the head of a very important chapter of the Paribhāshondus'ekhara which extends as far as Par. LXVI. The terms पूर्व 'preceding' and पर 'subsequent' are sufficiently clear in themselves; they refer to the sequence of the rules in Pāṇini's grammar. The term नियम will be defined in Par. XLII. etc., the term अन्तरङ्ग in Par. L., and the term अपवाद in Par. LVII. It has been considered safest to retain the three last terms in the translation, because no translation which either has been proposed by other scholars or which could have been invented, appeared to be sufficiently accurate. It will be clear from the following that all the five terms पूर्व, पर etc. do not apply merely to the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, but also to that which is taught in those rules; *e. g.* just as we say that the rule P. VII., 3, 103 is *para* with reference to P. VII., 3, 102, so we may also say that the *substitution* of ए (taught in P. VII., 3, 103), or the ए (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 103), is *para* with reference to the substitution of a long vowel (taught in P. VII., 3, 102), or with reference to the long vowel (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 102).

(rule); i. e. a subsequent (rule) supersedes by P. I., 4, 2 (a rule) which (in Pāṇini's grammar) precedes it.<sup>1</sup>

1. *E. g.* In the formation of the Dat. Plur. of वृक्ष, from वृक्ष+भ्यः, there arises the question whether the final भ्य of वृक्ष shall be lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102, or changed to ए by P. VII., 3, 103. Here the subsequent rule VII., 3, 103 supersedes by the present Paribhāshā the preceding rule VII., 3, 102, and भ्य is accordingly changed to ए. We obtain thus वृक्षेभ्यः. See pag. 19.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS XXXIX. AND XL.

Now one might say that, (if) then (a subsequent rule were always to supersede a preceding rule), बि<sup>1</sup> ought never, in the

1. P.: Some say: 'The right reading is भिन्द्रकीत्यल परत्वाद्धिना वाधितोऽकञ्चन स्यात्; the reading भिन्द्रकीत्यल परत्वात्तातङ्ग वाधितो भिर्न स्यात् is incorrect, because it is contrary to the Bhāshya and to Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 2, 28. There namely Kaiyaṭa has stated that Par. XXXIX. is occasionally adopted, viz. when the taking effect of the preceding rule does not render the taking effect of the subsequent rule impossible. (In the case of भिन्द्र the substitution of बि for हि, regarding which there is no option, would make the optional substitution of तातङ्ग for हि impossible, and Par. XXXIX. ought therefore according to Kaiyaṭa not to be resorted to in this instance). In the case of भिन्द्रकि, on the other hand, the insertion of अकच् before the final इ, which is taught in P. V., 3, 71, does not prevent the taking effect of P. VI., 4, 101, and भिन्द्रकि offers accordingly a genuine example of the application of Par. XXXIX.'

[Of. Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 28: अथ पूर्वस्मिन्योगे (i. e. in P. I., 2, 27) उद्ग्रहणे सति किं प्रयोजनम् | अद्ग्रहणं संयोगात्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् | अद्ग्रहणं क्रियते (viz. in P. I., 2, 27) संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थम् | अत्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थं च || संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत् |

(formation of the) 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद् (from भिन्द् + हि), to be (substituted for the original हि), because (its substitution ought to be) superseded by (that of) ततङ्; for (the rule P. VII., 1, 35 which teaches the substitution of ततङ्) follows (upon the rule P. VI., 4, 101 which teaches the substitution

प्रतभ्य प्ररभ्य । इत्थस्य पिति कृति तुक् [ ६.१.७१ ] इति तुग्मा भूत् ॥ अच्समुदायनि-  
वृत्त्यर्थम् । तितउच्छत्तं तितउच्छाया । दीर्घात्तदान्ताद्वा [ ६.१.७५, ७६ ] इति तुग्मा  
भूदिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तितउच्छत्तमिति । परत्वाद्दीर्घलक्षणे वा तुकि सति सकृद्भूतो विप्रतिषेध इति  
न्यायादुस्त्वलक्षणः पुनर्न प्रवर्तते । न चैवंविधे विषये पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानमस्ति नित्यविकल्प-  
योर्विरोधात्पूर्वण वाधान् । यत्र हि पूर्वं विधिः परं न बाधते तत्र पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानं कचि-  
दाश्रीयते ॥ ]

In reality, however, the above statement of Kaiyaṭa is incorrect because it is at variance with the Bhāṣhya, with Kaiyaṭa's own comment, and with the remarks of other scholars on P. VII., 1, 77. For there it is said that in the formation of अक्षी (from अक्षि+औ) the rule P. VII., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of ई for the final इ of अक्षि, supersedes the preceding rule P. VII., 1, 73, which teaches the addition of the augment नुम्; further, that when P. VII., 1, 77 has once taken effect, P. VII., 1, 73 is by Par. XL. prevented from applying again; that ई is substituted (by P. VII., 1, 19) for the termination औ, and that finally ई is (by P. VI., 1, 101) substituted for the final ई of the base and the termination ई.

[Of. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 77 . . . ईकारस्तु विधीयमानः परत्वानुमं बाधते तेन शीभावे कृते पूर्वसवर्णेनाक्षी इति सिध्यति । ].

If the statement made by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 28 were correct, Par. XXXIX. ought to have been applied here, and not Par. XL.; for in this case the addition of नुम्, which is taught in the preceding rule VII., 1, 73, would not have prevented the substitution of ई taught in the subsequent rule VII., 1, 77.

Moreover Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. I., 2, 28 is incorrect because it is contrary to the Bhāṣhya and to Kaiyaṭa's own remarks on P. I., 4, 74;

of वि for हि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XXXIX : (Occasionally the formation of a particular form) is accounted for by the fact that (a preceding rule) is allowed to apply again, (after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule).<sup>1</sup>

In (the formation of) the Gen. Fem. of लि, (from लि+आम्, two rules apply simultaneously, viz. P. VII., 1, 53 which teaches the

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for in the last mentioned passage Par. XXXIX. has actually been applied by Kaiyaṭa himself whereas the same scholar's statement on P. I., 2, 28 would prevent its application.

[Cf. Bhāṣya on P. I., 4, 74: तत्र च चिप्रतिषेधः । तत्र च व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । लवणीकृत्य ॥ न वा पूर्वेण कृतत्वात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । पूर्वेण कृतत्वात् । अस्वनेन विभाषा पूर्वेण (viz. by P. I., 4, 61) नित्या भविष्यति ॥ Kaiyaṭa : लवणीकृत्येति । अत्र हि परत्वादनेन विभाषा प्राप्नोति नित्या च गतिसंक्षेप्यते ॥ पूर्वेणेति । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति भावः ॥ ]

The truth is that either of the two Paribhāshās, XXXIX. or XL., may be resorted to, just as the particular forms that have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pāṇini's grammar require the adoption of the one or the other, and to indicate this Nāgojībhaṭṭa says pag. 36, l. 8 (of the text) तत्र लक्ष्यानुसारात् etc. The reading भिन्दीत्यत्र is therefore quite correct.

1. P. VII., 1, 35 supersedes therefore first P. VI., 4, 101 ; but after the former rule has taken effect and after we have obtained by it the two forms भिन्नात् and भिन्द्+हि, P. VI., 4, 101 is allowed to apply again and accordingly we change भिन्द्+हि to भिन्दि. But we are not allowed to substitute वि by P. VI., 4, 101 also for the तात् of भिन्नात् which by Sthānivatṭva would be equivalent to the original हि, because such a proceeding would render the rule P. VII., 1, 35 entirely useless.—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 66 ; 106.

substitution of त्व for लि, and P. VII., 2, 99 which teaches the substitution of तिसृ for लि; such being the case, P. VII., 2, 99 supersedes by Paribhāshā XXXVIII. P. VII., 1, 53) because it follows upon that rule, (and) तिसृ is (accordingly by P. VII., 2, 99) substituted (for लि). Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhāshā XXXIX. were to be acted upon in every case, the substitute) त्व (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53) ought, (after the substitution of तिसृ has taken place, in accordance with that Paribhāshā) to be substituted (for तिसृ, to which P. VII., 1, 53 would) again (be applicable, because तिसृ by Sthānivadbhāva would be equivalent to the original लि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XL: When (two rules), while they apply (simultaneously), mutually prohibit each other,<sup>1</sup> that (rule of the two) which is once superseded (by the other), is superseded altogether (and cannot therefore apply again after the latter rule has taken effect).<sup>2</sup>

(The latter) of these (two Paribhāshās, viz.) Par. XL., is established thus : as two operations, either of which takes effect

1. P. : गतौ शास्त्रयोः प्राप्ती सत्यां यो विप्रतिषेधस्तस्मिन्सति सकृदेकवारं यद्वाहितं तद्वाहितमेव; or the words गतौ विप्रतिषेधे are explained to mean: 'when (two rules either of which) takes effect (in the formation of some form or forms where the other is not applicable) prohibit each other mutually (while they apply simultaneously in the formation of one and the same form).' Pāyagunda's own words are: यद्वा गत्यभिन्ने विप्रतिषेधेऽन्यत्र लब्धवादकाशयोरेकास्मिन्पदसंभावितप्राप्तेरेव विप्रतिषेधपदार्थत्वेनोक्तत्वात् । अन्यत्प्राग्वत् ।.

2. Accordingly, when P. VII., 1, 53 has once been superseded by P. VII., 2, 99, it cannot apply again, and त्व can therefore not be substituted for तिसृ.

in (the formation of) some (form or forms where the other does not apply<sup>1</sup>), cannot possibly both take effect simultaneously in (the formation of) one and the same (form), the two rules (which teach those two operations) would apply alternately just as (the affixes) ढृच् etc. (of P. III., 1, 133 etc. are added alternately), because there is nothing that could invalidate (either rule). Under these circumstances the rule P. I., 4, 2 is intended to convey the *restriction* (that the subsequent rule *only* is to take effect). Paribhāshā XXXIX., (on the other hand), is established thus: when two men of equal power have one messenger, he will do their business alternately; (but) should both send him simultaneously and their orders require him (to go) in different directions, he will not do the business of either of them, because he cannot do it simultaneously. In the same manner two rules either of which takes effect in (the formation of) some form or forms (where the other does not apply) would have no concern with a form (to which both apply) because they cannot take effect simultaneously. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent rule (shall take effect). Should, after the (subsequent rule) has taken effect, the preceding rule be (still) applicable, then that rule likewise takes effect. (All) this is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 2.

Kaiyaṭa and others,<sup>1</sup> however, (differ from the above. A word denotes either an individual or it denotes a genus;<sup>2</sup> *e. g.* the word ब्राह्मण 'Brāhman' denotes either an individual Brāhman, or it may denote the genus Brāhman, *i. e.* any and every Brāhman. On the former alternative the term वि in P. VII., 1, 53 denotes

<sup>1</sup> कैयटादयः; अदिना सीरदेवहरदत्तकौस्तुभकृदादयः. P.

<sup>2</sup> See Mahābhāshya, Ed. Ballantyno pag. 41.

the individual त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed. Similarly the term त्रि in P. VII., 2, 99 denotes the individual त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Instr. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Dat. and Abl. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Loc. Fem. is formed. On the latter alternative the term त्रि both of P. VII., 1, 53 and of P. VII., 2, 99 denotes only one thing, *viz.* whatever falls under or possesses the genus त्रि, any and every त्रि whatsoever. Kaiyaṭa and others) maintain (now) that on the first alternative a rule is repeated as many times as there are individual 'forms (that fall under the rule; *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 is repeated three times, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed; similarly P. VII., 2, 99 is repeated seven times, once for the त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed etc.) Such being the case, whenever one and the same form (such as that त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) falls under two rules (P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99), both (rules) ought to apply to it alternately because they (or at any rate one of them) would (otherwise) serve no purpose, (both rules applying exclusively to the one individual त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and to no other त्रि whatsoever).<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, (however), the (rule

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1. Instead of the one rule त्रैलोक्यः we have three rules त्रैलोक्यः, one for the त्रि of the Gen. Masc., one for the त्रि of the Gen. Fem., and one for the त्रि of the Gen. Neut. Similarly instead of the one rule त्रिचतुरोः etc. we have seven rules त्रिचतुरोः etc., one for the त्रि of the Nom. Fem.,



P. I., 4, 2) is intended to convey the *restriction* that the subsequent (rule P. VII., 2, 99) only (shall take effect,) and thereby Par. XL. is established. On this alternative the preceding rule (P. VII., 1, 53) is in consequence of this restriction not repeated for that one form (नि where the subsequent rule P. VII., 2, 99 only is to take effect, *i. e.* for that नि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed). On the other hand, on the alternative that a word denotes a genus, two rules (such as P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99) either of which takes effect in some form<sup>1</sup> which is possessed of that which determines its being subject to (either) rule,<sup>2</sup> (as *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 takes effect in the case of the नि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, and P. VII., 2, 99 in the case of the नि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed), would neither of them apply where they would come into conflict with each other, or in other words, where both would not be able to take effect simultaneously, (which would be the case in the Gen. Fem. of नि), just

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one for the नि of the Acc. Fem. etc. For the नि of the Gen. Fem. we have the two rules लेख्यः and लिचतुरोः etc., which do not concern any other नि except that of which the Gen. Fem. is formed. As both these rules must be given for some purpose we should have to apply both alternately, if P. I., 4, 2 did not prescribe another course. On the Jāti-paksha we have only one rule लेख्यः and one rule लिचतुरोः etc.; the former we make use of *e. g.* in the Gen. Masc. of नि, the latter *e. g.* in the Nom. Fem. In the Gen. Fem. where both rules would come into conflict with each other, we might be inclined to apply neither rule because both rules *do* serve a purpose even without being applied in the Gen. Fem. But here again we are directed by P. I., 4, 2 to adopt a different course.

1. *Viz.* which does not fall under the other rule.

2. *E. g.* The नि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed is possessed of the genus लिङ्ग and it falls therefore under the rule P. VII., 1, 53 लेख्यः in which नि is the उद्देश्य *i. e.* that यदुद्दिश्य तयादेशो विधीयते.

as two inferences cannot be drawn from two counterbalanced reasons. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent (rule shall take effect), and thereby Par. XXXIX. is established.

All this, (however), is inadmissible. For there is nothing to prove that a rule extends its operation to every (individual) word (which may fall under it, only) on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus; we see namely that in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus is had recourse to for the very purpose that in such phrases as 'one should not kill a Brāhman' (the prohibition) should extend to *every* individual of the genus (Brāhman). In such phrases as 'the ox shall be bound' the object (of the binding) has accordingly<sup>2</sup> in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 2, 64 been declared to be improper, should the word (ox) denote the genus (ox), because (in that case) the command would not (extend) to (certain) particular (oxen, but would) extend to all (oxen), while (in reality) it is impossible to bind all oxen. On the other hand, it has been stated that when (a word, such as 'ox,') denotes (individual) objects, in such expressions as 'the ox shall be bound' one (object) will be referred to in the command while another will not be referred to, because it is impossible to form a conception of *all* (individual) objects. (Kaiyaṭa's view is) further (inadmissible) because there is no proof for it that the example of (the affixes) तृच् etc.<sup>3</sup> which is given in the Bhāṣhya

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 2, 64: धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । एवं च कृत्वा धर्मशास्त्रं प्रवृत्तम् । ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः सुरा न पेयेति ब्राह्मणमात्रं च न हन्यते सुरामात्रं च न पीयते । यदि द्वयं पदार्थः स्यादेकं ब्राह्मणमहत्वेका च सुरामपीत्वान्यत्र कामचारः स्यात्॥

2. अत एव, जातिपक्षस्य व्यापकत्वादेवेत्यर्थः. P.

3. See above pag. 190.

holds good generally only on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus. Moreover even on the alternative that a word denotes an individual it is quite possible to say that a certain individual (word, such as the त्वि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) does not allow itself to be operated upon by two (rules) that are both (otherwise) effective, (*viz.*) in operating (each separately) on other individual (words), because (the two rules) would come into conflict (if that one त्वि of the Gen. Fem. did allow itself to be operated upon by both). And as regards the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus, there is nothing to determine why (a rule) should extend its operation only to certain individuals of the genus (and) not (also) to other individuals (of the same genus).

One should (then) keep in mind that of the two (examples mentioned on pag. 190) sometimes<sup>1</sup> the example taken from (Pāṇini's) grammar (*i. e.* the example of the affixes कृच् etc. or, in other words, Par. XL.) is had recourse to, sometimes<sup>2</sup> the example from ordinary life (*i. e.* the example of two equally strong men who have one messenger or, in other words, Par. XXXIX.), just as (particular) forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pāṇini's grammar,) require (the adoption of the one Paribhāshā or the other), and that only this course which is approved of in the Bhāṣhya is the proper (course to adopt).

In order that the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2 should apply), it is only necessary that it should be impossible for two operations (either of which takes effect in the formation of some

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1. *E. g.* in the case of विसृणाम्.

2. *E. g.* in the case of भिन्दि.

form or forms where the other is not applicable, to take effect) simultaneously (when both apply in the formation of one and the same form). This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) <sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 3. The following are instances :

(a). In (the formation of) the form in तत् of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of शास्, (from शास्+हि, where P. VI., 4, 35 teaches the substitution of शा for शास्, and P. VII., 1, 35 the substitution of तातङ् for हि,) the sequence of the causes of each of these substitutions (i. e. शास्+हि) cannot exist when both substitutions take place simultaneously <sup>2</sup>; (and) although it certainly does exist in consequence of the Sthānivattva of तातङ् and (of शा), yet that (Sthānivadbhāva obtains) only after the substitution (of तातङ् and of शा) but not while the latter are being substituted.

(b). So in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. Nout. of पियक्रोष्टु (from पियक्रोष्टु+इ) etc. (where P. VII., 1, 72 teaches the addition of

1. Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 3; Ed. Ballantynopag. 265.: एवमप्युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः । न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः । नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः । किं तर्हि । असंभवोऽपि । स चाख्यन्नासंभवः । कोऽसावसंभवः । इह तावद्वृक्षेभ्यः ब्रक्षेभ्य इत्येकः स्थानी द्वावदेशौ । न चास्ति संभवो यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावदेशौ स्याताम् । इहेदानीं मेद्यति मेद्यतो मेद्यन्तीति द्वौ स्थानिनावेक आदेशः । न चास्ति संभवो द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यादित्येषोऽसंभवः । सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विकार्ययोग इति । द्वाभ्यां कार्यभ्यां योगो यस्य स्थानिनः स विप्रतिषेधविषयत्वाद्विप्रतिषेधः ॥ नावश्यमिति । द्विकार्ययोगत्वाभावे केवलोऽप्यसंभवो विप्रतिषेध इत्यर्थः ॥ इह तावदिति । दीर्घत्वं च यञ्यनन्तरे विधीयत एत्वं च झत्यनन्तरे न च संभवोऽस्ति यद्भूयोः स्वेनस्वेन निमित्तेनानन्तर्यं स्यात् ॥ इहेदानीमिति । मिदेरित्येका षष्ठी सा यद्ययवसंबन्धे तदेकारस्य गुणेन भाव्यमथ स्थानषष्ठी तदालोऽन्त्यस्येति वचनादकारस्य न चास्ति संभवो युगपदुभयोर्युगस्येत्यर्थः ॥

2. By the substitution of तातङ्, हि would disappear; and by the substitution of शा, the base शास् would disappear.

the augment नुम् to the final उ of the base, and P. VII., 1, 95 the change of प्रियक्रोष्टु to प्रियक्रोष्टृ both these operations cannot (take effect) simultaneously, because Par. XI. (by which प्रियक्रोष्टुन् would be equal to प्रियक्रोष्टु) would (only) be applicable after the addition of (the augment) नुम् (but not while it is being added).<sup>1</sup>

(c). (The case of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद्) must be regarded in the same manner. In (the formation of) this form (from भिन्द्+हि namely, where P. VII., 1, 35 teaches the substitution of तत्तद् for हि, and P. VI., 4, 101 that of चि for the same हि), both these substitutes cannot simultaneously take the place of the same original (हि), nor can the (same) base (भिन्द्), which is one of the causes (of either substitution, at the same time) precede (both substitutes).

(d). So do also (the augments) नुम् (which by P. VII., 1, 73 is added to the final of a neuter base ending in इ, उ, ऋ, [and ए], before a vowel-termination) and नृट् (which by P. VII., 1, 54 is prefixed to the termination भाम् after a base that ends in a short vowel etc.) mutually prohibit each other (e. g. in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of वारि from वारि+भाम्), because they cannot (be added simultaneously); for when नृट् (is prefixed to भाम्, the base) ceases to be followed by a vowel-termination, (and) when नुम् (is added to वारि) the base ceases to end in a short vowel.

In some cases <sup>2</sup> where (the particular forms which it is) desired (to form or to account for by Pāṇini's rules) require (the

1. *Scil.* and because प्रियक्रोष्टृ would be termed 'Anga' by Sthānivatva only after the change of प्रियक्रोष्टु to प्रियक्रोष्टृ.

2. *E. g.* in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of क्रोष्टु, क्रोष्टूनाम्, where P. VII., 1, 54 teaches that नृट् shall be prefixed to the termination भाम्, and P. VII., 1, 97 the optional change of क्रोष्टु to क्रोष्टृ before the vowel-termination भाम्, P. VII., 1, 54 supersedes P. VII., 1, 97 although it precedes that rule. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 123; 143.

adoption of such a course), a preceding (rule) is (allowed to supersede a subsequent rule, whereas according to Par. XXXVIII. the subsequent rule should supersede the preceding rule.) Such is the case when in the preceding rule a Svarita is assigned (to that which is taught in it), because (the rule P. I., 3, 11( स्वरितेनाधिकारः) conveys the meaning that (a rule) in consequence of the Svarita has greater effect (than it would have without it, i. e. that it supersedes a subsequent rule, whereas without the Svarita it would have been superseded by the latter). This disposes, as appears from the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 3, 11, of all the cases in which a preceding rule supersedes (a subsequent rule of equal force).<sup>1</sup> In the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 4, 2 it is stated that (all) those (cases) are disposed of by the circumstance that the word ॠ in P. I., 4, 2 means 'desirable,' (i. e. that the rule P. I., 4, 2 conveys the meaning that, 'when two rules of equal force mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two takes effect the taking effect of which is required for the formation of the correct forms of the language').

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 3, 11: पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठितव्या भवन्ति । गुण-  
वृद्धयौत्तृत्वाद्वाभ्यो नुं पूर्वविप्रतिषेद्धं नुमचिरतृत्वाद्वाभ्यो नुडिति नुमुद्यौ स्वरयिष्यते ।  
तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकः कारो भवतीति नुमुद्यौ भविष्यतः । कथं पुनरधिकः कार इत्यनेन पू-  
र्वविप्रतिषेधाः शक्या न पठितुम् । लोकतः । तद्यथा लोके अधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते  
योऽयं दुर्बलः सन्नलवद्धिः सह भारं वहत्येवमिहाप्यधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं पूर्वः  
सन्नरं बाधते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: पूर्व इति । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यमिति वचनात्पूर्वो बाध्यः स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञानेन  
बाधकः संपद्यते तुल्यजातीयस्य बाधको न नु नित्यत्वादियुक्तस्य ॥

Extract from the Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 4, 2 :

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ विप्रतिषेध इति कोऽयं शब्दः । विप्रति-  
पूर्वास्तिषेधः कर्मव्यतीहारे षञ् । इतरेतरप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः । अन्यो-  
न्यप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः ॥ कः पुनर्विप्रतिषेधः । द्वौ प्रसङ्गावन्यार्थवि-  
कस्मिन्स विप्रतिषेधः । द्वौ प्रसङ्गौ यदान्यार्थौ भवत एकस्मिन्श्च युग-  
पत्प्राप्तुतः स विप्रतिषेधः । क पुनरन्यार्थौ क चैकस्मिन्प्राप्तुतः ।  
वृक्षाभ्यां वृक्षेष्वित्यन्यार्थौ वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्र युगपत्प्राप्तुतः । किं च स्यात् ।  
एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः । एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवा-  
त्पूर्वस्याश्च परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः । इदं विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत  
एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्ग इति । कथं ह्येकस्मिन्नाम  
युगपदसंभवः स्यात्पूर्वस्याः परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गश्च स्यात् । नैत-  
द्विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवादिति । कार्ययोर्युगपदसंभवः  
शास्त्रयोरुभयप्रसङ्गः । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यम् । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्रा-  
प्नोति । तद्यथा तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति । किं पुनः कारणं तृजादयः  
पर्यायेण भवन्ति । अनवयवप्रसङ्गात्प्रतिपदं विधेश्च । अनवयवेन प्रस-  
ज्यन्ते प्रतिपदं च विधीयन्ते ॥

अप्रतिपत्तिर्वाभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात् । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा पुनरुभयोः शास्त्र-  
योः स्यात् । किं कारणम् । तुल्यबलत्वात् । तुल्यबले ह्युभे शास्त्रे ।  
तद्यथा द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करो-  
ति यदा तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिषु च कार्यं भवतस्तदा यद्यसा-  
वविरोधार्थी भवत्युभयोर्न करोति । किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति ।

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above :

किं च स्यादिति । यदीदं नारभ्येतेति भावः ॥ इतरो व्यक्तिपदार्थाश्रयेण पर्यायप्रसङ्गमाह ।  
एकस्मिन्निति ॥ अनवयवप्रसङ्गादिति । सर्वव्यक्त्युद्देशेन शास्त्रस्य प्रवर्तनादिभ्यर्थः ॥ प्रति-  
पदं विधेक्षेति । अनेनोत्सर्गोपवादवैधर्म्यं दर्शयति । न ह्युत्सर्गः प्रतिपदं विधीयते । तत्र प-  
र्यायप्रसङ्गे नियमार्थमिदं परमेव भवति न पूर्वमिति । एतस्सूत्रारम्भाच्च पूर्वस्य लक्षणस्य त-

यौगपद्यासंभवात् । नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः । तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थवचनम् ।  
तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् ॥

तव्यदादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः । तव्यदादीनां तु कार्यस्याप्रसिद्धिः । न हि  
किञ्चित्तव्यदादिषु नियमकारि शास्त्रमारभ्यते येन तव्यदादयः स्युः ।  
यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्बोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति तुल्यः स  
तव्यदादिषु । नैष दोषः । अनवकाशास्तव्यदादय उच्यन्ते च ते वचना-  
द्भविष्यन्ति । यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टस्तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नो-  
तीति तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु ॥

एतावदिह सूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परमिति । पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः । सकृ-  
द्रतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव । पुनश्च पठिष्यति । पुनःप्रस-  
ङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेणोभयं लभ्यम् । लभ्यमित्याह ।  
कथम् । इह भवता द्वौ हेतू व्यपदिष्टौ । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति ।  
अप्रतिपत्तिर्बोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति च । तद्यदा तावदेष हेतुस्तृजादिभि-  
स्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते ।  
नियमः । विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति । तदैतदुपपन्नं भवति सकृद्रतौ  
विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेवेति । यदा त्वेष हेतुरप्रतिपत्तिर्बोभयोस्तु-  
ल्यबलत्वादिति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते । द्वारम् । विप्र-  
तिषेधे परं तावद्भवति तस्मिन्कृते यदि पूर्वमपि प्राप्नोति तदपि भवति ।  
तदैतदुपपन्नं भवति पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति ॥

विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युक्ताङ्गाधिकारे पूर्वमिति वक्तव्यम् । किं कृतं भव-  
ति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठनीया भवन्ति । गुणवृद्धचौच्चतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुं

त्रानारम्भोऽनुमीयते । तदुच्यते सकृद्रतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेवेति ॥ इदानीं जातिप-  
क्षाश्रयणेनाह । अप्रतिपत्तिर्बोति । अत्र पक्षे विध्यर्थमिदं परं भवतीति तस्मिन्कृते यदि  
पूर्वस्य प्राप्तिनिमित्तमस्ति ततस्तदपि प्रवर्तते । तदुच्यते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति ॥  
तव्यदादीनां तु कार्यस्येति । परत्वादेः साधुत्वस्य चेत्यर्थः । एकवाक्योपात्तत्वादनवकाश-  
त्वाच्च नास्त्येषां परत्वेन व्यवस्था ॥ तृजादिभिरिति । आदिशब्दस्य प्रकारार्थत्वानृजा-



पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुडिति । कथमङ्गाधिकारे ये परविप्र-  
तिषेधाः । इत्वोच्चाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेनेति<sup>१</sup> । सूत्रं च भिद्यते ।  
यथान्यासमेवास्तु । कथं ये पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः । विप्रतिषेधे परमित्येव सि-  
द्धम् । कथम् । परशब्दो ऽयं बहुवचः । अस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते तद्यथा  
पूर्वः पर इति । अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते । परपुत्रः परभार्यान्पुत्रोऽन्यभार्येति  
गम्यते । अस्ति प्राधान्ये वर्तते तद्यथा परमियं ब्राह्मणी । अस्मिन्कुटुम्बे  
प्रधानमिति गम्यते । अस्तीष्टवाची परशब्दस्तद्यथा परं धाम गत इतीष्टं  
धाम गत इति गम्यते । तद्य इष्टवाची परशब्दस्तस्येदं ग्रहणं विप्रति-  
षेधे यदिष्टं तद्वति ॥

दिभिस्तन्वदादयो न भिन्ना इत्यर्थः ॥ सकृद्भूताविति । यथा कुरुतात्त्वमिति हेर्लुक्च प्राप्नोति  
तातङ् च । परत्वात्तातङ् । तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात्कुम्भं प्रवर्तते ॥ द्वारमिति । अप्रतिपत्त्यप-  
नयनेन परशास्त्रप्रवृत्तेर्द्वारमुपायः क्रियत इति यावत् ॥ पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति । ईजतु-  
रिति परत्वात्संप्रसारणे कृते द्विवचनं भवति । लभ्यानुरोधेन च व्यक्त्वाकृतिपदार्थाश्रयणादन-  
योः परिभाषयोः विषयविभागोऽवसेयः ॥ तद्य इष्टवाचीति । इष्टानिष्टविभागश्च व्याख्यान-  
द्वौद्धम्यः ॥

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 100 ; 129.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XLI.

(In the formation of the Present tense of एध, from एध्+तिङ् [for लट्] two rules apply simultaneously, viz. P. I., 3, 12 which teaches that only the affixes called Ātmanepada shall be substituted for लट् after a root distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel etc., and P. III., 1, 68 which teaches that the Vikaraṇa शप् shall be placed after a root when a Sārvadhātuka affix follows which denotes an agent). Now one might say that (if) then (a subse-  
quent rule by Par. XXXVIII. always supersedes a preceding

rule of equal force except in those particular cases where there is a Pārvavipratishedha), the Vikaraṇa (ञप् which is taught in P. III., 1, 68) ought in (the formation of) the Present tense of एष् etc. (to be added to the root before the taking effect of the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12) because (the rule which teaches its addition) follows upon (the latter rule); and further, that after the addition of the Vikaraṇa a restrictive rule like P. I., 3, 12 would no longer be applicable because (तिङ्, the substitute for ङ्,) would be separated (from the root) by the (Vikaraṇa. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

**P. XLI :** A restrictive rule possesses greater force than (rules which teach the addition of) Vikaraṇas, (and it accordingly takes effect before the latter).<sup>1</sup>

The fact that (Pāṇini) teaches by his rule I., 3, 92 that the Parasmaipada-terminations<sup>2</sup> may optionally be (substituted for ङ् after the roots वृत् etc.), when स्य follows<sup>3</sup> (those roots), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā. If), on the other hand, (the Paribhāshā did not exist, the Vikaraṇa स्य would be added to the roots वृत् etc. first, and subsequently) the rule (P. I., 3, 12) which restricts (वृत् etc. to the Âtmanepada) would not be applicable because (ङ्) would be separated (from वृत् etc.) by (the

1. Accordingly the rule P. I., 3, 12 which restricts एष् to the Âtmanepada takes effect first; afterwards the Vikaraṇa ञप् is added to एष् before the termination<sup>०</sup> ते etc.

2. भतङ्गिधानम्, i. e. परस्मैपदविधानम्; the object in dividing thus is to show that P. I., 3, 92 is a rule which does away with a prohibition, viz. with the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12. (एवमुक्तेः फलं तु तस्य प्रतिप्रसवविधित्सूचनम्) P.

3. स्ये *scil.* परतः. P.

Vikaraṇa) स्य; (the substitution of) both (the Parasmaipada and the Âtmanepada-terminations for लृ) would in that case follow from the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), and it would consequently be superfluous to teach (in I., 3, 92) the optional (substitution of the Parasmaipada-terminations for लृ). But after the substance of the above (Paribhāshâ) has once been indicated (by P. I., 3, 92) the Locative of स्य in that (rule) must be taken to mean, 'wherever स्य may be added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other,' and not 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' just because according to the Paribhāshâ the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 takes effect before the addition of स्य.<sup>1</sup> All) this is found in the Bhāshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 3, 12. In the Bhāshya on P. I., 3, 60<sup>2</sup> it is suggested that the same (rule P. I., 3, 92) indicates that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (तिङ् or लृ) be separated (from the root) by a Vikaraṇa.

1. If स्ये in P. I., 3, 92 were explained by 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' then I., 3, 92 would not do away with the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 because this rule takes effect before the addition of स्य to वृत् etc.

2. Viz. in the discussion on the Vārttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्गुवाय उपसंख्यानम् (उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्गुवाय उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । न्यविशत व्यक्रीणीत ।) it is said तत्र खलु लादेशे त्रीणि कार्याणि युगपत्प्राप्नुवन्ति । विकरणा भडागमो नियम इति । तद्यदि सर्वतो नियमो लभ्येत कृतं स्यात्तन् न लभ्यम् ; hereon Kaiyaṭa comments thus : ननु पूर्वमेव ज्ञापकाद्विकरणेभ्यो नियमस्य बलायस्त्वं साधितं तत्किमुच्यते तन् न लभ्यमिति । उच्यते । अन्यथापि तदज्ञापकं समर्थयितुं शक्यते । कृतोऽपि विकरणी न व्यवधायक इति ॥.

P. 'On P. I., 3, 60 the Vārttika उपसर्गपूर्व<sup>०</sup> is given. This Vārttika would be superfluous if the present Paribhāshâ were adopted; for in that case the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 17 would in the formation e. g. of the Imperf. of नि विश् (from नि+विश्+तिङ् [for लङ्] where the three rules I., 3, 17; III., 1, 77; and VI., 4, 71 apply) take effect first; then the Vikaraṇa-rule III., 1, 77 would take effect because it is *nitya*, and final-

In reality<sup>1</sup> the true state of the case is as follows. The above Jñāpaka-(rule P. I., 3, 92) proves that P. I., 3, 12 and the following rules on the same subject (do not, as was assumed before, contain a restriction, but) unite with the (general) rule P. III., 4, 78 so as to form together with it one rule.<sup>2</sup> Now the Ablative धातोः (which in that general rule is valid from P. III., 1, 91) means there धातोर्विहितस्य (*viz.* लस्य, *i. e.* 'in the place of the ल्') which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root; consequently (the Ablative) अनुदात्तङितः in P. I., 3, 12 etc., which stands in apposition to (धातोः), must like (the latter) qualify (the ल्) which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root, (or in other words, we have to explain: 'Let those terminations which will be termed Ātmanepada come in the place of ल् which, as has been taught elsewhere, is placed after a root, provided the latter be distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory

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ly the Adāgama-rule VI., 4, 71. Now, however, the Jñāpaka-rule I., 3, 92 is made to indicate, not the existence of the present Paribhāshā, but the fact 'that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (तिङ् or ल्) be separated (from the root) by a Vikarāṇa; accordingly the Vikarāṇa-rule III., 1, 77 takes effect first because it is both *pura* and *nitya*; subsequently the Adāgama-rule VI., 4, 71 takes effect because it is *nitya*. Afterwards the Niyama-rule I., 3, 17 would take effect notwithstanding that the Vikarāṇa श् separates the root from तिङ्, if the augment भट् did not separate the root विश् from the preposition नि, and therefore the Vārttika उपसर्गपूर्व<sup>०</sup> becomes necessary. In the above no regard has been paid to the maxim लावस्थायामाट्.' See pag. 62.

1. Nāgojibhaṭṭa now proceeds to give (from वस्तुनः-तत्त्वम्) the real opinion of the author of the Bhāṣhya, which is stated in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 3, 12 in the words यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत etc; परिभाषा means there 'like a Paribhāshā.' P.

2. The Vidhyekavākyaṭṭi is as follows: धातोर्लस्य स्थाने निवादयो भवन्ति ते चानुदात्तङितो लस्य स्थाने तादृशा भवन्ति येषां जातानामात्मनेपदसंज्ञा भवति P.

vowel etc'). And thus the presence of the *Ātmanepada*-terminations (in एभिष्यते etc.) is accounted for even on the alternative that स्य is added to the root which छ् is still present (i. e. before the personal terminations have been substituted), and notwithstanding that (छ्) is separated (from the root) by स्य. As regards (the Vikaraṇas शप् etc, the so-called) restrictive rules (P. I., 3, 12 etc.) always take effect before the addition of शप् etc. (because according to P. III., 1, 68 etc. शप् etc. are added to a root after the terminations तिप् etc. have been substituted for छ्). Or,<sup>1</sup> (so far as the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are concerned, one may say that) the substitutes (तिप् etc.) are *antaranga* because (their substitution) depends on (the presence of) छ् only, and that स्य etc. are *bahiranga* (and therefore to be considered as absent so far as regards the substitution of तिप् etc.) because (the addition of स्य etc.) depends on (the presence of) the letter छ् specified (by such other letters as ऋ etc.); and (on this assumption) there would be nothing wrong were one to explain the Ablative (भातोः etc.) in accordance with P. II., 3, 29 (by 'in the place of छ् which follows upon a root,' viz. because the personal terminations would be substituted while स्य etc. are still absent). On this (second) alternative the rule P. I., 3, 92 (or rather the Locative of स्य in that rule) must be explained

1. P: कैयटानुरोधेनाह । उमात्रेति ॥ वस्तुतस्तत्र मात्रशब्देन परनिमित्तमव्यवच्छेदः । तथा चापरनिमित्तकत्वादित्यर्थः ॥ आदेशाः । ऊदेशाः ॥ ऊकारेति । ऊकाररूपो यो विशेषः परस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः । परनिमित्तकत्वादिति यावत् ॥; see pag. 47 of the text. The substitutes तिप् etc., are *antaranga* because their substitution is not caused by anything that follows upon the छ् for which they are substituted; the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are *bahiranga* because their addition is caused by the following लृ etc.; ( भातोः स्यतासी स्तो लृज्जुदोः परयोः ).

'wherever स्य is added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other'.<sup>1</sup> When, as was stated above, the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc. form one rule together with the general rule P. III., 4, 78, then) the words *Ātmanepada* etc. must be considered to denote (those terminations) which at some future time, (*viz.* when the substitution of the personal terminations for लृ has taken place,) will be termed (*Ātmanepada* etc.).

If,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, one treats (the general rule P. III., 4, 78 and such rules as P. I., 3, 12 etc.) as separate rules and (accordingly) makes (the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc.) restrict the (terminations लिप् etc. the substitution of which for लृ is) directed by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), then one must assume that (certain forms) which (previously) had been formed are by the restriction abolished in the same manner in which (certain forms are abolished) by (the substitution of) लृक् etc.—The maxim (from ordinary life) which is expressed in the words 'what would one gain by saying to a person who *has* eaten, "do not eat", cannot fitly be admitted here, in grammar, because it would deprive restrictive and other<sup>3</sup> rules of all meaning. This is suggested in the *Bhāshya* on P. I., 1, 50;<sup>4</sup> on the other

1. *Viz.* because स्य etc. are absent while the personal terminations are being substituted for लृ.

2. P.: In order to show the correctness of the view which is expressed in the words वस्तुतः—तत्त्वम्, Nāgajibhaṭṭa proceeds now (in the words भिन्नवाक्यतया—गौरवम्) to mention the faults which the two first views (विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान्, and विकरणव्यवधानेऽपि etc.) involve.

3. *E. g.* prohibitory rules (*Nishedhas*).

4. *Viz.* by the word वा of उक्तं वा in the *Bhāshya*, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 576. On pag. 574 the question is raised whether the rule स्थानेऽन्तरतमः teaches certain substitutes independently of other rules, or is a restrictive rule concerning substitutes that would result from other rules,

hand, (the opinion) that a rule may possibly be meaningless, has been refuted in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 1.—When then by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78 eighteen terminations) take the place (of ल्), this necessitates the formation of as many bases (*viz.* of one base for each termination) in the manner indicated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 64<sup>2</sup> in accordance with which

and accordingly merely supplements these other rules. In the discussion on the second alternative (pag. 575) it is stated that on the adoption of this alternative not only the correct but also incorrect forms would be formed, because it would be impossible for the rule स्थानेऽन्तरतमः to abolish certain forms if they had once been formed by other rules; this argument is supported by the Loka-nyāya यो हि भुक्तवन्तम् etc. (Bhāṣhya: इष्टा व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पेत । न सर्वे सर्वत्रैष्यन्ते । इदमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् । अनर्थकं च । अनर्थकमेतस्यात् । यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयन्मा भुक्था इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इष्टा व्यवस्थेति । अकः सर्वर्णे दीर्घ इत्यनेन लक्षणेन यदा सर्वे दीर्घाः कृतास्तदा तेषां साभुतं विज्ञातं न चानेन तेषामेवासाधुवं शक्यं प्रतिपादयितुमिति भावः ॥).

This is refuted on pag. 576:

Bhāṣhya: उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनादिति । षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः षष्ठ्यानिर्दिष्टस्येति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: उक्तं वेति । इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यत्र । यत् षष्ठी तत्रेदमुपतिष्ठते तेनैकवाक्यतानेन सूत्रेण विधिवाक्यानामिति विधानकाल एवान्तरतम आदेशो विधीयते ॥

Nāgojibhaṭṭa: आनर्थक्यं परिहरति । उक्तं वेति ॥ द्वितीयपक्षद्विदमुपपादयति । एक-वाक्यतेति ॥ एवं चैतरस्याविधानमेवेति तादृशव्यवस्थसिद्धिरिति भावः । परे तूत्पन्नानामनेन निवृत्तिलुगादिनैवेति भावः । एतदाशयमज्ञानान् आह । निर्वृत्तौ सिध्यति (pag. 575) इति । तदभ्युपेत्य समाधत्ते । उक्तं वेति । भुक्तवतो भोजनफलनृपेज्जातत्वान्निषेधस्य वैयर्थ्येऽपि शास्त्रे वृद्धिरदिच्छसूत्रभाष्योक्तशास्त्रप्रामाण्याद्भुगादिनैव जातनिवृत्तिरिति वाशब्देन सूचितार्थमन्याहुः ॥

P. The word वा indicates that the Loka-nyāya is not adopted in grammar; for, if वा did not do so, it would be superfluous because no alternative (which वा might denote) is mentioned in the Bhāṣhya.

1. See Bhāṣhya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 219: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्शयति-पाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं वर्णनाप्यनर्थक्येन भवितुं किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ॥

2. For there Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhāṣhya यथैव बहवो यजः

that which is subservient must be repeated as many times as that to which it is subservient, and when a termination is (by a restriction) abolished, this necessitates also the abolishment of the base which had been formed for it. This (shows that this whole view) is too cumbrous (to be maintained). More<sup>1</sup> elsewhere.

(in the sense of 'many descendants [expressed by the affix यञ्] of one Garga') एवं प्रकृतयोऽपि बहुवचनः स्युः thus : एकैकस्यापत्यस्य प्रकृत्यर्थेन योगाग्रधानभेदे च गुणावृत्त्या गार्ग्यशब्दानामेवैकशेषः क्रियत इत्यर्थः. The base गर्ग has to be repeated as many times as there are affixes यञ्; as the rule teaches the addition of यञ् to गर्ग, the latter is subservient to the former; it is *guṇa* while यञ् is *pradhāna*. Cf. also pag. 9, note 1.—P. adds : किंचैकस्मादनैकेषां परत्वासंभवादित्यपि बोध्यम्.

1. P. But if we say that in consequence of the Niyama the (prohibited) personal terminations are never substituted at all, then the two views which have been mentioned first (before वस्तुनः) are likewise faultless. Therefore Nāgajibhaṭṭa concludes with 'more elsewhere' viz. in the Uddyota etc.

Extract from the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 3, 12 :

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । आत्मनेपदवचनं नियमार्थम् । नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः । किमुच्यते नियमार्थोऽयमिति न पुनर्विध्यर्थोऽपि स्यात् । लविधानाद्विहितम् । लविधानाद्द्वयात्मनेपदं परस्मैपदं च विहितम् । अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् । किं तर्हीति । विकरणैस्तु व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न

1. Kaiyaṭa : किमर्थमिति । किं विहितानां लादेशानामनेन नियमः क्रियतेऽथ वाक्यैक्याक्यतया विधिरिति प्रश्नः ॥ नियमार्थ इति । एकवाक्यतायां भाविनी संज्ञाश्रयणीयेति वाक्यभेद एवाश्रीयते तेन नियमोऽयं संपद्यते ॥ परत्वादिति । विकरणानामवकाशोऽलादेशाक्षान्नादयो नियमस्यावकाशो लिङ्गलिटावार्धधातुकसंज्ञौ स्पष्टत इत्यादावुभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्विकरणास्तेन व्यवधानान्नियमाप्रसङ्गः ॥ अनवकाश इति । सर्वत्र विकरणानां व्यवधा-



प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधार्य विकरणाः कियन्तां नियम इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाद्विकरणाः । नित्याः खल्वपि विकरणाः । कृतेऽपि नियमे प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति । नित्यत्वाच्च परत्वाच्च विकरणेषु कृतेषु विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अनवकाशो नियमः । सावकाशः । कोऽवकाशः । य एते लुग्विकरणाश्च श्लुविकरणाश्च लिङ्लिटौ च ॥ यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत । किं कृतं भवति । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । लस्य तिबादयो भवन्तीत्युपस्थितमिदं भवत्यनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदं शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदमिति । एवमपीतरेतराश्रयं भवति । केतरेतराश्रयता । अभिनिर्वृत्तानां लस्य स्थाने तिबादीनामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञया भावितव्यं संज्ञया च तिबादयो भाव्यन्ते तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते । परस्मैपदेषु तावन्नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । परस्मैपदानुक्रमणं न करिष्यते । अवश्यं कर्तव्यम् । अनुपराभ्यां रुजः [ १. ३. ७९ ] इत्येवमर्थम् । ननु चैतदप्यात्मनेपदानुक्रमण एव करिष्यते । स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्तर्यनुपराभ्यां रुजो नेति ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु चापि नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । कथम् । भाविनी संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते सूत्रशाटकवत् । तद्यथा कश्चित्कञ्चित्तन्तुवायमाहास्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति स पश्यति यदि शाटको न वातव्योऽथ वातव्यो न शाटकः शाटको वातव्यश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धं

यकत्वादिति भावः ॥ यदि पुनरिति । आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदाभ्यां लिङ्गाभ्यामिदं प्रकरणं लादे-  
शविभावप्राप्तिष्ठते । तत्र महावाक्येन विहितेषु लादेशेषु विकरणा इति दोषाभावः । स्यादिषु  
कथं ते हि लावस्थायामेव विधीयन्ते इति तैर्व्यवधानान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । उच्यते । लमात्रापे-  
क्षत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वालादेशेषु कृतेषु लकारविशेषापेक्षया बहिरङ्गाः स्यादयो भविष्यन्ति येनना-  
प्राप्तिन्यायेन शबादीन्वाधित्वा शबादिविभावानुवर्तनाद्वा ॥ एवमपीति । एकवाक्यतापक्षे विहि-  
ता लादेशा न सन्ति येन तेषां सतामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञे स्यातां ततश्चेतत्परिभाषोप-  
स्थाने सति संज्ञाश्रयं लादेशविधानं लादेशविधानाश्रया च संज्ञेति भावः ॥ परस्मैपदानुक्रमणी-

भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञाभिप्रेता स मन्ये वातव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक  
इत्येतद्भवतीत्येवमिहापि स लस्य स्थाने कर्तव्यो यस्याभिनिर्वृत्तस्यात्म-  
नेपदमित्येषा संज्ञा भविष्यति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्तु नियमः । ननु चोक्तं  
विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्ति-  
ज्ञापयति विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयानिति यदयं विकरणविधावात्मनेप-  
दपरस्मैपदान्याश्रयति पुषादिद्युताद्युदितः परस्मैपदेषु [ ३. १. ५५ ]  
आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् [ ५४ ] इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अभिनि-  
र्वृत्तानि हि लस्य स्थान आत्मनेपदानि परस्मैपदानि च । यत्तर्ह्यनुप-  
सर्गाद्वा [ १. ३. ४३ ] इति विभाषां शास्ति ॥

मिति । नन्वसति परस्मैपदानुक्रमणे परस्मैपदमनुदात्तङ्गिद्युः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आत्मने-  
पदसंबन्धावगमेन तेषां परस्मैपदसंबन्धवाधनाच्छेषादेव परस्मैपदमवस्थास्यते ॥ अवश्यमिति ।  
आत्मनेपदवाधनार्थमित्यर्थः ॥ यदयमिति । कृतनियमानामसंकरेण स्थितानां हि निमित्तभावो-  
पपत्तिः ॥ अभिनिर्वृत्तानीति । प्रागपि नियमात्तेषां संभवमात्रेण निमित्तत्वाविरोधात् ॥ यत्तर्ह्येति ।  
एतत्तु लिङ्लिट्थे स्यात् । चक्रमे चक्राम क्रम्यात् कंसीट्येति । तस्माज्ज्ञापकदिवप्रदाशिता भा-  
ष्यकृता । ज्ञापकं तु वृद्धयः स्यसन्तोः [ १. ३. ९२ ] इत्यत्र स्ये विकल्पविधानम् ॥

## PARIBHĀṢHĀ XLII.

(A rule which is) *nitya* possesses (greater) force than a sub-  
sequent (rule which is not *nitya*),<sup>1</sup> because it would apply if

1. This we know already from the general Paribhāṣhā XXXVIII., and परान्नित्यं बलवत् should therefore not have been printed as a separate Paribhāṣhā; the real Par. XLII. is कृनाकृतप्रसङ्गि नित्यं तद्विपरीतमनित्यम्.— Par. XLII. defines the terms *nitya* and *anitya*; in Par. XLIII., XLIV., and XLV. the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII. is restricted, and it is shown that certain rules or operations which by Par. XLII. would be *nitya*, must nevertheless be regarded as *anitya*. Occasionally, however, the restrictions contained in Par. XLIII.—XLV. are

(the subsequent rule) were to have taken effect and applies when (the latter) does not take effect. The reason<sup>1</sup> why that (rule) of the two which is *nitya* possesses greater force (than the subsequent rule which is not *nitya*) is this, that in preference to making that not take place which (without interference on our part) would take place under any circumstances, we decidedly ought to make that (not take place) which under certain circumstances would really not take place. This (the author of the Paribhāshās) expresses (thus):

P. XLII: (A rule) which would apply if (another rule that applies simultaneously,) were to have taken effect, and which applies when (that other rule) does not take effect, is *nitya*; (a rule) with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

Accordingly, in the Pres. Ind. of तुद् etc. the affixes ञ etc. (which are taught in P. III., 1, 77 etc.) have, because they are *nitya*, superseded (the substitution of) गुण (for the penultimate

disregarded, and the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII., is therefore repeated in Par. XLVI. Subsequently, Par. XLVII. guards against too narrow an acceptance of the expression कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमाल in Par. XLVI., while Par. XLVIII., on the contrary, states that कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमाल occasionally must be taken in the very sense against which we were guarded by Par. XLVII. Finally, Par. XLIX. contains a further restriction of the general definition of the term *nitya* which it was unnecessary to mention because it is contained already in Par. XLIII.

1. P. कृताकृतप्रसङ्गत्वस्य षष्ठ्यन्तप्रयोजकत्वं न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धमित्याह त्वेति । परीनश्योर्भेद्य इत्यर्थः ॥ तन्कल्पनमिति । अभावकल्पनमित्यर्थः ॥ उचितमिति । उपस्थितलाघवादिनि भावः ॥

उ etc.), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 3, 86.).<sup>1</sup>

### PARIBHĀṢĀ XLIII.

In order to intimate that (a rule) can be said to apply both when (another rule) has taken effect and before (that other rule) takes effect, (or, in other words, can be said to be *nitya*), only, when the particular wordform in reference to which (it teaches something) is exactly the same when it is applied again (i. e. after the taking effect of the other rule), as it was when

#### 1. Examples: a) तुदति.

तुद्+ति P. III., 1, 77 Vikarāṇa ञ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).

P. VII., 3, 86 Guṇa for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

P. III., 1, 77 applies before the substitution of Guṇa for उ, and it would apply also if Guṇa were substituted for उ and if तुद् were accordingly changed to तौद्. On the other hand, P. VII., 3, 86 applies before ञ is added to तुद्, but after the addition of ञ to तुद् Guṇa could not by P. VII., 3, 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly, P. III., 1, 77 is *nitya*, and P. VII., 3, 86 *anitya*; III., 1, 77 takes therefore effect first (तुद्+ति) and subsequently VII., 3, 86 is no longer applicable.

#### b.) दण्डि Si. Kau. II., pag. 158:

दध्+ति P. III., 1, 78 Vikarāṇa ञ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).

P. VII, 3, 86 Guṇa for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

#### c.) धिनवाव Si. Kau. II., pag. 70:

धिनु+व P. III., 4, 92 आ prefixed to व; (*nitya*).

P. VI., 4, 107 optional Lopa of उ before व; (*para*, but *anitya*).

it was applied first (i. e. before the other rule had taken effect, the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XLIII: When the wordform in reference to which a rule teaches something (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously) would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.

This is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 3, 60; for there<sup>1</sup> it is stated that in (the formation of) न्यविशत् (the addition of the augment) भट् is (by the present Paribhāshā) not *nitya*, viz. because after the addition of the Vikaraṇa (श् to विश् the augment) भट् would have to be prefixed to that which ends with the Vikaraṇa (i. e. to विश् ), whereas, before the addition of the Vikaraṇa, (the augment) भट् would be prefixed to the root (विश्) only.

1. Bhāshya on P. I., 3, 60: एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रभार्यमट् क्रियतां विकरणा इति किमल कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादडागमो नित्या विकरणाः कृतेऽप्यटि प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि । अ-  
डपि नित्यः कृतेष्वपि विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्योऽट् । अन्यस्य कृतेषु  
विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृतेषु शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्निधिरनित्यो भवति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: शब्दान्तरस्येति । विकरणास्तु शब्दान्तरादपि प्राप्नुवन्तो नानित्याः ॥

The addition of the Vikaraṇa श् is taught in P. III., 1, 77; the augment भट् in P. VI., 4, 71; here P. VI., 4, 71 is regarded as *anitya*, because before the addition of the Vikaraṇa the augment would have to be prefixed to विश्, and after its addition, to विश्. On the other hand, P. III., 1, 77 is, against Par. XLIV., (but in accordance with Par. XLVI.,) regarded as *nitya*, although श् before the addition of the augment would have to be added to विश्, and after its addition, to अविश्.—See also note 2 on pag. 202.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XLIV.

(The author of the Paribhāshās also) gives (the following Paribhāshā which is based) on the same maxim on which the preceding (Paribhāshā was based):<sup>1</sup>

P. XLIV: When the wordform after which (a rule) should take effect, or the wordform before which (a rule) should take effect, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then (the former rule) is not *nitya*.<sup>2</sup>

1. P. तुल्यन्यायेनेति । प्रागुक्तवचनमूलभूतयुक्तिनित्यतयेत्यर्थः । यद्व्यक्तिसंबन्धितया पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिस्तद्व्यक्तिसंबन्धित्वेनाप्राप्त्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वाभाव इति प्रागुक्ते वचने मूलं तच्च शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्तवदादावपि तुल्यमिति भावः ॥

2. In the Mahābhāṣya I have found this Paribhāṣhā nowhere, and Pāyagunda gives no examples for it. Bhairavamis'ra says : भाव्योदाहरणं मा भवानुजिहदिति । अत्र सूहेर्णिचि जुङि चङि शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्तवतीऽनित्याद्वित्वात्पूर्वं परत्वेन णौ चङीत्युपाद्भस्वत्वस्य प्रवृत्तिर्भवति ॥

ऊहि+चङ्+लुङ् P. VI., 1, 11 reduplication of हि;

P. VII., 4, 1 substitution of उ for ऊ.

Here P. VI., 1, 11 is *anitya*, because before the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1 the reduplication of हि would take place after ऊ, while after the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1, it takes place after उ. P. VII., 4, 1 takes therefore effect first, because it is *para*.

यदि तु णौ चङीनि सूत्रभाष्योक्त्या यदयमोणिमृदितं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो द्विर्वचनाद्भूस्वनं वलीय इति रित्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वेन द्वित्वस्य नित्यत्वेऽपि ह्रस्वत्वस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिरित्युच्यते तदा च्यवन्ते ष्ववन्त इत्युदाहरणं बोध्यम् । अत्र हि गुणे कृते शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्तवत एकादेशस्यानित्यत्वात्पूर्वं गुणो भवति । अन्यथैकादेशे ङिति निषेधः स्यात् ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XLV.

(The author of the Paribhāshās also) states (the following) which is founded entirely on the preceding :<sup>1</sup>

द्यु+श्च+भन्ते P. VI., 1, 97 substitution of the भ् of भन्ते for the भ् of द्यु+श्च and the भ् of भन्ते;

P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for उ before द्यु.

If VI., 1, 97 were *nitya*, it would take effect first; subsequently भन्ते would be क्ति by P. I., 2, 4, and Guna forbidden by P. I., 1, 5.

अत्राप्यचः परस्मिन्निति स्थानिवद्भावस्य निषेधे कर्तव्ये प्रवृत्तिरिति चेदुच्यते तदा ने-  
विश इति सूत्रस्थस्य न्यविशतेत्यत्र विकरणान्तस्याटि कृते विशेनेः परत्वाभावाज्जियमानुपप-  
त्तावुपसर्गनियमेऽङ्गुवाय उपसंख्यानमिति यद्वाचिकं तस्योक्तिसंभव एवैतस्याः प्रयोजनम् ॥

Of. note 2 on pag. 202. Before the augment भट् is prefixed to विश, the Niyama P. I., 3, 17 would take effect after विश, but when भट् has been prefixed to विश, P. I., 3, 17 would have to take effect after भविश, and it is therefore *anitya*. The present Paribhāshā as well as the Vārttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमे become unnecessary as soon as Par. XLI. is adopted.

द्वितीयोदाहरणं नु करिष्यते हरिष्यत इत्यादि । अत्र हि शब्दान्तरे प्रामुवतो विकरण-  
स्यानित्यत्वात्कादेशो स्वरितञितः [१.३.७२] इत्यनेन कृतेऽस्य प्रवृत्तिः । अन्यथा कृते विक-  
रणे जितः परत्वाभावाज्जियमो न स्यात् ॥

कृच् + लट् P. I., 3, 72 substitution for लट् of the Ātmanepada-terminations only.

P. III., 1, 33, addition of स्य to कृच् before लट्. This latter rule is *anitya* because, so long as P. I., 3, 72 does not take effect, it would have to take effect before लट्, and after the taking effect of P. I., 3, 72, before ते etc.; P. I., 3, 72 takes therefore effect first. In this instance the present Paribhāshā is likewise rendered superfluous by Par. XLI. and by the remarks which have been made on that Paribhāshā.

As all the examples which are given by Bhairavamis'ra can be explained without the present Paribhāshā, we conclude with the remark of Rāghavendrabhārya : शब्दान्तरादीनामनन्यथासिद्धानि फलानि मृग्याणि.

1. P. एतदिति । उक्तपरिभाषाद्वयमूलकमेवेत्यर्थः । एवेनापूर्वत्वनिरासः ॥

**P. XLV :** A rule (which applies both before and after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), is (nevertheless) not *nitya*, when (after the taking effect of that other rule) it would take effect in consequence of (the existence of) some (third) rule (without which it would no longer apply).

This (Paribhāshā) is mentioned by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 where (an operation) is (by P. I., 1, 62) transferred (from the affix उ to the Lopa substituted for it).<sup>1</sup>

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमुकारलोपः पश्चाद्गुणः । कृते सुकारलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमिति गुणेन भाव्यं ततो लक्षणान्तरेण च प्राप्तुमन्विषिरनित्य इति गुणस्यानित्यत्वम् ॥

कृ+उ+वः; P. VI., 4, 108 Lopa of उ before व्;

P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for ऋ before उ.

The latter rule is *anitya* because after the substitution of Lopa for उ Guna can be substituted for ऋ only in consequence of P. I., 1, 62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्. First, Lopa is substituted for उ by P. VI., 4, 108; afterwards Guna for ऋ by P. VII., 3, 84; thus we obtain कृ+वः; subsequently उ is substituted for the अ of कृ by P. VI., 4, 110, because the substitution of Lopa for उ which is taught in P. VI. 4, 108 is by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to P. VI., 4, 110.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS XLVI.—XLVIII.

But<sup>1</sup> when (the author of the Paribhāshās), without (paying any regard to) the rules, considers merely whether the opera-

1. In the remarks on Par. XLII. it has been stated that in the formation of नुदति from नुद्+ति the Vikarana-rule is *nitya* because it applies both before and after the substitution of Guna for उ. Now, how-



tions that are enjoined by them are *nitya* or not, and when he moreover does not concern himself (with the question) whether particular wordforms would or would not be the same (before and after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously),<sup>1</sup> then he says :

P. XLVI : Occasionally<sup>2</sup> (it) also (happens that an operation) is *nitya* solely because it would apply if (another operation that applies simultaneously) were to have taken effect, and applies when (that other operation) does not take effect.

The fact is that, should (an operation) which is suspected to be *nitya*, apply again after the taking effect of a second (operation which applies simultaneously), this alone justifies our terming (the operation) *nitya* ; but that, (to warrant our terming such an operation *nitya*), it is not required that (the operation) when it applies (again), should also not be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) should thus be attended by results.

This (the author of the Paribhāshās) expresses (thus) :

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ever, one might object that the Vikarana-rule ought nevertheless to be regarded as *anitya* both by Par. XLIII. and XLV., viz. because by the substitution of Guṇa जुद् would be changed to तौद् (*S'abdāntara*), and because तौद् only in consequence of P. I., 1, 56 (*Lakṣhaṇāntareṇa* would be equivalent to the original जुद्. To prove then, that the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya*, in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV., it becomes necessary to give Par. XLVI.

1. In other words, when both Par. XLV., and Par. XLIII. and XLIV. are disregarded.

2. E. g. in the formation of जुदति, where the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya* in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV.

P. XLVII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third) rule, is not (on that account regarded as) not *nitya*.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, however, (to justify our terming an operation *nitya*), it is considered necessary that (the operation) when it applies (again), should *not* be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) *should* thus be attended by results. This (the author of the Paribhāshās) expresses (thus):

P. XLVIII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed

1. E. g. उट् from वृत्त. Here P. VI., 1, 15 teaches the substitution of Samprasāraṇa (उ) for वृ, P. VI., 3, 112 the substitution of ओ for the अ of वृ. After the substitution of Samprasāraṇa for वृ, the cause of the substitution of ओ, i. e. the radical अ, would be removed by P. VI., 1, 108 which teaches that Samprasāraṇa shall be the substitute of Samprasāraṇa and a following vowel; the substitution of ओ is nevertheless not *anitya*, but it is on the contrary *nitya*, simply because it applies both before and after the substitution of Samprasāraṇa. See the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 3, 112: नित्यं संप्रसारणं कृते ऽप्योत्पत्तेः प्रामोत्यकृते ऽपि भौत्वमपि नित्यम् । कथम् । कृते ऽपि संप्रसारणे प्रामोत्यकृते ऽपि । अनित्यमोत्पत्तेः न हि कृते संप्रसारणे प्रामोति । किं कारणम् । अन्तरङ्गं पूर्वत्वम् । यस्य लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनित्यम् । न च संप्रसारणमेवौत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्यवश्यं लक्षणान्तरं पूर्वत्वप्रतीक्यम् । उभयौनित्ययोः परत्वादौत्वम् । औत्वे कृते संप्रसारणे कृते संप्रसारणपरंपूर्वत्वम् । तत्र कार्यकृतत्वात्पुनरोत्पत्तिं न भविष्यति ॥

by another (third) rule, is (sometimes) also (regarded as) not *nitya*.<sup>1</sup>

In<sup>2</sup> the seventh (Adhyāya, on P. VII., 1, 23,) Kaiyaṭa has in support of these (last two Paribhāshās) quoted the two (following) sayings from ordinary life : 'Although in the fight between Bālin and Sugrīva Bālin was slain by the venerable (Rāma), nevertheless (some) people do not say that Sugrīva was more powerful than Bālin (*viz.* because Bālin was slain, not by Sugrīva, but by Rāma); and (on the other hand), although the Pāṇḍavas obtained the victory (over the Kauravas) because they were assisted by the venerable (Vāsudeva), yet (some) people say that the Pāṇḍavas were more powerful (than the Kauravas).'

And all the above (Paribhāshās) are applied severally (each in particular cases) according as (different) forms (have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pāṇini's grammar).

1. See Par. L. pag. 42, l. 18 of the text : सिद्धान्ते नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमूक्यणस्तूटि यणा वाचित्वादनित्यः.

सिक्+न; P. VI., 4, 19 teaches the substitution of ऊ for व्; P. VII, 3, 86 the substitution of गुण for इ; here the latter operation is regarded as *anitya*, because after the substitution of ऊ for व् (in सिक्+न) its cause, *viz.* इ, is removed by P. VI., 1, 77 by which rule य् is substituted for इ before ऊ. (Of. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 154, note 27).

2. P. : अनयोर्न वाचनिकत्वं किन्तु लोकरन्यायसिद्धत्वंमित्याह सप्तम इति.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XLIX.

In the Bhāshya on the rule P. II., 4, 85<sup>1</sup> we read the following (Paribhāshā) :

1. Likewise in the Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 3 and elsewhere.

P. XLIX: When (the wordform) in reference to which a rule teaches something, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect) in consequence of (some difference of) accentuation, then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.<sup>1</sup>

Where,<sup>2</sup> however, one and the same operation is both (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and *nitya*, there one may

1. In the formation of कुमार्ये from कुमार्य+ए two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 3, 112 by which अ should be prefixed to ए, and P. VI., 1, 174 by which ए should become *udātta*; both these rules are *anitya*, the former by the present Paribhāṣhā because before the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 174 ए is *anuddātta* whereas after its taking effect it would be *udātta*, the latter by Par. XLIII. because before the taking effect of P. VII., 3, 112 ए would become *udātta* whereas after its taking effect ऐ would become *udātta*. See Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 6: एवं तर्हिदिमह संप्रधार्यमाङ्गितमुदात्तत्वमिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादाडागमः । नित्यमुदात्तत्वं कृतेऽप्यपि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । आडपि नित्यः कृतेऽप्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्य आडन्यथास्वरस्य कृत उदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यन्यथास्वरस्याकृते । स्वरभिन्नस्य प्राप्नुवन्विधिरनित्यो भवति । उदात्तत्वमनित्यमन्यस्य कृत आटि प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृते प्राप्नोति । शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्विधिरनित्यो भवति । उभयोरनित्ययोः परत्वादाडागमः ॥

Bhairavamis'ra gives the following instance: when we form a compound of दक्षि which is *adyuddātta*, and of उदक, two rules apply simultaneously, viz. P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of दक्षि, and P. VI., 2, 96 by which दक्षि should become *antodātta*. Because then दक्षि would have a different accent before and after the taking effect of P. VI., 2, 96, the rule P. VI., 1, 77 is *anitya*, and VI., 2, 96 takes effect first. We obtain thus दक्षि+उदक and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 77 and VIII., 2, 4 दक्ष्युदक. Had P. VI., 1, 77 been *nitya* and accordingly been applied first we should have obtained दक्ष्यु+उदक=दक्ष्युदक.

2. Nāgojibhaṭṭa concludes with a general remark on *nitya* operations,

optionally put down either (of those two circumstances) or both of them as the cause of the greater force of that (operation). Therefore we find here and there in the Bhāṣhya the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and because it is *nitya*.' In reality the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule)' is in those (passages) employed by one who is only partly acquainted (with the true and final opinion of the author of the Bhāṣhya).<sup>1</sup> This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 4, 2.<sup>2</sup>

In the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 4, 1 the only reason which has been assigned for the fact that the reduplication would take effect before the (substitution of the) short vowel, is this 'that it is *nitya*,' although (the reduplication) is both *nitya* and *antaranga*.

One should remember that a *nitya* as well as an *antaranga* (rule) likewise<sup>3</sup> only then possesses greater force (or, in other words, only then supersedes, or takes effect before, another rule), when it cannot take effect simultaneously (with that rule).

1. P. निर्यानिन्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधासंभवादिति भावः.

2. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 2: कार्यमित्यन्तर्हीये कृत्यः । करणार्हे कार्यम् । तुल्यबले च करणार्हमिति निर्यानिन्योस्सर्गापवादान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गेष्वस्य सूत्रस्याव्यापारः ॥ Therefore one ought to say only *नित्यत्वात्*; or where two reasons are really possible, there one ought to put down the first; to show this Nāgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say 'In the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 4, 1.'

3. I. e. just as a *para* rule. See Par. XL. Or एवं may mean उक्तवत् and may introduce a further general remark.

## PARIBHĀṢHĀ L.

An *antaranga* (rule) possesses greater force even than a *nitya* (rule), because that which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). This (the author of the Paribhāṣhās) expresses (thus) :

P. L : That which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect).

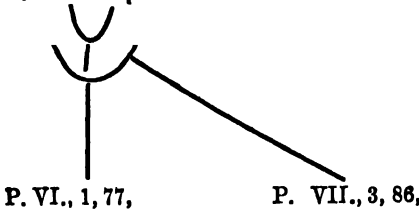
*Antaranga*<sup>1</sup> is (a rule) the causes (of the application) of

1. Definition of the terms अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग pag. 41, l. 9-12.  
अङ्ग is equivalent to शब्दरूपं निमित्तम् p. 41, 12-p. 43, 14.  
(a) Meaning does not make an operation *bahiranga* p. 41, 13-p. 42, 1; (b.) nor does dependence on technical terms make an operation *bahiranga* p. 42,-p. 43, 14.  
*Antaranga* and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *alpāpeksha* and *bahvapeksha* p. 42, 13.
2. Meaning of the whole Paribhāṣhā, and its *Linga*; p. 43, 15-p. 44, 2.
3. The Paribhāṣhā has no concern with the rules in P. VIII., 2-4; p. 44, 3-p. 45, 11. General Jñāpaka, ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132; p. 44, 3-15.
4. Special Jñāpaka (आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) to prove, that a *bahiranga* rule which applies *simultaneously* with an *antaranga* rule, is likewise *asiddha*; p. 45, 12-p. 47, 4.
5. Refutation of the view that *sāmānyāpeksha* is *antaranga* in regard to *vis'cshāpeksha*, p. 47, 5-p. 49, 7.
6. The existence of the Paribhāṣhā is also established by a *Loka-nyāya*; (*antaranga* is equivalent to *antahkārya* i. e. *pūrvopasthitanimittaka*, but not to *pūrvasthānika*); p. 49, 8-p. 50, 8.
7. The Paribhāṣhā must sometimes not be applied; p. 50, 9-16.

which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule<sup>1</sup>; in like manner (that rule) the causes (of the application) of which lie without (or beyond) the sum of the causes of that (*antaranga* rule) is *bahiranga*.<sup>2</sup> This is clear from the Bhāshya

1. अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are two Bahuvrihi-compounds; they are adjectives and denote a rule, or an operation, or that which is taught in a rule. The word अङ्ग neither denotes here 'a member of the body,' nor is it the grammatical term अङ्ग as defined in P. I., 4, 13, but it is equivalent to उपकारक 'that which assists (an operation)', or, in other words, it denotes the निमित्त *i.e.* 'the cause' of an operation.

2. E. g. a.) सि ङ्ङन



Substitution of य् for इ before ङ्ङ; Substitution of Guna for इ before न;  
*antaranga.*                                      *bahiranga.*

In the formation of स्थोन, from सिङ्ङन, ङ्ङ is substituted for the इ of सिङ् by P. VI., 4, 19 (see note 1 on pag. 218); we obtain thus सि ङ्ङन. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ङ्ङ, and P. VII., 3, 86 by which Guna should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of य् for इ is caused by ङ्ङ, that of Guna for इ by न; as then the cause ङ्ङ of the substitution of य् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of Guna, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of Guna without or beyond the cause ङ्ङ of the substitution of य्,—the substitution of य् for इ and the rule P. VI., 1, 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of Guna for इ and the rule P. VII., 3, 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accord-

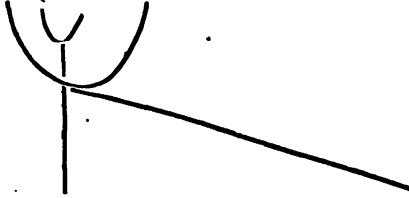
and from Kaiyaṭa's (comment) on P. VIII., 3, 15 and VI., 4, 22.<sup>1</sup>

The word भञ्ज in this (Paribhāshā) denotes only a formal cause<sup>2</sup> (such as a letter or a combination of letters), because in

ingly P. VI., 1, 77 must take effect, because P. VII., 3, 86, so far as the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 77 is concerned, does not exist.

b.) नृ - पति + ण्य =

नार - पति + ण्य



P. VIII., 3, 15,

P. VII., 2, 117,

Substitution of Visarjaniya before तृ;

Substitution of Vṛiddhi for

ऋ before ण्य;

*antaranga.*

*bahiranga.*

When the affix ण्य is added to नृपति (to form नारपत्य), it causes by P. VII., 2, 117 the substitution of Vṛiddhi for ऋ. Subsequently the question arises whether by P. VIII., 3, 15 Visarjaniya shall be substituted for the र् of नार before the तृ of पति. The substitution of Visarjaniya for र् is caused by तृ, that of Vṛiddhi for ऋ by ण्य; the former operation is therefore *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, and one might say that Visarjaniya ought not to be substituted for र् because according to the present Paribhāshā the substitution of the Vṛiddhi भार् for ऋ, being *bahiranga*, ought so far as P. VIII., 3, 15 is concerned to be regarded as not having taken effect. (See however pag. 45. l. 5 of the text).

1. Bhāṣya on P. VI., 4, 22: बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्वभाविनावेतावर्थो। कथम्। सत्यन्तरङ्गे बहिरङ्गं सति च बहिरङ्गेऽन्तरङ्गम्॥ similarly on P. VIII., 3, 15.

Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 3, 15: अन्तरङ्गं यस्य बहिरङ्गं यस्येति बहुव्रीहिः। ततः सर्व-लिङ्गावन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गशब्दावुपपन्नो। अङ्गशब्दश्चालोपकारकवाची॥

2. E. g. in the example सि ऊ+न, ऊ is the cause of the substitu-



a work which teaches the formation of words main importance attaches to the wordform. (When) therefore (an operation is) caused by the meaning, it is not (on that account) *bahiranga*, (and the present Paribhāshā cannot affect it). Only for this reason is the prohibition P. VI., 4, 4 (which is to prevent the lengthening of the final vowel of तिसृ etc. before the termination नाम् in the Gen. Fem.) effective. (Were), on the other hand, (an operation that is caused by the meaning, on that account *bahiranga*, the substitution of) तिसृ (for त्रि which is taught in P. VII., 2, 99, would), as caused by the meaning, viz. by (the circumstance of त्रि being in) the feminine gender, (be *bahiranga*) in regard to (the substitution of त्रय for त्रि which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53; consequently) the substitution of त्रय (for त्रि) would, (in preference to that of तिसृ, take place also in the Gen. Fem.) because it would be *antaranga*, and (तिसृ not having been substituted even in the Gen. Fem.) the prohibition (VI., 4, 4 regarding तिसृ) would evidently be absurd. On the same account are a Vārttika<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 56 which says that, (contrary to P. I., 1, 56, 'the substitute) ending with सृ (i. e. तिसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is not (*sthānivat*) in regard to the substitu-

tion of य् for इ, न the cause of the substitution of Guna for इ; in नृ-यति+प्य-नार्-यति+प्य, प् is the cause of the substitution of Visarjaniya for र्, प्य the cause of the substitution of Vriddhi for ऋ. All these causes are शब्दरूपाणि निमित्तानि; none of the four substitutions is caused by the meaning. Cf. P. निमित्तमेवेति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तोपात्तप्रयोगस्थशब्द-रूपमेव निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥

1. The Vārttikakāra on P. I., 1, 56 (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 636 gives the Vārttika त्रयादेशे स्रन्तप्रतिषेधः; the Bhāṣhyakāra, on the other hand, says that तिसृ is substituted परत्वात्, and that, when तिसृ has once been substituted, the rule which teaches the substitution of त्रय does by Par. XL. not apply again. (See Par. XL).

tion of लय (for लि taught by P. VII., 1, 53)' and (the remarks of the author of) the Bhāshya (concerning that Vārttika) etc. founded on reason (which they would not be, were the substitution of लिस् in the Gen. Fem. superseded by that of लि).

This (circumstance that the word भञ्ज in the present Paribhāshā denotes only a *formal cause*) proves the incorrectness of the assertion that in (the formation of) गौधेर,<sup>1</sup> पचेत् etc. the elision, (by P. VI., 1, 66, of the semivowel य् of गोधि॒य्+र, पचे॒य्+त् etc.) ought (by the present Paribhāshā) not to take place because (the substitution, by P. VII., 1, 2 etc., of) ए॒य् etc. (for the initial consonant of the affix द्क् etc.) would be *bahiranga* because of its dependence on (द्क् etc. as preceded by something) termed Anga, and would therefore be regarded as not having taken effect (when P. VI., 1, 66 would be applicable; for the

1. a. P. IV., 1, 129 गोधा॑+द्क्; P. VII., 1, 2 गोधि॒+ए॒य्+र; P. VI., 1, 66 गौधेर. Some maintain here that the substitution of ए॒य् for द्क् is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that द्क् is preceded by an Anga; if it were really *bahiranga*, P. VI., 1, 66 would not take effect, because ए॒य् would, so far as P. VI., 1, 66 were concerned, not exist. Really however the substitution of ए॒य् for द्क् is not *bahiranga*; on the contrary, it is *antaranga* because it is not caused by something following, and the elision of य् is *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the following र्.

गौधि॒+द्+र=

गौधि॒+ए॒य्+र

ए॒य् for द्क्;  
*antaranga.*

Elision of य् before र्;  
*bahiranga.*

b. पच॑+त्; P. III., 4, 103 पच॑+यास्+त्; P. VII., 2, 79 पच॑+या+त्; P. VII., 2, 80 पच॑+इय्+त्; P. VI., 1, 66 पच॑+इत्=पचेत्. Here likewise it is

'dependence on इक् etc. as preceded by something termed Anga' cannot be called a *formal cause*). Moreover (that assertion is proved to be incorrect) by the fact that (on the contrary) the substitutes एय् etc. are *antaranga* because they are not caused by something following.

Now one might raise the following objection<sup>1</sup>: 'In the Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 72 it has been stated, that whereas it is desirable that in (the formation of) स्येन<sup>2</sup> (from सि ऊ न the substitution of) य् (for इ taught in P. VI., 1, 77) should, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersede (the substitution of) गुण (for इ taught in P. VII., 3, 86), such a result would not be attained if P. I., 1, 72 were to apply also in rules like P. VI., 1, 77; for

maintained that the substitution of इय् for या is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that या is preceded by an Anga which ends with अ. In reality the case stands thus:

यच+या+त्=

यच+इय्+त्.

↓

इय् for या;  
*antaranga*.

Elision of य् before त्;  
*bahiranga*.

1. The objection which is raised is this: 'In the preceding it has been stated that the word अङ्ग in अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग denotes *only* a formal cause; this cannot be correct for Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which, according to him, make an operation *bahiranga*. Moreover, Kaiyaṭa considers the words *antaranga* and *bahiranga* as synonymous with *alpāpekṣa* and *bahvāpekṣa*.'

2. In सि ऊ न, य् for इ is *antaranga*, and गुण for इ *bahiranga* (see note 2 on pag. 222.) If P. I., 1, 72 did apply in P. VI., 1, 77, the latter rule, when applied to सि ऊ न, would teach us that य् should be substituted for the final of that which ends with इ (i. e. of सि) before that which begins with ऊ (i. e. before ऊन); in other words, the substitution of य्

(in this case) the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन, (the substitution of) गुण (for इ) on the combination of letters न, and such being the case, (the substitution of) गुण would (contrary to what is desirable), because of its being *antaranga*, (supersede the substitution of य्). Kaiyaṭa (commenting) hereon (says): "When the Uṇādi-affix न, because (Uṇādi-affixes are added) diversely, is added to सिक्, (three operations) apply (simultaneously, viz. the substitution of) गुण (for इ taught in P. VII., 3, 86), the elision of व् (taught in P. VI., 1, 66, and the substitution of) ऊ (for व् taught in P. VI., 4, 19); such being the case, (the substitution of) ऊ supersedes the elision of व् because (P. VI., 4, 19 is) an *Apavāda* (of P. VI., 1, 66), and it supersedes further (also the substitution of) गुण, because it is *antaranga*. For (the substitution of) गुण (for इ) depends on (there being) an *ārdha-dhātuka* affix and a penultimate which is prosodially short, is one of the vowels contained in the Pratyāhāra इक्, and forms part of an Anga; (the substitution of) ऊ, on the other hand, depends on (there being) an Anga which ends with the letter

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for इ would be caused by ऊन. As then the cause of the substitution of गुण (i. e. न) would lie within the cause (ऊन) of the substitution of य्, गुण would be *antaranga*, and य् *bahiranga*.

Kaiyaṭa, in order to show how सि ऊ न, from which the author of the Bhāṣhya starts, is obtained, tries to prove that in सिक्+न the substitution of ऊ for व् is *antaranga*, and that of गुण for इ *bahiranga*, and that accordingly the substitution of ऊ for व् by the present Paribhāṣhā takes place in preference to the substitution of गुण for इ. In this Kaiyaṭa is wrong; the substitution of ऊ takes place in preference to that of गुण, not because the former is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, but because the former is *nitya*, while the substitution of गुण for इ is *anitya*. (See note 1 on pag. 218).

इ, and an affix beginning with a nasal, and it is therefore *antaranga* because depending on fewer<sup>1</sup> (causes than the substitution of Guna). After that (substitution of ऊ) has taken effect, (the substitution of) य् and (that of) Guna apply (simultaneously in सि ऊ न).” Here then it has been clearly stated (by Kaiyaṭa not merely) that (dependence on a greater number of causes but) also that dependence on technical terms (like Anga etc.) makes (an operation) *bahiranga*.’

But this is incorrect; for (if Kaiyaṭa’s view were admissible, the substitution of) Guna (for इ in सि ऊ न) would, also in case P. I., 1, 72 were to apply (in P. VI., I, 77 etc.), be dependent on a greater number of things (than the substitution of य्)<sup>2</sup> or, in other words, be *bahiranga*, and therefore, as (the author of) the Bhāṣhya does, to find fault on that (alternative) would be absurd. Moreover, one cannot by any rule of language derive the meanings ‘dependent on a greater number (of causes)’ and ‘dependent on a smaller number (of causes)’ from the words *bahiranga* and *antaranga*. Had these (words) really been (intended to convey those meanings, the author of the Paribhāṣhās) would certainly have said असिद्धं बहुपेक्षमन्यपेक्षे (instead of saying असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे). On this account<sup>3</sup> has स्थोन in the Bhāṣhya

1. Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which make an operation *antaranga* or *bahiranga*; for the substitution of Guna he adduces five causes, for that of ऊ four, and he then maintains that the substitution of ऊ is *antaranga* because it depends on fewer causes than the substitution of Guna.

2. The substitution of Guna would also in that case have five causes, and the substitution of य् for इ only two, viz. इगन्त and अजादि.

3. Viz., because the words मन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are not equivalent to अन्यपेक्ष and बहुपेक्ष, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahirangy*.

on P. I., 4, 2 (been adduced) to illustrate the statement that the substitution of य्, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) गुण, but it has not been stated that (the substitution of) ऊ, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) गुण. According to your (*i. e.* Kaiyaṭa's) theory this also should have been stated; or rather, this alone should have been stated because (the question as to the relative force of गुण and ऊ arises) earlier (than the question about the relative force of गुण and य्). In my (opinion), on the contrary, this has not been stated because it is impossible to prevent the (substitution of गुण for इ in preference to that of ऊ for य्) by means of the *Antaranga-paribhāshā*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, according to the real and final opinion (of the author of the *Bhāṣya*, the substitution of) ऊ (for य् in सिक् + न takes effect) before (that of गुण for इ) because it is *nitya*, whereas (the substitution of) गुण is *anitya* because, after (the substitution of) ऊ, it would (in सि ऊ न) be superseded by (the substitution of) य् (for इ).<sup>2</sup> And, (to wind up), the statement of the *Bhāṣya* (quoted above) that 'the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन etc.' expresses clearly the view that the word अङ्ग in the *Paribhāshā* only denotes a formal cause (such as a letter or a combination of letters) exhibited (in a rule) in a Locative or other case. When Kaiyaṭa (on P. I., 1, 72)<sup>3</sup> says that, in case P. I., 1, 72

1. *Viz.*, because both the substitution of गुण for इ and that of ऊ for य् have one and the same cause न्, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

2. See Par. XLVIII.

3. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 778 : यदि चैको यण्-चोत्पन्न तदन्तनदादिविधी स्यात् तदा यणादेशस्यान्तरङ्गताभावात्परमाङ्गणादेशः स्यात् ॥

were to apply (also in P. VI., 1, 77, the substitution of) Guṇa (would take place in preference to that of य्) because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule), this remark should be regarded with suspicion, because it is at variance with (the statement of) the Bhāṣhya (quoted above) that 'the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन etc.' (and that the substitution of Guṇa would consequently be *antaranga*).

To<sup>1</sup> say that the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā does not apply<sup>2</sup> when (व् or य्) may have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, is improper (because the author of the Bhāṣhya has applied the Paribhāṣhā in a case of that description). For in the Bhāṣhya<sup>3</sup> on that very rule (P. VI., 1, 66, first) the question is raised whether the elision (of व् or य् taught by P. VI., 1, 66) would not, beyond (its proper sphere) apply

1. Some have answered the assertion 'that in the formation of गौधिर etc. the elision of य् of गौधेय्+र which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66 ought by the present Paribhāṣhā not to take place' (see above pag. 225) by saying, that the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā is not applied when व् or य् have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66; and somebody else has maintained that Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 227) for this very reason ought not to have applied the Paribhāṣhā in the case of सिव्+न. These views are refuted in the following.

2. Viz. because it is not universally valid. See below.

3. Cf. Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 66 :

अतिप्रसङ्गो ब्रह्मदिषु । ब्रह्मदिषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति । इहापि प्राप्नोति । ब्रह्मनः ब्रीह-  
यः व्रण इति । उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धम् । उपदेशसामर्थ्याद्ब्रह्मदिषु लोपो न भविष्यति । उपदे-  
शसामर्थ्यादिति चेत्संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु सामर्थ्यम् । उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धमिति चेदस्यन्य-  
दुपदेशवचने प्रयोजनं संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु वकारस्य श्रवणं यथा स्यात् । वृक्कः वृक्कवान्  
वृक्षति विव्रक्षिषतीति । न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । न चैतत्प्रयोजनमस्ति । किं कारण-  
म् । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । बहिरङ्गाः संप्रसारणहलादिशेषाः । अन्तरङ्गो लोपः । असिद्धं  
बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गौ ॥

Kaiyaṭa : अन्तरङ्गो लोप इति । तन्वाक्कृतयोरेव संप्रसारणहलादिशेषयोर्वलोपः प्राप्त  
उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् भवति ॥

to (the initial व् of) वृश् etc.; subsequently this is denied, on the ground that (वृश् etc. in the Dhātupāṭha etc.) have been put down (with an initial व्, which would be absurd if व् were always elided by P. VI., I, 66). Nor, it is said, would (their enumeration in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial व्) have any sense in the case of forms like वृश्चति (where, as व् is not followed by one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra वल्, one might think P. VI., I, 66 would not apply), for (even here) the elision of व् would apply *before* (the substitution of) Samprasāraṇa (for र) because the latter is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing (so far as regards P. VI., I, 66.)<sup>1</sup>

The statement (recorded by Kaiyaṭa<sup>2</sup> on P. VIII., 2, 2) that the rule P. IV., 1, 10 prevents (the addition of the feminine affix टप् of P. IV., 1, 4) to पञ्च (in such expressions as पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः), because the elision of the न् (of पञ्चन् taught in P. VIII., 2, 7 is (by the Antaranga-paribhāṣā) regarded as not having taken effect so far as (the application to पञ्च of) the technical term

1. In the formation of वृश्चति, from वृश्+अ+ति, the elision of व् is *antaranga* because it is caused by र, the substitution of Samprasāraṇa for र *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the Vikarana अ (P. VI., 1, 16); accordingly व् would have to be elided but for the fact that वृश् in the Dhātupāṭha has been put down with an initial व्.

2. Of Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 2, 2: केचित्तु पञ्च ब्राह्मण्य इत्यादौ न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः [४.१.१०] इति टाप्राप्तिषेधाय षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चत इत्याहुः । तल्लनान्तत्वात्पूर्वं ङीप्प्राप्तिं निषिध्यते । ततो जसो लुकि नलोपे चाकारान्तत्वाद्याप्राप्तः । सोऽपि निषिध्यते श्लिषां यदुक्तं तत्षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यो न भवतीति सामान्येन निषेधविधानात् ॥ भ्रान्त्य आहुः । स्त्रीसमानाधिकरणपक्षः स्त्रीसूत्रे नाश्रितोऽपि तु प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्षः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्षो वेति पञ्चादीनामलिङ्गत्वात्स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य प्राप्तिर्नास्तीति नार्थः स्त्रीनिषेधेन ॥ अथापि तत्प्राप्तिः स्यात्तथापि नलोपस्य बहिरङ्गत्वादनन्तरङ्गे टाप्यसिद्धत्वान्नास्ति टाप्राप्तिः । सत्यामपि टाप्राप्तावनन्तरङ्गायां षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्सिद्ध एव तत्प्रतिषेधः ॥



षप् (P. I., 1, 24) is concerned, (and because षप् accordingly is termed षप् and falls under P. IV., 1, 10,) should be regarded with suspicion. For (to enable us to regard the elision of न् as not having taken effect), it is necessary to assume that it is *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on (the circumstance that) the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to षप्न्); and (to assume) this is impossible because (dependence on) technical terms cannot be admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*. It<sup>1</sup> should however be understood that (P. IV., 1, 10) does prevent (the addition of टप्) to षप्, because the statement 'whatever (affix) applies in the feminine, is not (added to a numeral termed षप्', does not only refer to a numeral which, because it actually ends with न्, is actually termed षप्, but) refers according to the explanation (of the learned) likewise to that which (because it once ended with न्) was formerly termed षप् (as is the case with षप्).

(Because then dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*), therefore the statement (in P. VIII., 2, 2, 'that the elision of न् shall be as if it had not taken effect) so far as regards the addition (taught in P. VI., 1, 71) of the augment तुक् before a Kṛit-affix (distinguished by the indicatory letter ण्) serves a purpose.<sup>2</sup> For the elision (by P. VIII., 2, 7)

1. Now one might say that, if Kaiyaṣa is wrong, टप् ought to be added to षप्; for as the term संज्ञा in P. VIII., 2, 2 is considered superfluous in the Bhāṣya, the elision of the न् of षप्न् cannot by P. VIII., 2, 2 be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the application to षप् of the term षप्. To refute this Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'It should however' etc.

2. If dependence on technical terms did make an operation *bahiranga*, in the formation of e. g. वृत्तहभ्याम् (from वृत्त-इन्+क्विप्+भ्याम्) the addition of the augment तुक् would be *antaranga* as caused by क्विप्,

of the न् (e. g. of वृहन्) in वृहभ्याम् etc. is not *bahiranga* although it is caused by the fact that (वृहन्) is a *Pada*. (Nor is it possible to say that the termination भ्याम् makes the elision of न् *bahiranga*), because, although भ्याम् (according to P. I., 4, 17) is the cause why the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to वृहन्), still the elision of न् is not caused (directly) by भ्याम्; on the other hand, there is no authority for the assumption that (the elision of न्) is *bahiranga* because it is indirectly caused (by भ्याम्). This<sup>1</sup> is suggested in the Bhāṣhya on P.

and the elision of न् *bahiranga* because caused by the circumstance that वृहन् is termed a *Pada*. The elision of न् would then already by the present Paribhāṣhā be *asiddha* as regards the addition of तुक्, and कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 would be superfluous.—See Par. LI.

1. P: Now one might say that, if परंपरया निमित्तत्वं is nowhere forbidden, one may assume it; that the कृति तुक् of P. VIII., 2, 2 is rejected in the Bhāṣhya; and that sometimes the assumption of परंपरया निमित्तत्वं is necessary. Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'this is suggested etc.' For in the Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 2 the expression तुक् of that rule has been rejected by means of Par. LXXXV. (quoted in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 39), but not (as is done by Kaiyaṭa) by means of the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā. Therefore, even if dependence on technical terms be admitted to make an operation *bahiranga*, it has at any rate not been admitted in the Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 2.—Cf. note 1 on pag. 237.

See Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 2: तुग्विधौ किमुदाहरणम् । वृहभ्यां वृहहभिः । नलोपे कृते ह्रस्वस्य णि कृति तुगिति तुक् प्राप्नोति । असिद्धत्वाच्च प्राप्नोति । तुग्विधौ चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधानस्य । इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । कृतीति वक्ष्यामि । इह मा भूत् । ब्रह्महच्छत्तं भ्रूणहच्छाया । न षोष संनिपातलक्षणो नलोपः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तुग्विधौ चोक्तमिति । द्वयमत्रास्ति संनिपातलक्षणत्वं बहिरङ्गलक्षणं च । विभक्तिनिमित्तो हि नलोपः किमिति तस्तुक् । संनिपातपरिभाषायास्तुगभावः प्रयोजनत्वेनोक्त इति भाष्यकारस्तथैव व्याचष्टे संनिपातेति ॥ इदं तर्ह्येति । नियमार्थमिदं कृत्तलक्षण एव तु-

VIII., 2, 2 and has in the same place been considered in the Bhāṣyapradīpoddya.

The meaning (of the whole Paribhāṣhā) is this, that when an *antaranga* (rule or operation) is about to take effect, a *bahiranga* (rule or operation) which (already) has taken effect, and likewise (a *bahiranga* rule or operation) which applies simultaneously (with the *antaranga* rule or operation), is (regarded as) not having taken effect or (as) not existing. One ought to remember that in (the case of) वृश्चति etc. (where the Paribhāṣhā has been applied by Patanjali, it can) only (be applied) when both (the *antaranga* elision of व् and the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasāraṇa for र apply) simultaneously, (and that such is the case only) on the alternative (that the various elements) of which a word (like वृश्चति) is made up (*viz.* वृश्+अ+ति, are all placed side by side before the rules of Pāṇini's grammar are applied to them).<sup>1</sup> The (fact that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by this Paribhāṣhā *asiddha* so far as regards the latter), renders the assertion futile that there exists another Paribhāṣhā (which teaches that) 'an *antaranga* (rule or operation) possesses greater force than a *bahiranga* (rule or operation).'<sup>2</sup> That assertion is) moreover (disproved) by the

गमा भूच्छलक्षणस्तु यथा स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ इह मा भूदिति । तुगभावः ॥ न ह्येष इति । पदत्वमानिबन्धनत्वान्नात्र बहिरङ्गो नलोपः ॥

1. If it were otherwise, the Paribhāṣhā would not be applicable in the formation of वृश्चति etc., because the elision of व् would apply *before* the substitution of Samprasāraṇa; it would apply already in वृश् before the addition of the terminations, and the question as to the relative force of the elision of व् and the substitution of Samprasāraṇa would not arise at all.

2. *Viz.*, because the meaning of this supposed Paribhāṣhā is contained in the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā*.

fact that in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 4, 2 the Paribhāṣhā असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (alone) has been adopted, and that by means of it that (other supposed Paribhāṣhā) has been rejected.—It is characteristic of the present (Paribhāṣhā, that it is applicable) wherever a rule may be *antaranga*.

This<sup>2</sup> (Paribhāṣhā) has no concern (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pāṇini's grammar) because those rules are *asiddha* (in regard to that which precedes them in Pāṇini's grammar); and that this (Paribhāṣhā) has its place among (the rules contained in) the first seven lectures and the first chapter (of the 8th lecture, or in other words, that it precedes the rules contained in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's work) results from the circumstance that its (existence) is indicated by the word ऊङ् in the rule P. VI., 4, 132. If the Paribhāṣhā did not exist, that (term ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132) would clearly be superfluous; (to<sup>3</sup> account) for the formation of

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 4, 2; there first the Vārttika अन्तरङ्गं च । अन्तरङ्गं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । is given; afterwards the Paribhāṣhā असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे. Then the author of the Bhāṣhya goes on: उभे तर्हि परिभाषे कर्तव्ये । नैत्याह । अनयैव सिद्धम् । इहापि स्थोनः स्थोनेत्यसिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य गुणस्यान्तरङ्गो यणादेशो भविष्यति ॥

2. The existence of this Paribhāṣhā is indicated by the word ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132 and accordingly the Paribhāṣhā itself takes its position near that rule. When then an *antaranga* rule occurs in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar, it is by P. VIII., 2, 1 *asiddha* in regard to the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā*; in other words, the *antaranga* rule does, so far as regards the Paribhāṣhā, not exist at all, and the Paribhāṣhā can therefore have no concern with it. Nor can the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā* have any concern with a *bahiranga* rule contained in the last three chapters of Pāṇini, because such a rule would already by P. VIII., 2, 1 be *asiddha* in regard to any rule that precedes it.

3. If the Paribhāṣhā did not exist, ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132 would be

विश्वोहः (from विश्व-वाह्+अस्) etc., it would suffice to enjoin (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वाह्), for (after the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of the Samprasâraṇa उ for उ+आ, i. e. after the change of वाह् to उह्) the Guṇa (vowel ओ would be substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ by P. VII., 3, 86), and afterwards the Vṛiddhi (vowel आ for अ+ओ) by P. VI., 1, 88; whereas,<sup>1</sup> as soon as the present (Paribhāshā) is (adopted), Guṇa cannot be (substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ), because (the substitution of the) Sam-

superfluous, because we should be able to form विश्वोहः etc. thus:

विश्व-वाह्+प्वि+अस् would by P. VI., 4, 132 वाहः (without उह्), where संप्रसारणम् would be valid from P. VI., 4, 131, become

विश्व-उ आह्+अः; this by P. VI., 1, 108

विश्व-उह्+अः; this by P. VII., 3, 86 (the affix प्वि, which has disappeared, being nevertheless still effective by P. I., 1, 62)—

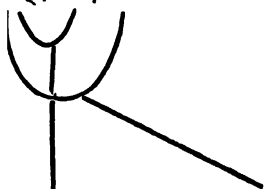
विश्व-ओह्+अः; and this by P. VI., 1, 88

विश्वोह्+अः = विश्वोहः.

1. As soon as the Paribhāshā is adopted, उह् in P. VI., 4, 132 becomes absolutely necessary because we are no longer able to form विश्वोहः etc. without it. Without उह्, the case would stand thus :

विश्व - वाह्+प्वि+अः=

विश्व - उह्+प्वि+अः



Guṇa for उ by P. VII., 3, 86; Samprasâraṇa for व् by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः);

antaranga.

bahiranga.

prasāraṇa (उ for वा), being *bahiranga*<sup>1</sup> (in regard to the substitution of Guṇa), is (by this Paribhāshā regarded as) not having taken place.<sup>2</sup>

And one cannot object that in the rule P. VII., 3, 86 the cause (सर्वधातुकार्धधातुक of the substitution of Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate) qualifies इक्, (in other words, that P. VII., 3, 86 has to be explained सर्वधातुकार्धधातुकप्रत्ययपराया इप्प्राया उपधाया गुणः), this being the reason why in भिनत्ति etc. (where इ is not followed immediately by the affix ति) Guṇa has not been (substituted for इ); and that, such being the case, the Anta-ranga-paribhāshā can have no possible concern (with विश्व-उङ्+अः), because (its application in this instance) would be forbidden

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*I. e.* The substitution of Guṇa for उ, being caused by णि, would be *antaranga*, that of Samprasāraṇa for व्, being caused by अः, *bahiranga*; the latter would be *asiddha* in regard to the former, *i. e.* उ would still have to be regarded as वा, and P. VIII., 3, 86 would not take effect. We should then be unable to form विश्व+ओङ्+अः, and should not arrive at विश्वोहः. Therefore Pāṇini is obliged to teach in VI., 4, 132: वाह उङ्; according to that rule we form विश्व+उङ्+अः, and by P. VI., 1, 89 विश्वोहः.

1. The substitution of Samprasāraṇa for व् is caused by the fact that विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha*, and विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha* because it is followed by अः (P. I. 4, 18.)

P. Here then we have to assume on the authority of the Bhāṣhya, where उङ् is made the Jñāpaka of this Paribhāshā, परंपराया निमित्तत्वं. See above pag. 233.

2. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 132: वाह उङ्चनमनर्थकं संप्रसारणेन कृतत्वात् । संप्रसारणेनैव सिद्धम् । का रूपसिद्धिः । प्रष्टोहः पश्य । गुणः प्रत्ययलक्षणत्वात् । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन गुणो भविष्यति । एङ्ग्रहणादृद्धिः । एङ्ग्रहणादृद्धिर्भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे स-ति यद्वाह उङं शास्ति तद्धापायत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषासिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षण इति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । पचावेदम् पचामेदम् । असिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्याङ्गस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणमैवं न भवतीति ॥

by Par. LI.<sup>1</sup> (This objection is futile), because an affix (such as सार्धधानुकार्धधानुक) postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which is called) 'the base' and can accordingly qualify nothing but that (base).<sup>2</sup> Nor does (this our statement) entail any incorrectness in the case of भिनत्ति etc. because we take, in accordance with the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on P. I., 1, 3 (the term लघूपध in P. VII., 3, 86, not as a Bahuvrīhi-compound qualifying भङ्ग, but) as a Karmadhāraya-compound, and explain (P. VII., 3, 86) accordingly, to mean, that 'Guna (is substituted) for (a vowel contained in the Pratyāhāra) इक् when it is the prosodically short penultimate of a base which is followed by an affix.'

(Nor can one object that ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132 is absolutely necessary for the formation of such forms as प्रौहः from प्रवाह् where P. VI., 1, 94 would forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the vowels अ+औ of प्र+औहः, and likewise for the formation of such forms as वार्यूह from वारिवाह् where, in the absence of ऊङ्,

1. Which teaches, 'that an operation (such as the substitution of Samprasādana) which has taken effect, cannot be regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* operation (such as the substitution of Guna) which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (such as इक्) and something else (such as a śārvadhātuka or ārdhadhātuka affix), is to take effect.'

2. P. VII., 3, 86 must therefore be explained सार्धधानुकार्धधानुकपराङ्गव्यवस्थेको गुणः, which explanation shows that the substitution of Guna does not depend on the immediate sequence of the short penultimate इक् and the affix; consequently the application of the Antaranga-paribhāshā in the case of विश्व-उङ्+अः cannot be prevented by Par. LI.

3. See Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 3; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 270: पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति । कथं तर्हि । पुग्यन्तः पुगन्तः । लघूपधा लघूपधा । पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । भङ्गविशेषणे सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्तीति ॥

we should form वार्योहा,<sup>1</sup> and that ऊद् therefore cannot be said to indicate the existence of this Paribhāṣhā, viz. because it would not be superfluous even if the Paribhāṣhā did not exist. Such an objection would likewise be futile, for) neither is (the affix) णि added to वह् nor (the affix) विच् to वाह्<sup>2</sup> (to form the second member of a compound) the first member of which is a preposition ending with the letter अ or a word that does not end with the letter अ, because (the nouns which would be formed by means of those affixes) are not used, (and because प्रवाह्, वरिवाह् etc. consequently do not exist). वार्योहा etc. however should be taken (to have been formed) by the addition of (the affix) क्तिप् to (the root) ऊह्; nor does the meaning speak against (this derivation) because roots have various meanings (and because ऊह् therefore may be taken here in the sense of 'to carry').<sup>3</sup> Forms like प्रौहः are altogether incorrect because no (rule that teaches the substitution of) Vṛiddhi applies (to the vowels अ+ऊ of प्र +ऊहः; for) not even (the Vārttika) 3 on P. VI., 1, 89 applies (in this instance) because ऊह् (consisting as it does of the base ऊह् and of the portion अ of the termination अस्) is here void of meaning (whereas ऊह् in the said Vārt-

1. See note on pag. 236. The objection is this that in the absence of ऊद् we should form प्रौहः and वार्योहा instead of प्रौहः and वार्योहा; viz. thus:

प्र+वाहः; by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः) and VI., 1, 108 प्र+उहः; P. VII., 3, 86 प्र+ओहः; P. VI., 1, 94 प्रौहः.

वारि+वाहा; वारि+उहा; वारि+ओहा=वार्योहा.

2. Viz. just because the author of the Bhāṣhya regards the word ऊद् in P. VI., 4, 132 as the Jñāpaka of this Paribhāṣhā.

3. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132: अनकारान्ते चोपपदे छन्दसि णिर्न दृश्यत इति शाल्यूह इत्यादिसिद्धयर्थमप्युद्धिभानं नोपपद्यते । सत्यपि वा प्रयोगे वक्ष्ये वर्तमानस्यो-  
हतेः क्विपि शाल्यूह इत्यादि भविष्यति । उपसर्गेऽप्युपपदे वहेण्विच्छन्दसि नास्ति यतो वृद्धे-  
र्वाधिकं पररूपं प्रसज्येतेत्युद्धिभानं सार्थकं स्यात् ॥



tika by Par. XIV. only denotes such a combination of letters as is possessed of a meaning.)

(Above it has been stated that this Paribhāshā has no concern with the rules in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar, in other words, that a *bahiranga* operation taught in a preceding rule cannot by this Paribhāshā be rendered *asiddha* in regard to an *antaranga* operation which is taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's work). Now one cannot object that (although on the Yathoddes'apaksha the above statement may be correct) it is impossible to show why on the Kāryakālapaksha<sup>1</sup> (at any rate) the Paribhāshā should have no concern (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pāṇini's grammar); for (to show this is easy enough). As a subsequent (rule) is (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* in regard to a preceding (rule), the (subsequent) *antaranga* (rule) ceases to exist (by P. VIII., 2, 1); consequently the preceding (rule) cannot be *bahiranga* in regard to it, and can therefore also not be made out to be *asiddha* by the Antaranga-paribhāshā. Nor can one maintain that, because the preceding (*bahiranga* rule) is *asiddha* by the Antaranga-paribhāshā, the subsequent (rule) cannot be said to be *asiddha* in regard to it by P. VIII., 2, 1, viz. because the preceding rule would have ceased to exist (by the Antaranga-paribhāshā). For (as) in this manner<sup>2</sup> (P. VIII., 2, 1 would prevent the working of the Antaranga-paribhāshā, and the Antaranga-paribhāshā in its turn prevent the working of P. VIII., 2, 1,) it would, in the absence of any decisive authority (in favour of

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1. Viz. where the Antaranga-paribhāshā would be placed near the *antaranga* rule and where the latter would consequently not be *asiddha* in regard to that Paribhāshā. See above pag. 26.

2. एवं हि i. e. द्वार्या मिथः प्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धे क्रियमाणे हि. P.

either), come to pass that neither of the two would be applicable. Moreover as (the rule) पूर्वज्ञासिद्धम् is actually enounced (by Pāṇini), whereas the existence of the Antaranga-paribhāshā is (only) inferred (from the word ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132), it is only proper that पूर्वज्ञासिद्धम् should supersede this (Paribhāshā). Therefore<sup>1</sup> this (Paribhāshā) is certainly also on the Kāryakālapaksha not placed near (any of the rules contained) in the three last chapters (of Pāṇini's grammar.)

On this account<sup>2</sup> has the author of the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 15, after having begun (the discussion) by adopting the Kāryakālapaksha,<sup>3</sup> and after having subsequently dwelt on the above considerations,<sup>4</sup> wound up, when stating the real and final view of the matter, by saying that on account of those (considerations the Vārttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे) cannot be shown to be unnecessary by the assumption that (the आर् of नास्ति etc.) is *bahiranga* (and therefore *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of the Visarjaniya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15). He means to say that one cannot, as had been proposed, reject (a

1. अतः *i. e.* हेतुद्वयात्. P.

2. In the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 15 the Vārttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे is given to prevent the substitution of Visarjaniya for र् in forms like नास्ति; subsequently we read न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् 'or that Vārttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे need not be given, because (the आर् in नास्ति) is *bahiranga* (and therefore by the Antaranga-paribhāshā *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Visarjaniya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15).' See note on pag. 223. Finally the whole discussion is wound up in the words अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्.

3. Which shows that the final statement अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारः etc. likewise refers to the Kāryakālapaksha.

4. पूर्वं प्रति परस्यासि ० . . . . एवं हि . . . किंच . . . एवोचितः.

Vārttika by having recourse to the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā*),<sup>1</sup> in case the *antaranga* operation which is to take effect is taught in the three last chapters (of Pāṇini's grammar); and he wishes to intimate that, on the contrary, (in all such cases) some special statement (such as विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे on P. VIII., 3, 15) must necessarily be made.—Therefore (in order to show why the optional substitution of ङ् which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 21 has taken place also) in (the Pass. of the causal of गृ) निगाल्यते निगार्यते, (notwithstanding that the vowel इ of the causal base गारि has disappeared by P. VI., 4, 51), a special statement has actually been made (in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 58, viz.) this<sup>2</sup> 'that (the Vārttika पूर्वत्वासिद्धे च न स्थानिवत्) is incorrect, because (against that Vārttika) ङ् (has by P. VIII., 2, 21 been substituted optionally in निगाल्यते, निगार्यते.' Did the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā*) on the other hand (concern also such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar, then) that (statement) would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) the optional (substitution of) ङ् (taught in P. VIII., 2, 21) would, because it would be *antaranga*,<sup>3</sup> take place (in गारि) before the elision of the causal इ (by P. VI., 4, 51).

(The views of) those<sup>4</sup> who, to suit the actual forms (of the

1. न युक्तः i. e. संयोगान्तस्य [८.२.२३] रदाभ्याम् [८.२.४२] इत्यादौ यत्र-  
लोकः स सर्वो न युक्तः. P.

2. See Mahābhāṣhya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 681 पूर्वत्वासिद्धे च । पूर्वत्वासि-  
द्धे च न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ||.... pag. 682. तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेषु ||  
....लक्षम् । निगार्यते निगाल्यते । अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१] इति लक्षं न प्राप्नोति ||

3. The optional substitution of ङ् would be *antaranga* because caused by the causal इ, the elision of इ *bahiranga*, (and consequently *asiddha*) because caused by the following य.

4. Kaiyaṭa observes at the end of his commentary on P. VIII., 3, 15:

language which have to be formed or to be accounted for by Pāṇini's rules), maintain that the *Antaranga-paribhāshā*, although (its existence is merely) inferred (from the word ऊङ् in P. VI., 4, 132), supersedes the rule पूर्वज्ञासिद्धम् which is distinctly given (by Pāṇini, and who therefore employ that *Paribhāshā* also in the case of such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar), need not be considered by those who are guided solely by (Pāṇini's) rules. This is the point (of view from which we have to look on the whole question).

(Above<sup>1</sup> it was stated that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by the present *Paribhāshā asiddha*). Only because such is the case, (is) the word आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 (necessary and) serves a purpose. For<sup>2</sup> that (आङ्) is meant to

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यदा तु लभ्यदर्शनवशाद्बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाश्रयते यथा चक्रकेष्विष्टतो व्यवस्था तदा युक्त एव परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति. With reference to this statement of Kaiyaṭa's Nāgojibhaṭṭa remarks: 'The views of those who'. Those who are guided solely by Pāṇini's rules must maintain that the rule VIII. 2, 1 पूर्वज्ञासिद्धम् supersedes the *Antaranga-paribhāshā* and they cannot therefore employ this *Paribhāshā* in the case of *antaranga* rules that may occur in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's work.

1. See pag. 234.

2. In the case of खङ्गा+आ-ऊदा two operations apply simultaneously, the substitution of Guna ओ for आ+ऊ, and the substitution of आ for आ+आ; the former is *antaranga* because the causes of it, आ+ऊ, present themselves first, viz. because आ and ऊदा are combined first, the latter *bahiranga* because its causes present themselves afterwards i. e. because खङ्गा is combined with आ-ऊदा afterwards. As then in this case the *bahiranga* substitution of आ for आ+आ is by the *Antaranga-paribhāshā asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Guna ओ for आ+ऊ, we first have to

show that (in the case of खद्वा+ओदा for खद्वा+आ-ऊदा) the subsequent (vowel ओ) takes the place (of the आ of खद्वा and the ओ of ओदा), while (by P. VI., 1, 88) the Vṛiddhi vowel (ओ) should have been substituted (for आ+ओ. This question however, whether ओ or ओ should be substituted for आ+ओ, can only arise) when in the case of खद्वा+आ-ऊदा (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ), on account of its being *antaranga*, has superseded (the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (आ for the आ of खद्वा and the preposition आ), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent<sup>1</sup> (rule P. VI., 1, 101), and when (the substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ) has in consequence actually taken place. The substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ in खद्वा+आ-ऊदा) is, as appears from the Bhāṣhya<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1, 103, *antaranga*, because after the addition (to the root वृ) of the affix (क्) which denotes that which causes<sup>3</sup> (the action expressed by the root वृ, in the present

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substitute आदा for आ+ऊदा, and subsequently, by P. VI, 1, 95, खद्वादा for खद्वा+ओदा. If, on the other hand, the substitution of आ for आ+आ were not *asiddha*, we should be obliged to let it take effect first *i. e.* we should substitute खद्वा for खद्वा+आ, and subsequently खद्वादा for खद्वा+ऊदा by P. VI., 1, 87; in this case P. VI., 1, 95, or at any rate the term आङ् in that rule, would be superfluous.

1. परमभिः; Rāghavendrāchārya : अपवादो यद्यन्यत्र चरितार्थ इति न्यायादिति भावः. See Par. LXV.

2. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 103 : किं पुनरिहान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य संवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याहुणोऽपि । धातूपसर्गयोर्येकार्थं तदन्तरङ्गम् । कुत एतत् । पूर्वं उपसर्गस्य हि धातुता योगो भवति नाद्यशब्देन (*viz.* in अद्य+आ-ऊदा) । किमर्थं तदीयशब्दः प्रदुहति । अथाद्यशब्दस्यापि तु समुदायेन योगो भवति ॥

3. The affix which is added to a root denotes that which causes or brings about (साधयति) the action expressed by the root; *e. g.* ति in

instance, its object,) first the preposition (आ) is joined to the root, while the word खट्वा is joined with the combined (preposition and root i. e. with आ-ऊट्) afterwards.—(Now one might object that, irrespectively of the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 is necessary, to show that ए has to be substituted for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि in शिव एहि, when एहि is the imitative name of the Imperat. एहि i. e. आ+इहि, which imitative name by Par. XXXVI. has to be regarded as commencing with आ just as the original Imperat. एहि commences with आ).<sup>1</sup> But (this objection would be futile; for P. VI., 1, 95) is not applicable when the imitative name एहि is combined with words like शिव (in शिव एहि etc.), because on the authority of the Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 108 according to which (आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) indicates (that the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā concerns also *antaranga* and *bahiranga* operations which apply simultaneously), that (rule VI., 1, 95) does not<sup>2</sup> apply to (forms like the imitative name एहि) which (do not really commence with आ but) are (only) regarded as (commencing) with आ by Par. XXXVI.,

यहि 'he carries' denotes the agent of the action of carrying; ते in उद्यते 'he is carried' or त in ऊट् 'carried' its object, which likewise may be regarded as one of its causes.

1. Here namely the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā would not be applicable because, in the imitative name एहि, ए would not be regarded as the *antaranga* result of the union of the preposition आ with the root इ; (Chitprabhā: तत्र भानुसर्गनिमित्तकार्यभावेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषया असंचारात्).

2. Also by the maxim अभिव्यक्त्यदार्थी ये etc. (See note 1 on pag. 94) would the rule P. VI., 1, 95 only apply to the original एहि but not to the imitative name एहि.—See P.: अभिव्यक्त्यदार्थी य इति न्यायोऽप्यत्र बोध्यः । वस्तुनस्त्वाङ्गस्य तल्लैकदेशनिष्ठत्वेऽपि समुदायनिष्ठत्वेन प्रकृत्यभर्मन्वान्तरङ्गस्याङ्मानकार्यत्वाच्चात्रातिदेशश्चेवासंभव इति भाष्यं यथाश्रुतं सम्प्रगेव । अत एवाभिव्यक्त्या न्यायस्याप्यविषयः कलाभावात् । एवं चेदं प्राचामनुरोधेनेति बोध्यम् ॥

(a Paribhāshā)<sup>1</sup> which (moreover, on the authority of the same Bhāṣya), is not (even) invariably valid.

(Above it was stated that in the formation of ओद the preposition आ is prefixed to the root वृ after the addition to the latter of the affix त). To object, that a root is combined first with a preposition<sup>2</sup> i. e. with a word termed 'preposition,' afterwards with that which causes<sup>3</sup> (the action expressed by the root) i. e. with an affix which denotes what causes (that action), and to maintain this to be the reason why e. g. in अनुभूयते 'it is experienced' the letter ल् (for which ते etc. are substituted) may denote, as it actually does, the object (of the action, i. e. why passives like अनुभूयते may be formed), viz. because (भ् after its combination with the preposition अनु) has become transitive,—is untenable. For as we understand action to be something that is to be accomplished, and as that which is to be accomplished requires (for its accomplishment) something which does accomplish it, we are sure of the actual (existence of an) action only when (the affix which denotes) that (which causes the accomplishment of the action) has been combined (with a root); and it is therefore proper that what is termed 'preposition' (the very existence of) which depends on its being united to (a root

1. See Par. XXXVI., translation.

2. If a root were combined first with a preposition, we ought first to form आवृ, and subsequently by the addition of the affix त, ओद. Were we afterwards to combine खट्वा with ओद, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 would be necessary to present the substitution of Vṛiddhi for आ+ओ, and would consequently not be *Jñāpaka*.

3. P. साधनशब्दस्य करणमात्रपरत्वमनिरासायाह कारेति । तावताप्यर्थोसिद्धेराह तदिति । प्रत्ययेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अत एवेति । तयोः पूर्वापरोभावनियमादेवेत्यर्थः । सुखमिति शेषः । आदिनोपास्यते गुरुरित्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥

denoting) an action,<sup>1</sup> should be combined (with the root) not until after the affix (without which the action would not exist) has taken its place. (The author of the Bhāṣya<sup>2</sup>) on P. VI., 1, 135 rejects therefore the statement which had previously been made, viz. 'that a root is first combined with a preposition,' as incorrect, maintaining at the same time 'that a root is combined first with an affix, afterwards with a preposition,' and subsequently, in the words 'for (that which is denoted by) the affix brings about the action,' he shows by the above reasoning that only the latter (of the two views) is tenable.

In the abovementioned (passive forms अनुभूयते etc.) the letter ल् etc. could be added to the root to denote the object, because the root conveys by itself the (transitive) meaning ('to experience'), the meaning, to indicate which is the aim of the preposition (अनु), being inherent (in the root). After (ल् has been added to भू), the preposition which indicates (the presence of that sense in भू) is combined (with the root) in order that the hearer may understand (the special sense in which the speaker wishes the root भू to be taken).<sup>3</sup> When we have then (e. g. in

1. भू etc. are termed 'roots' when they denote an action (P. I., 3, 1), and प्र etc. are termed 'prepositions' when they are united to (a root that denotes) an action (P. I., 4, 59).

2. See Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 135:

किमन्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गमिति । धातूपसर्गयोः कार्यं यच्चदन्तरङ्गम् । कुत एतत् । पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति । नैतत्सारम् । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण । साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति । तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि । अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् । सत्यमेतत् । यस्त्वसौ धातूपसर्गयोरभिसम्बन्धतमभ्यन्तरं कृत्वा धातुः साधनेन युज्यते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेणेति तस्यास्यते गुरुणेत्यकर्मक उपास्यते गुरुरिति केन सकर्मकः स्यात् । एवं च कृत्वा मुत्स्वन्तोऽन्तरङ्गतरो भवति कात्पूर्वेग्रहणं चापि शक्यमकर्तुम् ॥

3. First the speaker has in his mind the special meaning of the root



the formation of the Redupl. Perfect of the root कृ preceded by the preposition सम्) proceeded as far as सं कृ नि (where two operations apply, viz. the addition to कृ of the augment स्तृ taught by P. VI., 1, 137 etc., and the reduplication of कृ taught by P. VI., 1, 8, the addition of the augment) स्तृ takes, in accordance with what has just been stated, place before the reduplication etc., and reduplication etc. take place afterwards, because (the former) depends on the preposition the meaning of which, (being inherent in the root itself which exists before the affix नि), is still more *antaranga* (than the termination नि which causes the reduplication. Accordingly the words कर्त्तुः of P. VI., 1, 135 have in the Bhāṣhya been rejected as superfluous).

(Because then affixes are added to roots before words termed 'prepositions' are prefixed to them) therefore (the substitution of) न् (for the न् of the preposition नि) in प्रणिदापयति etc. has been established in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> by means of Par. XI., (whereas, if the prepositions प्र and नि had been prefixed to दा previously

(i. e. that meaning of it which afterwards for the sake of clearness is indicated to the hearer by the preposition;) in accordance with this meaning he adds the affix; and finally (in order to show to the hearer what particular meaning is expressed by the root) he places the preposition before the root. In the above passage from the Bhāṣhya the first part पूर्व आत्तरूपसंगेण means accordingly that the speaker first connects in his mind the *meaning* of the root with that of the preposition; the following means that he afterwards adds the affix, and the rest पश्चादपसंगेण means that the *word* termed 'preposition' is combined with the root after the addition of the affix. From this it follows clearly that an operation which depends on the *meaning* of the preposition is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the affix; and that, on the other hand, an operation which depends on the affix is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the *letters* of the preposition. (For examples see below).

1. See above pag. 54.

to the addition of the causal affix क and the consequent addition to दा of the augment द्, no doubt could have arisen regarding the change of वृ to वृ, or at any rate all doubts of that kind would have been removed by means of the *Antaranga-paribhāshā* and not by means of Par. XI.) For the same reason is it possible to form (from प्रति+इ etc.) प्रत्येति, प्रत्यय, and similar forms, which otherwise could not have been formed, because, (if the preposition प्रति had been prefixed to इ before the addition of the affixes ति, थ etc), the homogeneous long vowel (ई) would, because (its substitution would have been) *antaranga*, have taken the place (of इ+इ before the substitution of Guṇa for the radical इ, and would have made the latter impossible).

When an operation that is caused by a preposition, depends on the meaning of that preposition, then it is *antaranga*, because the meaning which that preposition indicates is inherent (in the root, and because that operation is therefore really caused by the root which exists before the affix); but where such is not the case, (i. e. where the operation depends on the letters of the preposition), there the operation which is caused by the affix is *antaranga*, because (the affix) is placed near the root before (the word which is termed 'preposition' is placed near it). It has on this account been stated in the *Bhāṣya* on P. I., 1, 4 that in the case of प्रेक्ष (from प्र+इक्ष, the substitution of) Guṇa (ए for थ+इ) is *bahiranga* (in regard to the prohibition of Guṇa which is caused by the affix क).<sup>1</sup>

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1. In the case of प्र+इक्ष two rules apply simultaneously, viz. P. VI., 1, 87 which teaches the substitution of Guṇa ए for थ+इ, and P. I., 1, 5 which forbids the substitution of Guṇa for इ before the affix क; the latter rule is *antaranga* and the former *bahiranga*, because the affix is added first, the preposition afterwards.

Moreover, it appears from the Bhāṣhya on P. II, 2, 19 that if the preposition were combined (with the root) previously (to the addition of the affix), the root and preposition would form a compound<sup>1</sup> and in that case both should (as Kaiyaṭa observes) have only one accent etc.<sup>2</sup>

An affix<sup>3</sup> which denotes a state likewise takes its place (after a root) before (a preposition is prefixed to the latter); only for this reason is (the word अभ्ययन) which occurs in P. VII, 2, 26,

See Mahābhāṣhya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 289: बहिरङ्गो गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः॥

Kaiyaṭa: यदा पूर्वं प्रत्ययः पश्चादुपसर्गयोगस्तदा प्रतिषेधोऽन्तरङ्गो गुणो बहिरङ्गः । यदा तु पूर्वमुपसर्गयोगस्तदा गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ निषेधो बहिरङ्गः । सर्वथा बहिरङ्गस्यासिद्धत्वादित्यसिद्धिः ॥

1. P. समासे । सहति योगविभागेन कुगतीति वा ॥ i. e. by the word सह in P. II., 1, 4 taken as a separate rule, or by the rule P. II., 2, 18.

2. P. ऐकस्वर्यादि । आदिनैकपदपरिग्रहः ॥

See Bhāṣhya on P. II., 2, 19: एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदतिङ्ङिति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तच्चापयत्याचार्योऽनयोर्योगयोर्निवृत्तं सुस्पृष्टेति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गतिकारकोपपदानो कृद्धिः सह समासो भवति प्राक् सुव्युत्तेः [प<sup>०</sup> ७५] इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति । यद्येतच्चाप्यते केनेदानीं समासो भविष्यति । समर्थेन । यद्येवं धातूपसर्गयोरपि समासः प्राप्नोति । पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति । नैतदस्ति । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण साधनं हि क्रिया निर्वर्तयति तामुपसर्गो विञ्चिनष्टि । अभिनिवृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यद्येवमिति । तत्तथैकस्वर्यादिप्रसङ्गः शाकलप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गश्च ॥ पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेणेति । ततस्तयोः सामर्थ्यमस्त्युपसर्गार्थविशिष्टायाः क्रियायाः साधनेन योगात् ॥ पूर्वं धातुः साधनेनेति । ततश्च पूर्वं साधनाभिधायिप्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः पश्चात्साधनसंसृष्ट एव धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते न केवल इति धातूपसर्गयोः समासाभावः । तत्र कृदन्तेन समासो भवत्येव तिङन्तेन त्वतिङ्ङिति निषेधान्न भवति । यत्तु तिङन्तेन समास इष्यते स विषयो दर्शित उदात्तवतेति ॥ अभिनिवृत्तस्येति । अनिष्पन्नस्य विशेषाकाङ्क्षाया अभवात् । अनुभूयते सुखमुपास्यते गुरुरित्यादौ धातुरेव सकर्मिका क्रिया वक्तुपसर्गस्तु द्योतक इति नारित कश्चिदस्मिन्यथे तेषः ॥

3. P. नन्वेकमप्यध्ययनमित्याद्यसिद्धिस्तत्र साधनप्रयुक्तप्रत्ययाभावात् । अत आह । भावार्थेति । तदर्थकङ्कनौऽपीत्यर्थः ॥

formed correctly.<sup>1</sup> And this (word अभ्ययन in P. VII., 2, 26 indicates generally (not merely that Kṛit-affixes like भन, when they denote a state, are added to the root before a preposition is prefixed to the latter, but also) that a तिङ् i. e. a personal termination which denotes a state, likewise takes its place (after the root) before (a preposition is prefixed to it). If it were otherwise, (root and preposition) would in such cases form a compound (which would be incorrect); on the other hand, after the addition of the personal termination, no (such) incorrectness can arise because (the formation of a compound) would be forbidden by the expression भतिङ् (in P. II., 2, 19. These remarks are necessary) provided that a verbal form in which the personal termination denotes a state be (ever) combined with a preposition.<sup>2</sup> So much (on this question).

(Some grammarians)<sup>3</sup> say : 'That which depends on something general is *antaranga* in regard to that which depends on something special, because anything depending on something special is caused by the special nature (of the latter) *in addition* (to being caused by what may be its general nature). *E. g.*<sup>4</sup> in the

1. If अभि had been prefixed to the root इ before the addition of the affix भन, ई would have been substituted for the इ of अभि and for the radical इ, and in that case the formation of अभ्ययन would have been impossible. But as the affix is first added to इ, the substitution of Guna for the radical इ takes place first, and subsequently the इ of अभि is changed to य्.

2. Ohitprabhā : वस्तुतस्तु तस्य विशेषापेक्षज्ञायकत्वेऽपि न दोष इत्यत आह यदीति । यदीत्यनेन भावतिङ्गुपसर्ग एव नास्तीति धनिते दोषाभावेऽपि धनित एवेति बोध्यम् ॥

3. Such as Bhaṭṭojidikṣhita, Si. Kau. II., pag. 123.

4. When रुद्+लिङ् has been changed to रुद्+तु, the following rules apply simultaneously: P. III., 4, 103 which teaches the addition to the affix त् etc. of यासुट् after a root, and P. VII., 2, 76, VII., 3, 98 and 99

case of (the addition of the augment इत् taught in) P. VII., 2, 76, (the causes<sup>1</sup> on which that addition depends are) "the being one of रुद् etc." and "the being a Sārvadhātuka;" here, in order to form the conception of "being a Sārvadhātuka" we must necessarily know that the base ( रुद् etc.) has the nature of a root, and we must also know that the termination (त् etc.) has the nature of an affix; accordingly (the addition of) यासुद् (taught in P. III., 4, 103) is *antaranga* (in regard to the addition of the augment इद्, ईद्, and अद्, taught in P. VII., 2, 76; VII., 3, 98 and 99; and supersedes the latter).<sup>2</sup> The above proves Kaiyaṭa's<sup>3</sup> statement on P. I., 3, 12, "that (the substitutes) तिप् etc. are *antaranga*, because (their substitution) depends on ल् only, whereas स्य etc. are *bahiranga*, because (their addition) depends on a special letter ल् (i. e. on ल् specified by ऋ etc.)" to be incorrect, viz. because, although (स्य etc.) depend on something special, not being caused (also) by the general nature (of the latter), they cannot be shown to be *bahiranga*. Moreover (Kaiyaṭa's statement is incorrect,) because स्य etc. are *bahiranga* on account of their being caused by something following.'

However, all this is untenable; for, although the general nature (of something special) may be inferred to be present (when the latter presents itself) from the fact that that which is special possesses that general nature, yet there is no proof for its being a cause (of an operation which depends on that

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which teach the addition to the Sārvadhātuka affix त् etc. of इद्, ईद्, or अद्, after the roots रुद् etc.; according to Bhaṭṭojidikṣita, "the former rule is *antaranga*, while the latter are *bahiranga*."

1. सार्वधातुकत्वं च; P. निमित्तमिति शेषः.

2. P. तथा च यस्मान्यधर्मापेक्षशास्त्रापेक्षया कश्चिद्विशेषधर्मोऽधिको निमित्तकोटौ यत् विशेषापेक्षशास्त्रेऽस्ति तत्ततो बहिरङ्गमिति कलितम् ॥

3. See above pag. 204.

which is special), and it cannot therefore be said with propriety that (such an operation) is caused by that (general) nature in addition (to its being caused by the special nature of that on which it depends);<sup>1</sup> moreover such a meaning of (the terms) *antaranga* and *bahiranga* (as would be expressed by the words *sāmānyāpeksha* and *vis'eshāpeksha*) has nowhere in the Bhāshya been ascribed to them.

However<sup>2</sup> (one may object that in the Bhāshya on P. V., 2, 94 such a meaning has been ascribed to the terms *antaranga* and *bahiranga*). In the Bhāshya on that rule which enjoins (the addition of the affix) मनुप्, it has been remarked that (in accordance with P. V., 2, 94) one ought to add मनुप् also when forming (the compound) पञ्चगु (from पञ्चन् and गो) in the sense of 'one who possesses five cows.' (The author of the Bhāshya, in) stating the true and final view (of the case, refutes this) by saying that (मनुप् cannot be added) to each (of the words पञ्चन् and गो) because the (individual) meaning (of each of these two words) is not connected (with the sense expressed by मनुप्); that (मनुप् cannot be added) to the whole (पञ्च गावः) because this is no crude form; and that (it cannot be added) to the compound (पञ्चगु) because (the meaning of मनुप्) is expressed (already) by the compound.

The first disputant<sup>3</sup> thereupon maintains that the last (argu-

1. P. In the case of रुद्यात्, यासुट् has been prefixed to त् because it is *nitya*; अडाटौ तु यासुटि कृतेऽनपृक्तत्वेनाप्राप्त्यानिवृत्तौ.

2. The sentence beginning with यत्तु ends on pag. 48. l. 11, कैयट इति.

3. *Pūrvapakshin*: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu.

*Siddhāntin*: पाञ्चनापिति etc. are Dvigu-compounds, but पञ्चगु is a

*Bahuvrihi* (*paratvāt*, P. II., I, 51, and II., 2, 24).

*Pūrvapakshin*: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu (*apavādatvāt*);

अन्यपदार्थे सुबन्तमालस्य.... *Bahuvrihi* (cf. P. II., 2, 24);

ment) does not hold good, because *e. g.* in पाञ्चनापिति<sup>1</sup> a Taddhita-affix has been added to a Dvigu-compound, notwithstanding that the meaning of (that) affix is expressed (already by the compound).—Kaiyaṭa explains this to mean: The fact that (Pāṇini) IV., 1, 88 teaches the elision (of an affix which had been added to a Dvigu-compound) shows<sup>2</sup> that Taddhita-affixes are added to Dvigu-compounds which were formed to express a meaning such as is denoted by a Taddhita-affix; and (therefore the affix मनुप् should have been added to) the word पाञ्चगु, (for this) is a Dvigu-compound.—<sup>3</sup>

(The author of the Bhāṣya), stating the true view of the case, thereupon rejoins, 'this (पाञ्चगु) is no Dvigu-compound; if you ask what it is, (I reply, that it is) a Bahuvrīhi-compound,' intimating thereby that the (formation, by P. II., 1, 51, of a) Dvigu-compound, which has taken place<sup>4</sup> *e. g.* in द्वैमातुर, पाञ्चनापिति, or (which takes place when one wishes to form a compound) to denote (the sense) 'prepared in five dishes', is in the instance under discussion (*viz.* in the case of पाञ्चगु) superseded by the (formation of a) Bahuvrīhi-compound, because the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. II., 2, 24).

तद्धितार्थे संख्यायाः.... Dvigu (cf. P. II., 1, 51).

*Siddhāntyēkades'in*: पाञ्चगु is a Bahuvrīhi (*antarangatvāt*);

अन्यपदार्थे..... Bahuvrīhi;

विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे *i. e.* तद्धितार्थे.. Dvigu.

1. P. पाञ्चानां नापितानामपत्यमिति तद्धितार्थद्विगोरपत्य इज्यनपत्य इति निषेधान्न लुक्. See P. IV., 1, 95 and 88. Really तद्धितार्थे in P. II., 1, 51 means तद्धितार्थविषये, but the Pūrvapakṣhin assigns to it the meaning तद्धितार्थे वाच्ये.

2. लुग्विधानात्, *scil.* ज्ञापकात्. P.

3. P. समासान्तस्त्वनित्यत्वात् । द्विगोर्लुगिति मतोर्लुगिति तु न । भग्रादीन्पतीयत्वात्. See P. IV., 1, 88.

4. P. सारकाद्येति । तत्रापथमान्तत्वेन बहुव्रीह्यभातेः.

The former disputant, not aware that (P. II., 1, 51) does apply in those (instances द्वैमातुर etc.), replies that (in the case of णञ्जु) a Dvigu-compound should be formed because (the rule II., 1, 51) is an *Apavāda* (of II., 2, 24).—Kaiyaṭa explains this thus: The (formation of a) Bahuvrīhi-compound which (according to P. II., 2, 24) is to take place when (several) nouns (of any description whatsoever) are employed to denote the same thing as another word, should (in the present case) be superseded by the (formation of a) Dvigu-compound which (according to P. II., 1, 51) is to take place when a numeral (and another noun) are employed to denote the same as (a word which ends with) a Taddhita-affix, because the latter has to take place in special (cases which, otherwise, would all have fallen under the general rule P. II., 2, 24).—

Hereupon one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case,<sup>1</sup> remarks: (णञ्जु is) a Bahuvrīhi because (the formation of such a compound is in this case) *antaranga* (compared with that of a Dvigu-compound); it is *antaranga* because (as) a Bahuvrīhi (णञ्जु) conveys the meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्य), while, (as) a Dvigu, it conveys a special meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्मिन्), for (in the rule P. V., 2, 94 which enjoins the addition of the Taddhita-affix मनुज्), the sense of which the Dvigu-compound would denote in the present instance, the word अस्मिन् has been put down (by Pāṇini).—<sup>2</sup> Kaiyaṭa comments on this: The Dvigu is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the sense of (the affix) मनुज् (the addition of) which depends on the presence of the sense (expressed by) अस्मिन् in

1. *Siddhāntyekades'in* is one who is partly right and partly wrong; णञ्जु is a Bahuvrīhi, but its formation is not *antaranga*.

2. P. अस्य द्विगोरर्थद्वारा निमित्तभूते तस्मिन्स्तद्धिते मनुज्निधायकेऽस्तिग्रहणं क्रियते.



addition to (that of भस्व. In other words, पञ्चगु as Bahuvrīhi expresses the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य, सः, while as Dvigu it would express the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य सन्ति, सः).—

(Here then one might say that the author of the Bhāṣya has evidently considered the term *bahiranga* as equivalent to *vis'eshāpeksha*. But to maintain this would be wrong, for) this statement (that the Bahuvrīhi is *antaranga* and the Dvigu *bahiranga*) has not been made by him who knows the true and final view of the matter because, even (were the formation of a Dvigu in this case *bahiranga*, it would) not on that account cease to be (taught in a rule which is) an *Apavāda* (and would therefore still supersede the formation of the Bahuvrīhi-compound, although the latter were *antaranga*), just as we see that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 77 of) यण्, which depends on (the presence of) any vowel whatsoever, is superseded by (the substitution, by P. VI., 1, 101, of) a long vowel, which depends on (the presence of) a particular *i. e.* (in this case) a homogeneous vowel, (*viz.* because P. VI., 1, 101 is an *Apavāda* of P. VI., 1, 77). And (if one denies that the rule which teaches the formation of the Dvigu-compound is an *Apavāda* of P. II., 2, 24), then the fact that (the formation of the Bahuvrīhi) supersedes (that of the Dvigu) is already, in the manner stated above, established by its being (taught in a rule) which follows (upon that rule in which the formation of the Bahuvrīhi is taught, and it is superfluous to have recourse to the *Antaranga-paribhāṣā*). Besides (in the passage quoted the formation of) the Dvigu is (considered) *bahiranga* only because it depends on something additional,<sup>1</sup> and

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1. And it has been shown before that *Adhikanimitatva* does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

is) not (considered so) because<sup>1</sup> it depends solely on something special; consequently that (passage of the) Bhâshya does not authorize the statement that, what is dependent on something special, is *bahiranga*. For this reason has it not been stated in the Bhâshya that the (formation of a) Bahuvrihi depends on (the words to be compounded being) nouns of any description whatever, whereas the (formation of a) Dvigu depends on (the words to be compounded being nouns) of a particular (description). Nor can one object that that (sense which by Kaiyaṭa has been assigned to the words विविदिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे, viz. अधिकारस्यार्थपेक्ष<sup>०</sup>) cannot be (their) true (sense), because (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;<sup>2</sup> for as that statement (विविदिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे) has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth, no blame (can attach to the commentator for his assigning to it a meaning which may be contrary to what is otherwise established as correct. Because the statement अन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहि<sup>०</sup> etc. has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth), therefore he who knows the true state of the case shows (in the sequel) that the word अस्ति (in P. V., 2, 94) is not intended to specify<sup>3</sup> (अस्य or अस्मिन् in that rule), but has been put down (by Pāṇini) in order that मनुप् may be added (also) to अस्ति,<sup>4</sup> and that consequently the (formation of the) Dvigu can likewise not be regarded as *bahiranga* in the manner

1. केवल<sup>०</sup>=अधिकारपेक्षमनुन्य<sup>०</sup>. P.

2. See above pag. 224.

3. Viz. because, also without अस्ति in the rule, the meaning expressed by अस्ति would be understood, just as it is understood in the rule which teaches the formation of a Bahuvrihi-compound.

4. To form अस्तिमन्.

proposed by the Siddhāntyekades'in;<sup>1</sup> and having shown this, he says that (the formation of) this (word पञ्चगु, as a Bahuvrīhi, and therefore without the affix मनुग्, ) results<sup>2</sup> from the (separate additional) rule, that it is forbidden to form a Dvigu-compound to express the sense denoted by (the Taddhita-affix) मनु.

It is only because (the Antaranga-paribhāshā does not convey the meaning assigned to it by Bhaṭṭojidikshita and others), that the word अनन्त्ययोः in the rule P. VII., 2, 106 serves a purpose (or, in other words, is absolutely necessary. Did the Antaranga-paribhāshā, on the other hand, (convey that meaning), the (word अनन्त्ययोः) would clearly be superfluous, for अ which, depending on (the sequence of) any affix whatsoever, would be *antaranga*, would (by P. VII., 2, 102) be substituted for the final (द्), (and the final द् having thus disappeared), it would follow that स् could be substituted only for the non-final (त् or द्).<sup>3</sup> Be-

1. त्वदभिमतं—सिद्धान्त्यैकदेश्यभिमतम्; because namely both the Bahuvrīhi and the Dvigu would be equal.

2. सिद्धान्तिना i. e. तत्त्वेन त्वदभिमतेनैकदेशिना. In reality a separate additional rule is not necessary, because according to the *Paramasiddhāntin* पञ्चगु is Bahuvrīhi *paratvāt*. See also Rāghavendrāchārya: अन्तरङ्गत्वाद्बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्तमपेक्ष्यैव सिद्धान्ति | परमसिद्धान्ति तु नैष द्विगुः कस्तर्हि बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्नेवेति बोध्यम् ||. See Vārtt. 4 on P. II., 1, 51.

3. E. g. स्यः from स्यद्. In the case of स्यद्+सु two rules are applicable, viz. P. VII., 2, 102 which teaches the substitution of अ for द् before any case-affix, and P. VII., 2, 106 which teaches the substitution of स् for त् or द् before the Nominative case-affix सु. If *antaranga* and *bahiranga* were equivalent to *sāmānyāpeksha* and *vis'eshāpeksha*, the substitution of अ for द् would be *antaranga*, and that of स् for त् or द् *bahiranga*. Accordingly the former substitution would take effect first, and the final द् having by it disappeared, स् would be substituted for the initial त्, even if Pāṇini had not said अनन्त्ययोः in VII., 2, 106. The fact that Pāṇini has thought it necessary to say अनन्त्ययोः shows, that *antaranga* and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *sāmānyāpeksha* and *vis'eshāpeksha*.

sides the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> also and Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 130 suggest that 'being *antaranga*' never has the (sense 'being dependent on what is general'); this the learned should consider.—

Now one might maintain that (if then the term *antaranga* were) thus (employed strictly in what has above been considered to be its proper sense, it ought) in (the formation of) the Aorist Par. (असुसुवत्)<sup>2</sup> of सु, (where the question arises whether for

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 130: अरुदिताम् अरुदितम् अरुदितेति । इटि कृते तातंतामादेशः प्राप्नुवन्ति (See P. III., 4, 101) । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति [प० १२] इति न दोषो भवति ॥ इदमिह संप्रसार्यम् । इट् क्रियतां तातंताम् इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादिजागमः । अन्तरङ्गास्तंतामः ॥ (See P. VII., 2, 76).

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्गा इति । प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकारान्तामादयोऽन्तरङ्गाः ॥

ताम् etc. are *antaranga* because धातोः of P. III., 1, 91 is no longer valid in P. III., 4, 101, i. e. because ताम् etc. are caused only by तस् etc. whereas इट् is caused by रुद् etc. and the following Sūrvadhātuka; had *antaranga* and *bahiranga* been regarded as equivalent to *sāmānyāpekṣha* and *vis'eṣhāpekṣha*, ताम् etc. would have been *antaranga*, even if धातेः had been considered as valid in P. III., 4, 101, viz. because ताम् etc., are substituted for तस् etc. after *all* roots whereas इट् is prefixed to the Sūrvadhātuka तस् etc. only after रुद् etc.

Of. also Chitprabhā: तथा हि । इदं भाष्यं प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकार इति पक्षमादाय प्रवृत्तम् । अन्यथा निर्दिश्यमानस्येत्युक्तेऽपि धातेरित्यवधुपादानादितो व्यवधानेन तामादय एव न स्युः । तथा च रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुक इत्यस्य तामादिनिमित्तसमुदायवहिर्भूतरुदादिनिमित्तकत्वेन बहिरङ्गत्वात्तामादय एव भवन्तीति सूचनास्तामान्यपेक्षमन्तरङ्गविशेषपेक्षं बहिरङ्गमिति नास्त्येवेति सूचितम् ॥ कैयटेन च प्राग्लादेशेभ्य इत्युक्त्यैव सूचितम् । अन्यथा लादेशादीनां तदधिकारत्वेऽप्युक्तान्तरङ्गत्वसंभवात्तदुक्तिरयुक्ता स्यात् ॥

2. In the formation of the Aor. Par. of सु from असुसु+च्छि+त्, अ being by P. III., 1, 48 substituted for च्छि before त्, we obtain असुसु+अ+त्. Now there arises the doubt whether for the radical उ उच् should by P. VI., 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guna by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्. If the substitution of उच् were *antaranga*, and that of Guna *bahiranga*, उच् would have to be substituted in preference to Guna,

the radical उ उच् should by P. VI., 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guṇa by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्., not to be applied to the substitution of उच्, because here (the substitution of) उच्. has not (even) fewer causes than (that of) Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate, (and not being *antaranga*) उच् ought not to be substituted (for उ). But this would be untenable; for the (substitution of उच्) is *antaranga*, viz. *antaranga* in the sense which is expressed by the word *antahkārya*; and by *antahkārya* we mean that the cause (अ of the substitution of उच्, in the order of the pronunciation of the letters,) precedes (the cause त् of the substitution of Guṇa);<sup>1</sup> for the word भङ्ग is equivalent to निमित्त i. e. 'cause'.

That this (kind of) *Antarangatva* is established by a maxim of common life, appears from the Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 57 where

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but it is questionable whether the substitution of उच् is *antaranga*. In the case of विश्वैहः (see pag. 236) the substitution of Guṇa was *antaranga*, because its causes lay within the sum of the causes of the (*bahiranga*) substitution of Samprasāraṇa; in the case of खट्वोदा (see pag. 244) the substitution of Guṇa for आ+उ was *antaranga* because, in the order of the formation of खट्वोदा, this operation presented itself first, i. e. because आ+उदा were joined together first, and खट्वा+ओदा afterwards. Neither is the case with the substitution of उच् for उ in असुत्+अ+त्; on the contrary one might say, that the substitution of Guṇa for उ ought to be regarded as *antaranga* because, in the formation of the Aor. of स्तु, the cause त् of Guṇa presents itself sooner than the cause अ of उच्, for अ is substituted for च्छि only when त् follows. Some grammarians have maintained (see pag. 228) that that which has fewer causes is *antaranga* in regard to that which has more causes; but not even, if their opinion is adopted, can the substitution of उच् be regarded as *antaranga* compared with that of Guṇa, for the latter has only one cause, viz. त्, just as the former has only one cause, viz. अ.

1. पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वं-लौकिकप्रयोगीयोच्चारणक्रमेण पूर्वश्रुतिनिमित्तकत्वम्, P.

we read the following : 'when a man has risen in the morning, he does (first) whatever concerns his own person, afterwards (what concerns) his friends, afterwards (what concerns) his relatives ; (in accordance with this practice of common life) Pāṇini has assumed that similarly, whatever is expressed (by a word), viz. a genus, a (particular) individual, gender, number, and a (particular) case-relation, is apprehended in that order (one after the other), that the several portions of a word which denote the (genus etc.) arise (one after the other) in the same order, and that the operations which concern each (of those portions) take effect therefore in the very same order ; in (the formation of) पट्त्वा etc. therefore (from पट्+ई+आ etc.), the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel (उ), being *antaranga*,<sup>1</sup> takes place first, because the substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel (ई) is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing.' The (being *untaranga* in this sense)<sup>2</sup> only determines that, when (two operations) apply simultaneously, (the *antaranga* operation) shall take effect first, as is the case in पट्त्वा when this word is dissolved (into its constituent parts)<sup>3</sup> and (its formation out of those parts) accounted for (by the rules of grammar), but it does not cause a *bahiranga* (operation), which has (already) taken effect, (to be considered as) not having taken effect in regard to such an *antaranga* (operation); for this follows, as appears from Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132, likewise from the maxim of common life mentioned above.<sup>4</sup> In the case of

1. भन्तरञ्जत्वात्-पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्; बहिरञ्जतयासिद्धत्वात्-पश्चादुपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेन प्रागप्राप्तेः P.

2. तदपि i. e. तत्र भाष्ये स्पष्टमुक्तमन्तरञ्जत्वमपि. P.

3. I. e. into पट्+ई+आ.

4. Viz. because that maxim refers to things that offer themselves at the same time. If the *bahiranga* operation is applicable after the *anta-*

वाच्यो: etc, (where य् should have been elided before र् by P. VI., 1, 66), the elision (of य्) has therefore by the author of the Bhāṣya been prevented by (the assumption that) the semivowel (र्, which has been substituted for उ,) is like the original (उ; to assume this would have been unnecessary, if the *bahiranga* substitution of र् had by the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā* been *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of य्).<sup>1</sup> If, on the other hand, in accounting for the formation of a word, (one makes each expressive portion of it arise) one after the other, (i. e. if one e. g. first adds ई to पट्, and afterwards आ to पट्टे), then the *Antarangatva* (of the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel उ) in the above example (पट्ट्या) must be taken to mean 'its taking place first,' and the *Asiddhatva* of the *bahiranga* (substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel ई) can only mean 'that it does not (yet) apply, because its cause (आ) is (as yet) absent.'<sup>2</sup>

The statement however, that in this manner (an operation) is likewise *antaranga* (in regard to another operation) when it

*ranga* operation has taken effect, then it takes effect; otherwise not. P.

See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132: ननु नैतज्ज्ञापकसाध्यं लोक्तः सिद्धत्वात् । प्रत्यङ्गवर्ती हि लोकः । नैतदस्ति । यत्र युगपदन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोः प्राप्तिस्तत्र लौकिकन्यायाश्रयणाद्वत्तन्तरङ्गः । इह तु बहिरङ्गनिमित्तमन्तरङ्गमिति लौकिकन्यायानवतारः ॥

1. In वाच्यो: the substitution of र् for उ has taken place before P. VI., 1, 66 becomes applicable. The prohibition of *Sthānivattva* P. I., 1, 58 न पदान्त<sup>०</sup> does not apply, because it is again restricted by *Vārtt.* 1. स्वरदीर्घ्यलोपेषु लोपाज्जादेशो न स्थानिवत्. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 35, note.

2. See Nāgojibhaṭṭa on the Bhāṣya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 655: येन क्रमेण शब्दोपस्थितिस्तेनैव क्रमेण कार्यमिति पूर्वमीकारनिमित्तको यण्णाति भावः ॥ तत्र पदस्यैव विभक्त्यान्वाख्यानं सर्वेषां युगपत्प्राप्तावनया व्यवस्था । क्रमेणान्वाख्याने तु पूर्वप्रवृत्तिकत्वरूपमन्तरङ्गत्वं पूर्वयणादेशस्य परयणादेशस्य बहिरङ्गत्वं तु निमित्तभावात्प्राप्तिरूपं बोध्यम् ॥

affects a part (of a word) which precedes (that portion of the word which is affected by the other (operation), should be regarded with suspicion. (If it were correct), the trouble which the author of the Bhāshya,—when he rejects what were supposed to be the objects of the rule P. VI., 4, 163,—has taken to show why after the elision by P. V., 3, 65 of विन् or मत् in (the formation of) खजिष्ठ etc. (from खग्विन्+इष्ठ etc.) the भज् etc. (of खज् etc.) is not elided (by P. VI., 4, 155), viz. because the rule P. V., 3, 65 is an *Apavāda* (of P. VI., 4, 155) and<sup>1</sup> supersedes this rule altogether (so that P. VI., 4, 155 cannot even take effect after the elision of विन्),—all this trouble would have been taken in vain; for the elision of विन् or मत्, (affecting, as it does, a later portion of the word खग्विन् than that which would be affected by the elision of भज्), would in the manner stated above be *bahiranga* and therefore (be regarded as) not having taken place (in regard to the *antaranga* elision of भज्); it could consequently have been shown without any trouble whatsoever<sup>2</sup> that the latter ought not to take effect. Moreover (the above statement is proved to be incorrect) by the circumstance that (an operation which would be) *bahiranga* after the above manner, has nowhere in the Bhāshya been regarded as *asiddha*; and further by the fact that the word भज् in this Paribhāshā is equivalent to निमित्त 'cause.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. One might say that in खग्विन्+इष्ठ P. V., 3, 65 does supersede P. VI., 4, 155; but that it cannot supersede the latter rule in खज्+इष्ठ, when विन् has been dropped by P. V., 3, 65. To refute this the author of the Bhāshya has recourse to the *Jātipakṣha*; P. V., 3, 65 supersedes VI., 4, 155 so often as this rule presents itself. See Par. LVII.

2. I. e. without having recourse to the *Jātipakṣha*.

3. And not equivalent to स्थानिन्.



The statement which occurs in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 3, 68 viz. 'that this (Antaranga-paribhāshā) does not cause a *bahiranga* (operation) which is taught (in that portion of Pāṇini's grammar) where उत्तरपदे is valid (from P. VI., 3, 1, i. e. in P. VI., 3), to be regarded as *asiddha*,' has been made by the *Pūrvapakshin*, and need therefore not be taken notice of. In the case of परंतप<sup>2</sup> etc. (the addition by P. VI., 3, 67 of the augment मुम् (to पर) is not (regarded as) *asiddha* with reference to (the substitution of) Anusvāra (for म् taught in P. VIII., 3, 23), because this (Paribhāshā) has no concern (with *antaranga* operations taught) in the three last chapters (of Pāṇini's grammar). Also when one adopts the view of modern (grammarians,<sup>3</sup> that the Antaranga-paribhāshā only on the Yathoddes'apaksha<sup>4</sup> has no concern with *antaranga* operations which are taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar), the above (statement) must necessarily be (considered to have been made) by the (Pūrvapakshin) because the example (परंतप) which is given for it, is (even) without it formed correctly, viz. by the adoption of that very view that (at any rate) on the Yathoddes'apaksha (the Paribhāshā does not concern *antaranga* operations taught in the

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1. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 3, 68: नैषा परिभाषेहोत्तरपदाधिकारे शक्या विज्ञानम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । द्विषंतपः परंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विषंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यादिति केचिदाहुः । एतच्च द्वयोरेकस्य वा तकारस्य भ्रुनौ विशेषानवधारणादन्येऽसाधु मन्यमाना अनुस्वाराप्राप्तिलक्षणं दोषमाहुः । एवं च परंतप इत्यपि समर्थितं भवति ॥

2. पर+ताप्, by P. III., 2, 39 पर+ताप्+खच्; P. VI., 4, 94 पर+तप; here पर becomes परम् before तप by P. VI., 3, 67; and afterwards Anusvāra is by P. VIII., 3, 23 substituted for the म् of परम् before त्; thus we obtain परंतप.

3. P. i. e. of Bhaṭṭojidīkshita and others.

4. See above pag. 240.

three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar). This is the opinion (of those who know the truth of the matter).<sup>1</sup>

From the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 4, 22 it appears that when an *antaranga* (operation) taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175 (is to take effect), a *bahiranga* (operation) which is taught in the same portion of Pāṇini's grammar, is not by this (Paribhāṣhā) *asiddha*, because (all that is taught in that portion of Pāṇini's grammar, and therefore also the Paribhāṣhā itself, the existence of which is indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, is) *asiddha* (by P. VI., 4, 22).—<sup>2</sup>

1. आहः *scil.* भाष्यसिद्धान्तानुयायिनः. P.

2. *E. g.* पपुषः from पपा+वस्+भस्; by P. VI., 4, 131 Samprasāraṇa is substituted for व because भस् follows, and we obtain thus पपा+उष्+भः; here आ is elided before उष् by P. VI., 4, 64, = पपुषः. The substitution of उ is here *bahiranga*, the elision of आ *antaranga*, and the latter ought therefore not to take place because the substitution of उ would by the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā* be *asiddha*. In reality however such is not the case, because the *Antaranga-paribhāṣhā* is itself by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of आ, for it is likewise *ābhīya* i. e. taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175, *viz.* indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, and also *samānāśraya*, because it aims at the same letters on which the *antaranga* elision of आ depends.—See Chitprabhā: ननु पपुषः चिच्युषः लुलुवुष इत्यादावनया परिभाषया संप्रसारणस्य बहिरङ्गत्वेनासिद्धत्वा-दाल्लोपादीनि न स्युरित्यत आह । आभीयेऽन्तरङ्ग इति । आभीयेष्वालोपादिष्वन्तरङ्गेषु कर्तव्येष्वालोपाया असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषया असिद्धवदित्यसिद्धत्वाच्च तेष्वन्तरङ्गेषु प्रवर्तत इति भावः ॥ न चासिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषया आलोपादीनां च समानाश्रयत्वाभा-वादसिद्धवदिति न प्रवर्तत इति वाच्यम् । संप्रसारणे कृते क्षजाद्याश्रयेणालोपादीनि प्रवर्तन्ते कर्तव्येषु च तेषु संप्रसारणस्यासिद्धत्वाय तद्विषये बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाणि प्रवर्तत इति तेषां समानाश्रयत्वेन तत्प्रवृत्तेर्दुर्विरत्वात् ॥

I now consider the reading of MS. O. which omits the word समानाश्रय-स्य in l. 13, to be the right reading, although Pāyagnūda does give that word; for in the instances पपुषः etc. the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasāraṇa and the *antaranga* elision of आ etc. are *not* समानाश्रय. Cf. Pāya-

We see likewise from the Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 3,<sup>1</sup> that (an operation, such as the substitution of Guṇa taught in P. VII., 3, 84,) is not *antaranga*<sup>2</sup> (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 1 etc.) before सिच् ; this (statement) is based on the circumstance that P. VII., 2, 1 supersedes, in accordance with Paribhāṣhā LVII., the *antaranga* (rule P. VII., 3, 84 because it is an *Āpavāda* of it).<sup>3</sup>

gunda: भाष्य इति । तत्र हि वसुसंप्रसारणमन्त्रिषो सिद्धं वाच्यमन्यथाभीयासिद्धत्वाद्-  
हिरक्वासिद्धत्वाच्चाक्षोपादीनि पपुषश्चिच्युषो लुलुवुष इत्यादौ न स्युरित्युक्त्वा समानाश्रयत्वेनाद्यं  
संखण्डेन बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्विभविनावेतावर्थादित्यादिनान्त्यमपि खण्डितम् ॥

If the substitution of *bahiranga* Samprasāraṇa and the *antaranga* elision of आ etc. were *samānāś'raya*, the former would be *asiddha* by P. VI., 4, 22.—See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग इत्येषा परिभाषा बाह उडित्यत्र ज्ञापितेत्याभाच्छास्त्रीयाथवा विप्र-  
तिषेधे परं कार्यमित्यलोपसंख्यातापि संज्ञापरिभाषाणां कार्यकालत्वाद्बसुसंप्रसारणदेशस्थत्वा-  
दाभाच्छास्त्रीयाभाच्छास्त्रीयेष्वाक्षोपादिषु कर्तव्येष्वसिद्धेति न प्रवर्तते । तदप्रवृत्तौ चाक्षोपा-  
दीनि भवन्तीति वाक्यार्थः ॥ . . . वसुसंप्रसारणं चैकं परिभाषाया आक्षोपादीनां चाश्रय  
इति समानाश्रयत्वाद्बसुसिद्धत्वं परिभाषायाः ॥

1 . Ed. Ballantyne pag. 281.

2 . P. तस्य तत्त्वं च संख्यया षट्कत्वेन चाल्पनिमित्तकत्वेन बोध्यम्, i. e. Guṇa is caused by following Sārvadhātuka or Ārdhadhātuka, Vṛiddhi by following सिच् when this is followed by a Parasmaipada-termination.

3 . P. Jñāpaka is here अत् in P. VII., 2, 7 and the prohibition निश्चि in P. VII., 2, 5. If the *antaranga* Guṇa were substituted, we should have it e. g. in अक्षोषीत्, and the rule VII., 2, 7 would (even without अत्) not apply to this, because ओ is not *laghu*. Similarly we should have Guṇa and the substitution of अय् in अश्वथीत् and this would already by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5 be forbidden to take Vṛiddhi.—In the formation of the Aor. of शि two rules apply, viz. P. VII., 3, 84 which teaches the sub-

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LI.

Now one might say that (if the *Antaranga-paribhāshā* were) then (valid in all but the three exceptional cases mentioned above<sup>1</sup>), the *bahiranga* (substitution, by P. VI., 4, 19, of) ऊ (for the व् of दिव्) in (the formation of) अक्षयू<sup>2</sup> (from अक्ष-दिव्+किप्) etc. would have to be considered as *asiddha* (in regard to the *antaranga* substitution, by P. VI., 1, 77, of य् for इ before ऊ), and in that case the *antaranga* (substitution of the) semi-vowel य् (for इ) would not take place. (The author of the *Paribhāshās*) says therefore :

P. LI: (Provided that an operation, which by the above would be *bahiranga*, has taken effect, it is contrary to the above) not regarded as *bahiranga* (and consequently not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* operation is to take effect)

stitution of Guna for इ, and P. VII., 2, 1 which teaches that of Vṛiddhi for इ; if the former were *antaranga* in regard to the latter, it would take place first (=अक्षयीत्) and subsequently the substitution of the *bahiranga* Vṛiddhi for अ would be forbidden by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5; शि in VII., 2, 5 would thus be superfluous. Because, however, the substitution of Guna is not *antaranga* in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in VII., 2, 1, the latter would take effect first, if it were not forbidden by शि in P. VII., 2, 5; for in the latter case it would not be forbidden by य् in VII., 2, 5, because सिच् would not be preceded by य्.

1. See the text pag. 44, 3, इयं च त्रिपाद्यां न प्रवर्तते; p. 50, 13 आभोये; and l. 14. एवं सिचि etc. Above pag. 235, 265 and 266.

2. अक्ष-दिव्+किप्=अक्ष-दिउ=अक्षयू; ऊ for व् before किप् is *bahiranga*, य् for इ before ऊ *antaranga*.

which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else).<sup>1</sup>

The word तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); else that (तुक्, by which Pāṇini intends to show that in the formation of अधीत्य etc. the substitution of ई etc. for the इ of अधि etc. and the radical इ is *asiddha* in regard to the addition, by P. VI., 1, 71, of the augment तुक् to the root इ), would evidently be useless. In (the formation of) अधीत्य, प्रेत्य etc. (from अधि+इत्ता, प्र+इत्ता etc., the substitution by P. VII., 1, 37 of) व्यप् (for क्त) takes place after (अधि or प्र) have been compounded (with इत्ता); that composition therefore takes place before (व्यप् is substituted. Now) as in a compound (the final letter of a preceding member) must invariably be joined (with the initial letter of a following member,<sup>2</sup> the final letter of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) cannot remain unjoined even until व्यप् takes the place (of क्त); the substitution of one (vowel for the final of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) precedes therefore (the substitution of) व्यप्. (Were the Antaranga-paribhāshā here applicable), the substitution of the one (vowel ई or ए, for इ+इ, or अ+इ,) dependent as it is on two letters of two words, would be *bahiranga* and would consequently (already by

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1. The substitution of ऊ for the व् of दिव् which has taken effect before P. VI., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ, becomes applicable, is therefore not regarded as *bahiranga*, or in other words, is not *asiddha*, viz. because the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ depends on the circumstance that the vowel इ is followed immediately by ऊ. Accordingly the substitute ऊ for व् is *siddha* and causes the substitution of य् for इ.

2. Cf. the Kārikā: संहितैकपदे नित्यं नित्या धातूपसर्गयोः ।

नित्या समासे वाक्ये न सा विवक्षामयेक्षते ॥

the Antaranga-paribhāshā be considered *asiddha* in regard to (the addition of the augment) तुक् (to the root इ,<sup>1</sup> and the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86 regarding the addition of the augment तुक् would be superfluous; but the Antaranga-paribhāshā does not apply in this case and तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 is therefore absolutely necessary). That (an operation) which depends on two letters of two words is *bahiranga*, appears from the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 4, where we read that in the case of प्रेङ्ग etc. the (substitution of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the अ of प्र and the इ of इङ्ग) is *bahiranga*,<sup>2</sup> and also from the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on the rule P. VIII., 2, 23.

But<sup>4</sup> it is wrong to maintain that (not merely तुक्, but) also the word षत् (in P. VI., 1, 86) indicates (the existence of this Paribhāshā), and to support this statement by saying that that (word षत्) would be useless if the present Paribhāshā did not

1. The addition of त् to the short इ would be *antaranga* because it depends on the immediate sequence of व्यप्. See P. VI., 1, 71.

2. See above pag 249 and note on pag. 250.

3. See Bhāshya on P. VIII., 2, 23: संयोगान्तलोपे यणः प्रतिषेधः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपे यणः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । दध्यत् मध्वत्तेति ॥ ..... बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वाद्वा । अथवा बहिरङ्गो यणादेशोऽन्तरङ्गो लोपः । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्ग इति । एकपदाश्रयत्वात् ॥

In दध्यत् (for दधि+अत्) the substitution of य् for इ depends on the two letters इ and अ of the two words दधि and अत्; whereas the elision of य् depends only on the letters द्य् of the one word दध्य्.

P. Although it is not stated in the Bhāshya that that which is पदद्वयाश्रय is *bahiranga*, nevertheless in the example दध्यत् the substitution of य् does depend on two words. The Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 108 is of the same opinion: किं पुनरिदान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावत्ता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य सवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याहुर्णोऽपि. See note 2 on pag. 244.

4. P. He now censures Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭojidikshita etc.

exist, because in कौऽसिचत् etc. the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 109) of the one (vowel औ for ओ+अ), being *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on two letters of two words, would (already by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the substitution, by P. VIII., 3, 59, of ऋ for the स् of सिचत्), and because (that substitution of) ऋ would consequently (even without the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86) not take place.

(This is wrong) because the (substitution of) ऋ depends likewise on two letters of two words, (the vowel औ which is contained in the Pratyāhāra) इष् (of P. VIII., 3, 59) forming part of the preceding word (कौ), and because both (the substitution of औ and that of ऋ) are therefore alike (in this respect. Nor can one say that ऋत् in P. VI., 1, 86 is *altogether* superfluous, *viz.* because सिचत् is a Pada and because the substitution of ऋ for the initial स् is therefore prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111; for) as the one substitute (औ for ओ+अ) is (by P. VI., 1, 85) regarded as the initial of the subsequent word, the (combination of letters) औसिचत् is a Pada, and (the letter स्) not being therefore the initial letter of a Pada, (the substitution of ऋ for it) is not prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111.—(The above statement according to which ऋत् in P. VI., 1, 86 likewise indicates the existence of this Paribhāshā, is) moreover (untenable), because, as was shown above,<sup>1</sup> Par. L. does even on the Kāryakālapaksha not concern an *antaranga* (operation) taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar, (and because consequently it can have no concern with the substitution of ऋ<sup>2</sup> which is taught in P. VIII., 3, 59, even should the latter be really *antaranga*.)

1. See pag. 241.

2. *Sci.* and cannot make the substitution of औ for ओ+अ *asiddha* in regard to it.

The meaning of the Paribhāshā is this, that a *bahiranga* (operation) which has taken effect, is not regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else.<sup>1</sup> The word बहिः is equivalent to *bahiranga*, and 'the state of that' (which is *bahih*, viz. *bahishtva*,) means *bahirangatva*. ('Not regarded as *bahiranga*' means, 'contrary to Par. L., by which a *bahiranga* operation) should be regarded as *asiddha*, not regarded (as *asiddha*.' The Paribhāshā must be explained thus)<sup>2</sup> because the remark of the (author of the) Bhāshya,<sup>3</sup> 'after having said असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे I shall say नाजानन्तर्ये,' shows that (the word) अन्तरङ्गे of the previous (Paribhāshā) is valid (also in this Paribhāshā). Because of this (interpretation of the Paribhāshā) there is nothing incorrect in (its not applying in the case of) पचावेदम् etc. viz. because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for the vowel (ए, taught in P. III., 4, 93,) is not caused by the immediate sequence of (the vowel ए and) something else.<sup>4</sup>

1. Ohitprabhā: अचोऽन्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तक इति । अनेन परिभाषास्थाजानन्तर्यपदे ऽचोऽन्यानन्तर्यमित्येकवचनान्तेन समासोऽजानन्तर्यपदस्य तन्निमित्तके लक्षणा चेत्युभयं सूचितम् ॥

2. Viz. by अचोऽन्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तकेऽन्तरङ्गे कर्तव्ये.

3. On P. I., 4, 2.

4. पचाव+इदम्-पचावेदम्. When for the final अ of पचाव and the initial इ of इदम् the Guna-vowel ए has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87, the question arises whether for this ए ऐ should be substituted by P. III., 4, 93. This question must be answered in the negative, for the substitution of ए for अ+इ is *bahiranga* and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of ऐ for ए which is *antaranga*. Here our present Par. LI. is not applicable, because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for ए is not caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel ए and something else, but depends on the presence of ए alone.



As we have stated that (only) a *bahiranga* (operation) which has taken effect (is not regarded as *bahiranga*, this Paribhāshā does not apply in the formation of अयजे इन्द्रम्, वियति etc.<sup>1</sup> from अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, चि+अ+ति etc. and) the *bahiranga* (substitution of) long (ई for इ+इ) and (of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the इ of चि)<sup>2</sup> etc. is therefore in the case of अयजे इन्द्रम्, वियति etc. (in accordance with Par. L.) justly regarded as *asiddha*. The remark (made in the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 2) viz. 'that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of Guṇa for अ and (the vowel इ of the terminations) इट्, ङि, and शि, (in instances like अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, वन-इ+इह, सर्व-इ+इह etc., because it is *antaranga*,) supersedes the (substitution of a) homogeneous long vowel (for इ+इ)',—and the remark (in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 5)<sup>3</sup> viz. 'that (in चि+अ+ति, अदुद्रु+अ+त् etc. the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इय् and उय् for the radical vowels इ and उ, dependent as it is on the अ of the affixes) श and चङ् with which (चि+अ and अदुद्रु+अ end), on account of its being *antaranga*, (supersedes the substitution of Guṇa for the same radical vowels which is taught in P. VII., 3, 86)',<sup>4</sup>—these and similar remarks are for the same reason quite correct. It is for the same reason that the word आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 serves a purpose;<sup>5</sup> for आङ् is meant to show that, when in the case of शिव आ इहि the Guṇa (vowel ए) has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87 (for आ+इ), the (substitution by P. VI., 1, 88 of the Vṛiddhi (vowel ऐ for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि) is superseded (by the

1. Viz. because here the *bahiranga* operation applies simultaneously with the *antaranga* operation.

2. See below.

3. शचङन्तस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । अन्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वादनेयङुवङोः कृतयोरनुपधास्याङ्गो न भविष्यति ॥

4. See pag. 259.

5. See pag. 243.

substitution of the Guṇa vowel ए for अ+ए. The substitution of) Guṇa (for अ+इ) supersedes here, because it is an operation which concerns the root (इ) and its preposition (अ), and because it is on that account *antaranga*, the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel (अ for the अ of शिव and the preposition अ), in spite of the latter being (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VI., 1, 101. Were, however, Par. LI. applicable in a case like this, then the substitution of अ for the अ of शिव and the preposition अ would not by Par. L. be superseded by the substitution of ए for the preposition अ and the radical इ; we should form first शिवा इहे, and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 87 शिवेहे, which shows that the word आइ of P. VI., 1, 95 would in that case be altogether superfluous.)

One should not say that when in (the formation of) अक्षय (from अक्ष-दिक्+क्विप्) the semivowel य् has been substituted (for the इ of दिक्, this य्) ought to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, because (the substitution of) ऊ (for the व् of दिक्) would (by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the elision of य्.<sup>1</sup> This would be wrong) because the present (Paribhāṣhā) conveys the meaning that (a *bahiranga* operation which has taken effect) is not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take

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1. *I. e.* The substitution of ऊ for व् would be *bahiranga* not only in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, but also, when य् has been substituted for इ, in regard to the elision of य् which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66. And although it is by the present Paribhāṣhā not *bahiranga i. e.* not *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, *viz.* because this substitution is caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel इ and of ऊ, it ought certainly to be *bahiranga*, and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha*, in regard to the elision of य् before व्, for this elision is not caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else. य् should therefore be elided.

effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else, and also when any other *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, that may apply after the taking effect of that (first *antaranga* operation).—<sup>1</sup> When however the (elision of य्) is guarded against by (the assumption) that Par. L. is not universally valid (and need therefore not be applied in this case), then Paribhāshā LI. is (here) superfluous, because (the non-elision of य्) may be accounted for simply by the (fact that Par. L. is not universally valid).

It is only for (the existence of) this Paribhāshā that the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 serve a purpose; otherwise they would evidently be useless;<sup>2</sup> for in (the case of) वृत्तहभ्याम् etc. the elision of the न् (of वृत्तहन् etc.)—being *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on the fact that (वृत्तहन् etc.) is a *Pada*, and that it is termed so only because (it is followed by the termination) भ्याम् which stands beyond (the affix क्तिप्, the cause of the addition of the augment तुक्),—would (by Par. L.) be considered *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of तुक्), and (such being the case, the object of the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) would be accomplished (by Par. L.). But according to my

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1. The substitution of ऊ for व् is therefore not *asiddha* in regard to the elision of य्, and the latter cannot take place because य् is not followed by व्.

2. See Par. L. pag. 232. There it was stated that Par. L. does not apply in the case of वृत्तहभ्याम् etc. because the fact that न् is elided because वृत्तहन् is termed a *Pada* before भ्याम्, does not make its elision *bahiranga*. Here, on the contrary, it is maintained that the elision of न् would be *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* by Par. L., if this were not prevented by Par. LI. Further on we shall see that in reality नाजानन्त्यै 'बहिष्प्रकृतिः' is no Paribhāshā at all, and that what has been said in this place regarding वृत्तहभ्याम् etc. is therefore incorrect.

(view those words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) are quite appropriate (for in my opinion Par. LI. does exist and applies in the case of वृत्रहभ्याम् etc.) because (the *antaranga* addition of) तुक् is dependent on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else.<sup>1</sup> The elision of न् cannot therefore be considered *asiddha* by Par. L., and Pāṇini was obliged to state that it is *asiddha*).

And one ought not to say that, in case this (Paribhāshā LI. were admitted to exist), the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 71 would be incorrect. There namely the question has been raised whether after the substitution by P. VI., 3, 61 of short (इ for the final of ग्रामणी) in ग्रामणिपुत्र the augment तुक् (should be added<sup>2</sup> to the final इ of ग्रामणि by P. VI., 1, 71); subsequently this (question) has been (answered in the negative and the non-addition of तुक्) been accounted for by the fact that (the substitution of) the short (इ for the ई of ग्रामणी)<sup>3</sup> is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha*.<sup>4</sup> (Here then one might maintain that) if Par. LI. did really exist, (the substitution of इ) in that (word ग्रामणिपुत्र) would not be (*bahiranga*), and that consequently (the Bhāshya in which it is considered *bahiranga*) would clearly be incorrect. (But to maintain this would be wrong) because that (passage of the) Bhāshya shows that this (Par. LI.) is unnecessary; (and this is the correct view of the matter) because it is simpler that (the word तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86), which (has been assumed) to indicate

1. See P. VI., 1, 71.

2. तुकमात्रङ्गु, *scil.* प्रत्ययलक्षणेन क्तिपमाश्रित्य. P. (ग्रामणी-क्तिप्+पुत्र).

3. *Scil.* which is caused by पुत्र.

4. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 71: इह तर्हि ग्रामणिपुत्रः सेनानिपुत्रः । इत्यन्ते कृते तुक् प्राप्नोति । ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः । ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः । किं कारणम् । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादेव ॥

(the existence of) this (Par. LI.), should merely teach us that Par. L. is not universally valid, (than that it should indicate the existence of a new Paribhāshā).

Because then this (Par. LI. is rejected as unnecessary), the substitution of a semivowel for the first (vowel उ) in पटु+ई+भा has in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 57 been accounted for by the fact that the substitution of a semivowel for the subsequent (vowel ई) is by Par. L. *asiddha*, (which could not have been done had Par. LI. been adopted by the author of the Bhāshya).<sup>1</sup> For the same reason has this (Par. LI.) not been mentioned in the Bhāshya anywhere except (in the one passage on) P. I., 4, 2. The<sup>2</sup> author of the Bhāshya has for the same reason stated in the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on P. VI., 1, 108, after having started (in his discussion) from the Antaranga-paribhāshā, that in (the Bhāshya on) P. I., 4, 2 many objects of that (Paribhāshā) have been (enumerated) for the sake of which it must be adopted, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would

1. Now one might say that, even if Par. LI. did exist, it would not be applicable in the case of पटुभा because here the *bahiranga* substitution of य् for ई does not take effect before the *antaranga* substitution of व् for उ. Nāgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'For the same reason.....' See Par. L. pag. 261.

2. Now one might object that, if Par. LI. has been mentioned once in the Bhāshya, this is a sufficient authority. Nāgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'The author of the Bhāshya.....'

3. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 108: इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । वृक्षा भल । वृक्षा भल । पूर्वसवर्णश्च प्राप्नोति बहिरङ्गलक्षणश्च वर्णविकारः (viz. in वृक्ष-अस्+भल) । अतो रोरमुतादमुने [६.१.१२३] इत्युत्तरम् । पूर्वसवर्णो भवत्यन्तरङ्गनः । न चावश्यमिदमेव प्रयोजनम् । आद्ये योगे बहूनि प्रयोजनानि सन्ति तदर्थमेवा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविशेष्ये द्वेषिषु ॥

result (from its application ;)<sup>1</sup> and (the same passage) suggests that 'it should not be applied' can only mean that it should not be regarded as universally valid, (or, in other words, should not be regarded as valid) in *all* cases where it is applicable.<sup>2</sup> Sapiṇṭi sat.<sup>3</sup>

1. P. Now one might say that this does not prove the non-existence of Par. LI. because the latter may be regarded as one of the *Pratividhānas* of the *Antaranga-paribhāṣā*. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say: प्रतिविधानं च...

2. P. The expression प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु shows that *one* *Pratividhāna* (*vis. अनित्यत्वं*) must be resorted to in all cases where wrong forms would result from the application of the *Antaranga-paribhāṣā*, and that this *Pratividhāna* must be different from the *Pratividhānas* that are given in the *Bhāṣya* on P. I., 4, 2; otherwise Patanjali would have said दोषेषु प्रतिविधानान्युक्तानि, or, if he had approved of the *Pratividhānas* given on P. I., 4, 2, he would not have said anything on P. VI., 1, 108. The *Bhāṣya* on P. I., 4, 2 is therefore *Ekadeś'yukti*.

3. In अक्षगू therefore the substitution of ऊ for वृ, although it is *bahir-anga* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, is not *asiddha*, because the *Antaranga-paribhāṣā* is not applied in this case.

## PARIBHĀṢĀ LII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above, it ought to be applied) *e. g.* in (the formation of) गोमन्प्रियः<sup>1</sup> (from गोमन्-सु+प्रिय-सु, and

1. गोमन्प्रिय is a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound, गोमन्प्रियो यस्य सः. The substitution by P. VI., 1, 68 of *Lopa* for the *Nomin.* termination सु in गोमन्-सु is *untarāṅga* because it is not caused by anything following; that of कृक् for सु by P. II., 4, 71 is *bahiranga*. If सु did disappear by the substitution of *Lopa*, all the operations dependent on सु would by P. I., 1,

in that case the substitution of) Lopa (for the सु of गोमन्-सु, which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) ought, being *antaranga*, to supersede the *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् (for the same सु, which is taught in P. II., 4, 71. The latter substitution is *bahiranga*) because it is dependent on the circumstance that (गोमन्प्रिय) is a compound (base and as such) made up of two words (*viz.* of गोमन् and प्रिय, and because it therefore indirectly<sup>1</sup> depends on two words. If Lopa were accordingly substituted for the सु of गोमन्-सु, गोमन् ought by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 1, 70 etc.) to receive (the augment) नुम् etc. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LII : A *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् supersedes even *antaranga* rules.<sup>2</sup>

The rule P. VII., 2, 98 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). It indicates this (Paribhāshā) because it would be useless (if the Paribhāshā did not exist); for (in that case the substitution of ल and म for युष्म and भस्म) in (the formation of such forms as) लङ्कृत etc. (from युष्मद्-लङ्कृत etc.) would result (already) from (the operation taught in) P. VII., 2, 97 which is caused by the termination (ल) and therefore *antaranga* in regard to (the substitution of) लुक् (for ल, which depends on the composition of the two words युष्मद् and कृत).<sup>3</sup>

62 nevertheless take place, *i. e.* गोमन्-सु would even in the compound become गोमान् ; but when सु disappears by the substitution of लुक्, those operations do in accordance with P. I., 1, 63 not take effect, or, in other words, गोमन्-सु becomes गोमन् in the compound.

1. P. परंपरया तत्त्वस्य क्वचिदङ्गीकारात्. See pag. 237, note 1.

2. Accordingly in the case of गोमन्-सु+प्रिय-सु, लुक् (not Lopa) is substituted for the सु of गोमन्-सु.

3. *I. e.* In accordance with Par. L. ल would be substituted for युष्म

If one objects that (even without this Paribhāshā) the rule (P. VII., 2, 98) is necessary because it is meant to teach that in त्वसुन 'thy son' etc.<sup>1</sup> (the substitutes त्व and म) supersede त्व and मम etc., (which, had the rule VII., 2, 98 not been given, would in these instances have been substituted for युष्म and अस्म by P. VII., 2, 96 etc.), then, the author of the Bhāshya (on P. VII., 2, 98) remarks, the validity of the word मपर्यन्तस्य 'for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म' in that (rule VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>2</sup>

(In case the *whole* rule P. VII., 2, 98 is nevertheless regarded as the Jnāpaka of the present Paribhāshā, one might further object that the word प्रत्यय in that rule at any rate does not indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā, because it is necessary when the affixes क्प् etc. are added to the crude forms युष्मद् etc.). However (this objection would be futile; for the affix) क्प् (which is added to other crude forms to denote the sense) 'to behave like (that which is denoted by the crude form)',<sup>3</sup> is not added to युष्मद् etc. because the Bhāshya makes the whole rule

by P. VII., 2, 97, and लुक् for the termination ट् afterwards by P. II., 4, 71. But when by the present Paribhāshā लुक् has first been substituted for the termination ट्, P. VII., 2, 97 ceases to be applicable and we want the rule P. VII., 2, 98 to teach us that त्व is substituted for युष्म. (In the commentary of the Calcutta and of Boethlingk's Edition on P. VII., 2, 98 the words लुकोऽन्तरङ्गत्वात् are incorrect; they ought either to be changed to लुको बहिरङ्गत्वात् or the word लुक् ought to be dropped.)

1. If P. VII., 2, 98 did not exist, we should be obliged in the case of युष्मद्-ङस्+पुनः to substitute त्व for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 96; or in the case of तुभ्यं हितम्, त्वद्वितम्, to substitute तुभ्य for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 95; similarly त्व for युष्म in the case of तत्रायम्, त्वदीयः etc.

2. See below.

3. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 224.



indicate (this Paribhāshā), and because on the authority of the Bhāshya on the rule P. VII. 1, 54, which teaches (the addition of the augment) नृट्, that (affix) क्त्वि is not added to (crude forms) that end in a consonant.<sup>1</sup> (And) one ought (further) to know that for exactly the same reason<sup>2</sup> (the affix) णिच् also, which is added to (other) crude forms,<sup>3</sup> is never employed after the crude forms (युष्मद् and अस्मद्) when they denote only one (person). This proves the futility of (the objection) that the employment of the word प्रत्यय (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose (even when this Paribhāshā does not exist), viz. (the purpose) of showing that (त्वं and म) are (by P. VII., 2, 98) substituted (for युष्मद् and अस्मद्) when (the affixes क्त्वि and णिच् are added to युष्मद् and अस्मद्).<sup>4</sup>

Now<sup>5</sup> one might raise the following objection : ' The validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves likewise a purpose (even if the present Paribhāshā be not adopted, viz. that) of preventing

1. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 54: इत्कार्यभावादत्त (in आम् P. III., 1, 35) इत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति | इदमस्तीत्कार्यं मिदचोऽन्यात्परः [१.१.४७] इत्त्वचामन्यात्परौ यथा स्यात् | प्रत्ययान्तादयं विधीयते | तत्र नास्ति विशेषो मिदचोऽन्यात्पर इति वा परस्मै प्रत्ययः पर इति वा ||

Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययान्तादिति | ते चाजन्ताः | ननु हलन्तेभ्य आचारक्विन्तेभ्य आभ्यस्त्येव | नैतदस्ति | एकैयमतमेतत् | तत्रापि हलन्तेभ्योऽनभिधानादाचारक्विनभावः ||

2. Viz. because the whole rule P. VII., 2, 98 has in the Bhāshya been regarded as Jñāpaka of the present Paribhāshā.

3. See Si. Kau. II., p. 185.

4. See Chitprabhā: वस्तुतस्त्वनभिधानेऽत्र प्रमाणं चिन्त्यं संपूर्णसूत्रज्ञापकपरभाष्यस्य तु यदयं वस्तुतस्त्वरसिद्ध इत्यहेतिवदप्युपपत्तेः प्रमाणशेषिष्वन्यमपर्यन्तानुवृत्तेर्ज्ञापकत्वमुक्तं तदेवेदानामुपपादाद्यनुमाशङ्कते नन्विति |

5. If the present Paribhāshā did not exist we might reason thus : In the formation of तत्त्वं from युष्मद्-ङस्+त्वं two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 2, 96 which teaches the substitution of त्वं for युष्मद्, and P. II., 4, 71 which teaches the substitution of जुक् for ङस् ; the former

the substitution (of त्व and म्) for the whole<sup>1</sup> (of युष्मद् and अस्मद्); nor is it possible to say that the validity of that (word मपर्यन्तस्य) is of no use because by the maxim "whatever is taught in an *Apavāda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule", (a maxim which is) approved of in the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 4, 22, the substitutes (त्वं and म् taught in P. VII., 2, 98) can be substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्.) which ends with मे (just as त्व and मम etc. of P. VII., 2, 96 etc. are substituted only for that portion); for that (maxim) is set aside in the case of अस्म<sup>2</sup> (P. III., 1, 78), of अकच् (in P. V., 3, 71) etc., (and is therefore not universally valid'.)

This (objection, however,) is (likewise) futile; for although in the case of अस्म that (maxim) is rendered invalid by the fact that अस्म is distinguished by an indicatory स्, and in

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of these rules being *antaranga*, it ought by Par. L. to take effect first, and we ought accordingly to substitute त्व for युष्म. But now we are taught by the *Apavāda* or special rule P. VII., 2, 98 that in a case like the present one त्व shall be substituted instead of the त्व which should have been substituted by the general rule VII., 2, 96; here it is unnecessary to state for what त्व shall be substituted, because we know from the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavāda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule,' that त्व must be substituted, for the same portion of युष्मद् for which त्व would have been substituted, i. e. for युष्म. In case therefore the present Paribhāṣhā does not exist, the word मपर्यन्तस्य need not be valid in P. VII., 2, 98; and if it is valid, its validity proves the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā. See below.

1. See P. I., 1, 55.

2. इप् is placed after the root, its *Apavāda* अस्म after the (last) vowel of the root. P. III., 1, 68; 78; I., 1, 47.—Affixes are added to the end, but अकच् before the last vowel, and बहुच् at the beginning.

the case of बहुच् (in P. V., 3, 68) by the employment of the word पुरस्तात् (in that rule), and in the case of भकच् by the words प्राक् टैः (in P. V., 3, 71), yet there is nothing to show why (the maxim). 'whatever is taught in an *Apavāda*'<sup>1</sup> should be abandoned in the case under discussion (i. e. in the case of the substitution of त्व and म by P. VII., 2, 98. Moreover we have actual proof for its universal validity. Pāṇini, namely,) teaches by the rule IV., 3, 2 that युष्माक् etc. are substituted (for युष्मद् etc.; and) his doing so has a sense only because (that maxim is universally valid); if it were otherwise, (Pāṇini) would have taught simply the substitution of भकङ् (for the final<sup>2</sup> of युष्मद् etc.<sup>3</sup> But) because, had भकङ् been (substituted for the final of युष्मद् etc.), the substitutes तवक् etc. (which are taught in the rule P. IV., 3, 3 which is an *Apavāda* (of P. IV., 3, 2,) would by the said maxim have been substituted (likewise only) for the final (of युष्मद् etc.), therefore (Pāṇini) teaches (in IV., 3, 2 the substitution of) युष्माक् etc., and the very fact of his doing so indicates (the universal validity of) that (maxim).—Although<sup>4</sup> (one might say that) the above maxim (ought to be regarded as valid)<sup>5</sup> when the view of (the author of) the Vārttikas is adopted that (an *Apavāda* or special rule) supersedes (a general rule) when both (if they were to take

1. उत्सर्गस्य; बाधाभावे सर्वत्र प्रवर्तमानस्योत्सर्गेति न्यायस्य. P.

2. See P. I., 1, 53.

3. तवक् etc. would nevertheless have been substituted for the whole of युष्मद् etc., because they contain more letters than one.

4. See Kaiyaṣa on P. II., 3, 1: विरोधो बाधकारणं न विशेषविधानमेव । वार्त्तिककारस्य चेदं दर्शनम् । भाष्यकारस्तु विरोधाभावेऽपि विशेषविधानमालेखैव बाधकत्वमन्यत्वावोचत् ॥ See Par. LVII.

5. P. विरोधोऽप्यपवादत्वेन बाधे कारणं न विशेषविधानमेव स च समानदेशेनैव स-  
ध्येष घटते नान्यथेति तन्मतै तस्यावश्यकत्वमिति भावः ।

effect together) would come into conflict (with one another), whereas it need not be (considered as) necessarily valid (when the opinion of) the author of the Bhāshya (is adhered to) who, as is shown by Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 1, demands that, contrary (to the view of the author of the Vārttikas, an *Apavāda*) shall supersede (a general rule) also in the absence of any conflict, (i. e.) even when (both the *Apavāda* and the general rule) might take effect (together),—nevertheless (the maxim) ‘whatever is taught in an *Apavāda*’ is adopted because (its validity is) indicated by the fact that (Pāṇini in IV., 3, 2) teaches the substitution of युष्मद् etc., and we are consequently not wrong (when we apply it) in the case under discussion; the Bhāshya on P. VII., 2, 98<sup>1</sup> moreover authorises us to accept it as valid.

(We have) then (to say that) the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) is meant to inform us that in (the case of) तत्कृत etc. (त्वं and म) are substituted for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद् which ends with म; as this however (in the absence of the present Paribhāshā) would result already from P. VII. 2., 97, because (the substitution of त्वं and म, being dependent on the case-termination,) is *antaranga* (in regard to the substitution of लुक् for the same case-termination), that (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य) would (without the present Paribhāshā) serve no purpose, and it indicates for that reason (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). But when (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā) has once been indicated, (the substitution of) त्वं etc. (which is taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) has no concern (with युष्मद् and अस्मद्) in instances that fall under the rule P. VII., 2, 98 (*viz.* because in accordance with the present Paribhāshā the case-termination of युष्मद् etc.

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1. *Viz.* which makes the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 indicate the existence of the present Paribhāshā.

has disappeared by the substitution of लृक्, the latter rule) can therefore no longer be an *Apavāda* (of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) and, (the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavāda*' being) consequently (inapplicable), the (validity of मय्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose, viz. that of showing that (त्वं and म of P. VII., 2, 98) are substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म. This is the sense of that (passage of the Bhāṣhya which was quoted above).<sup>1</sup>

When Haradatta, however, maintains that the validity of that (word मय्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) would serve no purpose, if (in the absence of the present Paribhāṣhā) the *antaranga* (substitutions of त्वं etc. which are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) were to take place (first), because (in that case) a following affix or a second member (of a compound) could not possibly be preceded by something ending with म, and that (the validity of मय्यन्तस्य) indicates for *that* reason (the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā),—he is wrong, because even *antaranga* rules are superseded by *Apavādas*,<sup>2</sup> and because accordingly the (operations that are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) could never take place in instances that fall under P. VII., 2, 98 (which is an *Apavāda* of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.).

(Some) say that in reality the (validity of मय्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā) only when the view of the (author of the) Vārttikas<sup>3</sup> is adopted, whereas, in case the view of the (author of the) Bhāṣhya be accepted, the information conveyed by this (Paribhāṣhā) must be regarded as an independent statement.

1. तदाशयः i. e. भाष्याशयः P. See above pag. 279.

2. See Par. LVII.

3. See above pag. 282.

Some say that this (Paribhāshā) concerns only that (substitution of) लुक् which is taught in P. II., 4, 71; (but) on the authority of the Bhāshya (and Kaiyaṭa) on P. VI., 1, 69 and on P. VII., 3, 45 it concerns every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever. In the former passage it has been stated in the Bhāshya that in (the Vocative) हे त्वु etc. लुक् is—in accordance with this Paribhāshā—(substituted by P. VII., 1, 23 for the termination सु), in preference to the Lopa<sup>1</sup> (which might have been substi-

1. Vocative त्वु+सु; P. VI., 1, 69 Lopa for सु;

P. VII., 1, 23 लुक् for सु;

लुक् is substituted in accordance with the present Paribhāshā; if Lopa had been substituted, त्वु would by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 3, 108 have formed: त्वो in the Vocative. (See Si. Kau. I., p. 142; M. Muller's Skr. Gr. 2nd Ed. pag. 110, note; and the Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 73 quoted below by Kaiyaṭa).—It does not matter that Lopa and लुक् are here not *antaranga* and *bahiranga*, for the Paribhāshā teaches that लुक् (like an *Apavāda*) supersedes not only *antaranga*, but also *pūrva*, *para*, and *nitya* rules; for the same reason the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2 is not applicable in the present instance.

See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 69:

अपृक्तसंबुद्धिलोपाभ्यां लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । अपृक्तलोपस्यावकाशः । गोमान् यवमान् । लुकोऽवकाशः । त्वु जनु । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । तद्वाङ्मणकुलं यद्वाङ्मणकुलम् ॥ संबुद्धिलोपस्यावकाशः । अग्ने वायो । लुकः । स एव । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । हे त्वु हे जनु । लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ स तर्हि विप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । न वा लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणाद्यथानुद्ध्यत इति । न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन । किं कारणम् । लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणात् । लोपलुकोर्हि लुगवधार्यते । लुगलोपयणयथायथैकादेशेभ्यो यथानुद्ध्यत इति । तद्यथा । अनङ्गानिवाचरत्यनुद्ध्यत इत्यल लोपलुकोर्लुगवधार्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: हे त्विति । लुकि कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्संबुद्धिगुणाभावः । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ [७.१.७३] इत्यल त्वङ्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं बध्यत इह किंवित्तयो इति । ततो गुणेन भाव्यम् ॥ न वक्तव्य इति । न व्याख्यातव्यः ॥ कस्मादित्याह । न वेति । अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्वाधमानो लुगलवानित्यनुल्यवलेन लोपेन सङ्घर्षो नास्तीति विप्रतिषेधो नोपन्यसनीयः ॥ अननुद्ध्यत इति । सुलोपे सति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन नुमामो स्यातां लुकि प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्न भवतः ॥

tuted for सु by P. VI., 1, 69). In the latter passage Kaiyaṭa has made the following statement: 'Not<sup>1</sup> merely the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination, but every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever supersedes even *antaranga* rules. For this reason is the (radical) nasal in सनीखंस etc. not elided.<sup>2</sup> In (the formation of) पञ्चखट्व "bartered for five beds" (from पञ्चन्+खट्व-टाप्+ठक्)<sup>3</sup> etc. लुक् is (for the same reason by P. I., 2, 49) substituted for (the feminine affix) टाप् already before the one (vowel आ) is substituted (for the final अ of खट्व and the fem. affix आ); had लुक् on the other hand been substituted after the substitution of the one (आ for अ+आ), then (the compound) would not have ended in the letter अ.'

Kaiyaṭa's statement on P. II., 4, 62 must, because it is contrary to the above, be regarded as an (incorrect) conceit of his own. (The author of) the Bhāṣhya (namely on P. II., 4, 62) assumes that, after (the substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्) in the formation of अन्यङ्ग 'surpassing the Anga kings' (from अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्),<sup>4</sup> लुक् would on account of the absence of

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 3, 45: अन्तरङ्गांश्च विधीन्वहिरङ्गो लुग्वाधने न सुलुगेव । तथा च सनीखंस....पञ्चखट्व इत्यादौ टापा सहैकदेशो न भवति । अन्य-शेकादेशस्यादिवद्वावाद्याग्रहणेन ग्रहणालुकि कृतेऽकारस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् ॥

2. सनीखंस - यङ्-अ; P. VI. 4, 24, Lopa for the penult. nasal before यङ्; P. II., 4, 74, लुक् for यङ्; by the present Paribhāṣhā लुक् is substituted first for यङ्, and afterwards the substitution of Lopa for the penult. nasal is prevented by P. I., 1, 63.—P. अन्यथा यङन्तादचि पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वाद्यङोऽचि [२.४.७४] इति लुक् प्रागचः प्रागेव वानिदिताम् [६.४.२४] इति स्यादिति भावः ॥

3. For ठक् लुक् is substituted by P. IV., 1, 88.

4. 'A king of the अङ्ग' = अङ्ग-अण्, P. IV., 1, 170; 'surpassing the kings of the Angas' = अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्; लुक् for the Tadrāja affix अण् by P. II., 4, 62; लुक् for the case-termination शस् by P. II., 4, 71.

the plural termination after (अङ्-अण्) not be (substituted) for the Tadrāja (affix अण्); Kaiyaṭa, when commenting hereon raises first the question whether the (substitution of) लुक् (for the Tadrāja affix अण्) would by the present Paribhāshā supersede the (substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्), and subsequently (he answers this question in the negative and) states that this (Paribhāshā) assigns greater force only to the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination (which is taught in P. II., 4, 71.<sup>1</sup> Herein Kaiyaṭa is wrong); he should have answered the question (as to the superior force of the substitution of लुक् for the Tadrāja affix) in the negative by stating (that that substitution cannot supersede the substitution of लुक् for the case-termination), because one (substitution of) लुक् cannot possibly be said to possess greater force than another (substitution of) लुक्.

We<sup>2</sup> learn from this Paribhāshā that any (substitution of) लुक् which makes the causes of a (*para*, *nitya*, or) *antaranga* (operation) disappear, and likewise the composition<sup>3</sup> etc. that gives rise to such (a substitution of लुक्), possesses greater force

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 4, 62: अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्सुयो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्ययं लुक् प्रत्ययेत्तरपदयोश्च [७.२.९८] इति ज्ञापकादस्यैवाल संभवाद्वाधत इति भावः ।

2. P. Although the लुक् of the present Paribhāshā denotes every लुक्, nevertheless the Bhāshya on P. II., 4, 62 shows that *only that* लुक्, which destroys the cause of another operation, is stronger than that operation, because such is the case in the instances लङ्कृत etc. that are formed by the Jñāpaka-rule P. VII., 2, 98. To indicate this Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'We learn.....'

3. P. 'or the addition of a Taddhita-affix etc.'



(than that *para*, *nitya*, or *antaranga* operation) ;<sup>1</sup> more of this elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. गोमत् - सु is therefore compounded with प्रिय- सु before गोमत् receives the augment नुम् etc ; subsequently लुक् is substituted for सु, and afterwards नुम् etc. cannot be added.

2. P. The present Paribhāshā is not universally valid because its existence is established by a Jñāpaka. (See Par. CXVI).

अत एव न यास्योः [७.३.४५] इति सूत्रस्थप्रागुक्तभाष्यसंगतिस्तत्रत्यप्रागुक्तकैयटस्तु चिन्त्य एवेत्यादि स्पष्टमुद्घोषादी । तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति ॥

Extract from the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VII., 2, 98 :

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते न त्वमावेकवचने [७.२.९७] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । एकवचनाभावात् । एकवचन इत्युच्यते न चात्रैकवचनं पश्यामः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन । न लुमताङ्गस्य [१.१.६३] इति प्रत्ययलक्षणस्य प्रतिषेधः । एवं तर्हिदिमिह संप्रधार्य लुक् क्रियतामादेशा इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादादेशाः । नित्यो लुक् कृतेष्वप्यादेशेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि । अन्तरङ्गा आदेशाः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोस्त्वमौ शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्वाधित्वा बहिरङ्गो लुग्भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गोमान्प्रियो यस्य गोमात्प्रियो यवमात्प्रियो गोमान्वाचरति गोमत्यते यवमत्यतेऽन्तरङ्गानपि नुमादीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्वाधत इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञा-

1. Kaiyaṭa : प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ अन्तरङ्गानिति । नित्यादयन्तरङ्गो बलीयास्तथा चोक्तं परनित्यान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविभयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ गोमात्प्रिय इति । अत्रान्तरङ्गा एकपदाश्रयत्वान्सुलोपादयः स्युः पदद्वयाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गो लुगिति गोमान्प्रिय इति स्यात् । अस्मिन्स्तु ज्ञापके सत्यन्तरङ्गाण्यपि कार्याणि बाधित्वा लुग्भवति ततो न लुमताङ्गस्येति प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्नुदीर्घाभावे गोमात्प्रिय इति सिध्यति ॥ सुपो भ्रातृप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्यस्यैव बाधकत्वमनेन ज्ञाप्यते तस्यैवेह संभवात् । केचिन्नु सामान्यापेक्षया

पकम् । अस्त्वन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । येऽन्य एकवचनादेशाः  
 प्रामुवन्ति तद्वाधनार्थमेतत्स्यात् । तद्यथा तव पुत्रस्त्वपुत्रो मम पुत्रो मत्पु-  
 त्रस्तुभ्यं हितं त्वद्धितं मद्भ्यं हितं मद्धितमिति । यत्तर्हि मपर्यन्तग्रहण-  
 मनुवर्तयति । यद्यत्रान्य एकवचनादेशाः स्युर्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिरनर्थिका  
 स्यात् ॥

ज्ञापकवाश्रयालुङ्गालस्य बलवत्वाश्रयेण व्यवहारदर्शनालुङ्गालं बाधकं ज्ञाप्यत इत्याहुः ॥  
 येऽन्य इति । एकवचनाधिकारादेकवचननिमित्तानामादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधको स्यातां न तु  
 ज्ञापकावित्यर्थः ॥ यत्तर्हीति । कैचिद्व्याचक्षते । यद्यादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधको स्यातां तदा  
 मपर्यन्तग्रहणानुवृत्तिमन्तरेणोत्सर्गसमानदेशादपवादनां मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ सिद्धाविति किं  
 तदनुवृत्त्या । अनुवृत्त्या तु ज्ञाप्यते प्रागेव लुकि कृते विभक्त्यभावादसत्त्वादेशान्तरेषु त्वमौ विधी-  
 येते इति । एतच्चायुक्तम् । नायं नियोग उत्सर्गसमानदेशोऽपवाद इति श्रवणजकचा भिन्नदे-  
 शानामप्यपवाददर्शनात् । ततश्चासत्यां मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तावादेशान्तरागामि बाधको त्वमौ सर्वा-  
 देशो स्यातामनेकात्म्यादिनि सप्रयोजना मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिः । तस्मादन्यथा व्याख्यायते । तवम-  
 मादय आदेशाः स्थानिप्रकृत्यर्थमिहानुवर्तन्ते तल तवादीनां प्रसङ्गे सिद्धयोस्त्वमयोर्मपर्यन्ता-  
 नुवृत्तिस्त्वया कृतं त्वत्कृतमित्याद्यर्थो भवन्ती लुको बाधकत्वं ज्ञायति । ततश्च तवाद्यनुवृत्तस-  
 हिता मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्ज्ञानाय भवति केवला हि मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्लोपवाय स्यात् । गरीयसा हि  
 तवाद्यनुवृत्त्या स्थानिप्रतीतिः । ततो ज्ञानाय न प्रभवेत् । तस्मात्तवाद्यनुवृत्तिसहिता मपर्यन्तानु-  
 वृत्तिर्यथोक्तप्रकारेण यथोक्तार्थज्ञानायालम् ॥

## PARIBHĀṢHĀ LIII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above), the Guṇa (vowel ए) ought in (the formation of) सौमेन्द्र (from सोम-इन्द्र+अण्) to be substituted (for the अ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र), because (its substitution) is *antaranga* (when compared with the substitution by P. VII., 3, 21 of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of सोम and इन्द्र; and that after the substitution of Guṇa) the prohibition of (the

substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the इ of इन्द्र) which is contained in the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would serve no purpose, because the first member (of the compound) would (after the substitution of Guṇa) no longer be followed by the word इन्द्र.<sup>1</sup>

(Nor would it be correct to object<sup>2</sup> that even after the substitution of Guṇa इन्द्र would still, though changed to एन्द्र, follow upon the first member of the compound ; for) it is forbidden to regard (any single substitute like ए) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows).<sup>3</sup>

1. सोम - इन्द्र + अण् (P. IV., 2, 24) ; here Vṛiddhi would by P. VII., 3, 21 be substituted for the first vowel of सोम and also for the first vowel of इन्द्र, if P. VII., 3, 22 did not forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the इ of इन्द्र, when the latter is the second member of a Devatādvandva. Accordingly Vṛiddhi is substituted only for the ओ of सोम, and subsequently सोम-इन्द्र are combined in सोमेन्द्र. Now however the objection is raised that the substitution of ए for the final of सोम and the initial of इन्द्र is *antaranga* when compared with the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the ओ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र, and that accordingly it ought by Par. L. to take effect first ; that when इन्द्र has thus disappeared, P. VII., 3, 21 can no longer teach the substitution of Vṛiddhi for its first vowel, and that consequently the rule P. VII., 3, 22, which is meant to prevent that substitution of Vṛiddhi, serves no purpose and is superfluous.

2. One might object that the substitute ए in सोमेन्द्र may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded both as the final of the first member and as the initial of the second member, that P. VII., 3, 21 would therefore apply even after the substitution of ए, and that consequently P. VII., 3, 22, in preventing the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the first vowel of the second member, *would* serve a purpose. This objection is refuted by the statement that ए cannot be regarded both as the final of the first member and also as the initial of the second member.

3. See Bhāṣya on P. VI. 1, 85 : तल यस्यान्तादिवत्तन्निर्देशः । तल यस्यान्तादिवत्तल इष्यते तन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । अस्यान्तवत्त्वतीत्यस्यादिवत्त्वतीति वक्तव्यम् । सिद्धं

Moreover<sup>1</sup>, though that portion (of सोमेन्द्र) which ends with the substitute (ए) may be the first member (of the compound), because, even if (the substitute ए) cannot be regarded both as the final (of what precedes) and as the initial (of what follows), it may (at any rate) be regarded as the final of what precedes,— and though in that case the (remaining) portion न्द्र might by Par. XXXVII., or<sup>2</sup>, provided that it is *not* (forbidden) to regard

तु पूर्वपराधिकारात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । पूर्वपराधिकारात् । पूर्वपरयोरिति वर्तते । पूर्व-  
स्य कार्ये प्रत्यन्तवद्वनति परस्य कार्ये प्रत्यादिवद्वनति । अथ यत्रोभयमाश्रीयते किं तत्र  
पूर्वस्यान्तवद्वनत्याहोस्वित्परस्यादिवद्वनति । उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवत् । किं वक्तव्यमेत-  
त् । न हि । कथमनुच्यमानं गम्यते । लौकिकोऽयं दृष्टान्तः । तद्यथा लोके यो द्वयोस्तु-  
ल्यबलयोरैकः प्रेक्ष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो  
नानादिक्षु च कार्यं भवतस्त्रय यदासावविरोधार्थो भवत्युभयोर्न करोति । किं पुनः कार-  
णमुभयोर्न करोति । यौगपद्यासंभवात् । नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः । .....

1. The four objections which are refuted in the following are these: a) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the final of the first member, and the remaining न्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII; b) notwithstanding what has been said above ए may be considered both as the final of the first member and at the same time as the initial of the second member which in this case would be एन्द्र; c) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the initial of the second member, i. e. एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र, and the preceding सोम् as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII; d) सोम् may be regarded as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII., and एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by the same Paribhāṣhā. By each of these objections the objector tries to prove that P. VII., 3, 21 would apply even after the substitution of ए, and that P. VII., 3, 22 in preventing the taking effect of that rule does serve a purpose.

2. P. ननुभयत आश्रय इति निर्मूलं वतिषटितशास्त्रस्याहर्षारोपबोधकत्वेन तस्य च  
विरुद्धद्वयविषयकत्वस्यापि युगपत्संभवेन लौकिकन्यायेनोक्तेनास्य सिद्धचभावादन्तादिवत्त्वेऽपि  
व्यपवर्गाभावेनोपसर्गाधारत्वस्येवभावेनाभीयादित्यादिसिद्धेश्च । उपसर्गस्यायतौ [८.२.१९]  
अन्तादिवच्च [६.१.८५] न पदान्त [१.१.५८] गोत्रियोः [१.२.४८] इत्यादिसूत्रभाष्ये  
तदुक्तेस्त्वैकदेशिन इति स्पष्टमुद्घोषादावत आहोभयेति ॥

(any single substitute by P. VI., 1, 85) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows, the portion एन्द्र) by that (very rule P. VI., 1, 85) be (regarded as) the second member (of the compound),—still the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) would have no concern with this (second member) because the latter does not contain any vowel,<sup>1</sup> one (of its vowels) having disappeared by the substitution of the one (vowel ए for अ+इ) and the other by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148 which is *nitya*.<sup>2</sup>

Nor is it correct to propose that (the substitute ए) should (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as the initial of what follows, and that (portion of the compound) which (in this case) would begin with the substitute ए, as the second member (of the compound,—and to say that, if this proposal were carried out), the (substitution of Vṛiddhi which is taught in P. VII., 3, 21) *would* concern (the second member of the compound); for, as the Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) has to take the place of the first vowel of the second member (*e. g.* of the इ of इन्द्र), it can on account of the absence of that (vowel इ) have no concern (with एन्द्र), because (a single substitute for two vowels) cannot (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as uniform (with either of the two vowels for which it has been substituted).<sup>3</sup> If it were otherwise, ऐस् should, as appears from the Bhāṣhya, have been substituted for भिस् also in the Instr. Plur. of खट्वा etc., because (the one substitute आ for the अ of खट्वा and the Femin.

1. एन्द्र does contain a vowel but not that vowel इ for which alone Vṛiddhi would be substituted by P. VII., 3, 21; see below.

2. *SciL.* and possesses on that account greater force than the subsequent rule P. VII., 3, 21 which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi.

3. P. "पृथगवस्थिताभ्यामाद्यन्तघटिताभ्यां ये व्यवहाराः प्रत्ययत्वप्रातिपदिकत्वसुबन्तत्वादयस्ते कृतेकादेशस्यापीत्यर्थ इति भावः ॥

affix भा ), as it is regarded as the final of what precedes, (would also have been considered as equivalent to short अ), and because (in that case the word खट्वा) would have ended in short अ (and would accordingly have fallen under the rule P. VII., 1, 9).<sup>1</sup> For the same reason has it been stated (in the Bhāṣya) that in the case of पूर्वेषुकामशमी<sup>2</sup> the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the इ of इषुकामशमी which is taught in P. VII., 3, 14) would not take place if (the substitution of) Guṇa for the अ (of पूर्व and the इ of इषुकामशमी), on account of its being *antaranga*, were to take place (first).<sup>3</sup> Moreover (एन्द्र cannot be regarded as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII.), because the change (which इन्द्र under-

1. *I. e.* The Instr. Plur. of खट्वा would have been खट्वैः just as if खट्वा had ended in short अ. See Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 85 :

वर्णाश्रयविभौ च । वर्णाश्रयविभौ च नान्तादिवद्वृत्तिनि वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । खट्वाभिः . . . . । इह खट्वाभिर्मौलाभिरनो भित्त एस्मवतीत्येस्मावः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भाविष्यति । अस्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम् । किम् । कीलालयाभिः शुभयाभिः । . . . . न वाताद्रूप्यानिदेशात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । अताद्रूप्यातिदेशात् । न हि ताद्रूप्यमतिदिश्यते । रूपाश्रया वा एते विभयोऽताद्रूप्यान् भाविष्यन्ति ॥

2. पूर्व-इषुकामशमी+अण्; Guṇa ए for अ+इ *antaranga*; Vṛiddhi for इ *bahiranga*.

3. *Viz.* because the substitute ए for अ+इ would not be uniform with the initial इ of इषुकामशमी. See Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 85 :

उत्तरपदवृद्धिश्चैकादेशात् । उत्तरपदवृद्धिश्चैकादेशाद्भाति विप्रतिषेधेन । उत्तरपदवृद्धेरवकाशः । पूर्वलैर्गतकः । एकादेशस्यावकाशः । दण्डग्रम् क्षुपाग्रम् । इहेभयं प्राप्नोति । पूर्वेषुकामशमः अरैषुकामशमः । उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । एकादेशप्रसङ्गस्त्वन्तरञ्जबलीयस्त्वात् । एकादेशस्तु प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्तरञ्जबलीयस्त्वात् । अन्तरञ्जबलीयो भवति । तल को दोषः । तल वृद्धिविभानम् । तल वृद्धिविभेया । नैष दोषः आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञायति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति यदयं नेन्द्रस्य परस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञायकम् । इन्द्रे द्वावचौ तलैको यस्येति लोपेन द्वियतेऽनर एकादेशेन । अनच्च इन्द्रः संपन्नः । तल को वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति ततो नेन्द्रस्य परस्येति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

goes in becoming एन्द्र) is not a change of one part of it only (but is the result of the combination of the final अ of सोम and the initial इ of इन्द्र).

All this<sup>1</sup> (the author of) the Bhāshya expresses (in the words): 'Both the vowels of इन्द्र have disappeared, one by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148, the other by the substitution of one (vowel for its initial इ and the final vowel of a preceding member); in this manner इन्द्र has become vowelless; how can then (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi take place (in it)?'

When<sup>2</sup> इन्द्र forms a Dvandva-compound with words like मरुत्, इन्द्र itself must be placed first (in the compound,<sup>3</sup> and the prohibition contained in P. VII., 3, 22 can consequently also in that case not serve any purpose).

(The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore:

P. LIII: The substitution of one (vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound) does, even when it is *antaranga*, not (take place) previously to an operation which concerns<sup>4</sup> the first or the second member (of the compound).

The very prohibition P. VII., 3, 22 indicates, as appears from

1. P. तदुक्तं i. e. तदेतत्सर्वमभिप्रेत्युक्तं भाष्ये, viz. on P. VI., 1. 85 and I., 4, 2.

2. Now one might say that in the case of such Dvandva-compounds as मरुदिन्द्र in which the इ of इन्द्र does not disappear by the substitution of another vowel for itself and a final vowel preceding it, P. VII., 3, 22 does serve a purpose. Nāgajibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'When इन्द्र...'

3. P. II., 2, 33.

4. °निमित्तोक्ति बहुव्रीहिः । निमित्तत्वं च यथाकथंचित् । P.

the Bhāshya on the rules P. VI., 1, 85 and I., 4, 2, (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup>

1. See Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 2:

तस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरविकारदेशात् । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरविकारदेशान्तरङ्गतोऽभिनिर्वृत्तान्न प्राप्तुः । पूर्वेषुकामशमः । गुडोदकं निलोदकम् । उदकेऽकेषले [६.२.९६] इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्व्यङ्ग्यवर्गाभावात्स्वरो न स्यात् । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञायति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नेकादेश इति यदयमित्यादि ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LIV.

Now one might say that even thus<sup>1</sup> व्यप् ought in (the formation of) the Gerund of प्र-भा, प्र-स्था etc. (from प्र+भा-क्त्वा, प्र+स्था-क्त्वा, etc.) to be (substituted for क्त्वा) after the substitution (by P. VII.) 4, 42 etc.) of हि etc. (for भा etc.), because (these latter substitutions are *antaranga*).<sup>2</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LIV : A *bahiranga* (substitution of) व्यप् super-sedes even<sup>3</sup> *antaranga* rules.<sup>4</sup>

1. I. e. even when the application of Par. L. has been restricted by Paribhāshās LI., LII., and LIII.

2. In the formation of the Gerund of प्र-भा from प्र+भा-क्त्वा two rules are applicable, P. VII., 4, 42 which teaches the substitution of हि for भा before क्त्वा, and P. VII., 1, 37 which teaches the substitution of व्यप् i. e. य for क्त्वा i. e. स्त्वा; as the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the former would by Par. L. take effect first, and when हि would have been substituted by it for भा, व्यप् would be substituted for क्त्वा; the result would be प्र हि-य, and not प्रभाय.

P. अन्तरङ्गत्वात् । अनेकपदाश्रयसमासनिमित्तकव्यवपेक्षयैकपदीयप्रकृतिप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वेन षट्कत्वेन तत्त्वम् ॥

3. I. e. in addition to its superseding *para* and *nitya* rules.

4. In the case of प्र+भा-क्त्वा व्यप् is therefore first substituted for क्त्वा,



The employment of ल्यप् in the rule P. II., 4, 36 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā), because, (in case this Paribhāshā did not exist, the substitution of जग्म् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in P. II., 4, 36) would follow already from the word किति 'before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्' (in the same rule; i. e. जग्म् would by Par. L. first be substituted for अद् before क्वा, and ल्यप् afterwards for क्वा ).<sup>1</sup> This appears from the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. II., 4, 36.

and subsequently P. VII., 4, 42 is no longer applicable; we obtain thus प्रभाय.

1. As soon as the present Paribhāshā is adopted, ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 becomes necessary, for, when ल्यप् has been substituted for क्वा e. g. in प्र+अद्+क्वा, जग्म् cannot be substituted for अद् if P. II., 4, 36 does not contain the word ल्यप्.

2. P. ननु स्थानिवत्सत्वेऽपि विधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावज्ञापकमिदमुक्तं भाष्य इति तयोर्मध्ये विरोध इति चेन्न । यावत्ता विना यदनुपपन्नं तस्य सर्वस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वं न ह्येकेनैकमिति नियम इति कैयटेनैवोक्तत्वात् ॥

Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. II., 4, 36 :

ल्यब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न ति कितीत्येव सिद्धम् । ल्यपि कृते न प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधाय<sup>2</sup> ल्यप् क्रियतामादेश इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्यप् । अन्तरङ्ग आदेशः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यल्ल्यब्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो ल्यब्बाधत इति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । ल्यबादेश उपदेशिवद्वचनमनादिष्टार्थं बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति वक्ष्यति । तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

1. Kaiyata : अन्तरङ्ग आदेश इति । तकारादिप्रत्ययमात्रापेक्षत्वात् । ल्यबादेशस्तु पूर्वपदापेक्षसमासाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गः ॥ अनर्थादिष्टार्थमिति । प्रभाय प्रस्थायेत्यादौ हित्वादिष्वकृ-  
तेष्वेव ल्यब्यया स्यादित्यर्थः । कथं न प्राप्नोतीत्याह । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति ॥ अयमेवार्थो

जग्धिविधिर्यपि यत्तदकस्मात्  
सिद्धमदस्ति कितीति विधानात् ।

हिप्रभृतीस्तु सदा बहिरङ्गो  
ल्यम्भरतीति कृतं तदु विद्धि ॥

एष एवार्थः ।

जग्धौ सिद्धेऽन्तरङ्गत्वात्ति कितीति ल्यबुच्यते ।

ज्ञापयत्यन्तरङ्गणां ल्यपा भवति बाधनमिति ॥

व्याघ्रभूतिनाप्युक्त इत्याह । जग्धिविधिरिति ॥ भकस्मादिति । निष्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थः ॥ सिद्ध-  
मद इति । जग्धिविधानं सिद्धमित्यर्थः । ज्ञापनार्थं ल्यपि जग्धिविधानमित्याह । हिप्रभृती-  
निति ॥ ल्यम्भरतीति । ल्यबादेशो हरत्यपनयति बाधन इत्यर्थः ॥ तदु इति । उशब्दो निपातो  
उधारणार्थः । तद्विक्रयेत्यर्थः ॥

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ LV.

Now one might say that even thus in (the formation of) the Redupl. Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+अ etc.), when (the root इ etc.) has been reduplicated (i. e. in इ+इ+अ etc.), the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 101) of the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) ought, because it is *antaranga*,<sup>1</sup> (by Par. L.) to take place (before the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 115), and that in that

1. इ+इ+अ; substitution of ई for इ+इ by P. VI., 1, 101, *antaranga*; substitution of Vṛiddhi for the radical इ before अ, by P. VII., 2, 115, *bahiranga*. By P. I., 1, 59 the reduplication takes place *before* the substitution of Vṛiddhi; or, if Vṛiddhi is substituted first, it must so far as regards the reduplication be considered as uniform with the original इ.

case the (forms इयाय etc.) would not result (from Pāṇini's rules.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LV: (An operation) which is taught in the Angādhikāra (P. VI., 4,—VII., 4, and affects the *anga* or base,) possesses greater force than (an operation) which concerns (a combination of) letters, (or in other words, is taught in a Sandhi-rule.)<sup>2</sup>

Hereby the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the radical इ) supersedes and (takes place in preference to the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ), notwithstanding that the latter is *antaranga*; and consequently the (forms इयाय etc.) do result (from Pāṇini's rules). The word असवर्णे 'not when an homogeneous vowel follows' in the rule P. VI., 4, 78, which teaches (the substitution of) इयङ् (etc. for the vowel इ etc. of a reduplicative syllable), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). For that (word has been employed in P. VI., 4, 78) in order to prevent (the substitution of) इयङ् etc. in such forms as ईषनुः (from इ+इषनुः); but if the present Paribhāshā did not exist, the (word असवर्णे) would be superfluous, because (in that case the substitution of इयङ् etc. for the reduplicative इ etc. would in the case of इ+इषनुः etc.) be superseded (already) by the *antaranga* (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ etc., the substitution of) इयङ् and उवङ् being *bahiranga* because it de-

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1. We should form इ+इ+अ=ई+अ, and afterwards by P. VII., 2, 115 ऐ+अ=आय.

2. Accordingly इ+इ+अ becomes इ+ऐ+अ i. e. इ+आय by P. VII., 2, 115, and this इयाय by P. VI., 4, 78.

pende on the condition that (the vowels इ and उ for which they are substituted) stand in the reduplicative syllable. Nor is (the rule P. VI., 4, 78 which teaches the substitution of) इयङ् etc., an *Apavāda*<sup>1</sup> (of the rule P. VI., 1, 101 which teaches the substitution of a homogeneous long vowel, and on that account stronger than the latter), for it is clear from Par. LVII. that (P. VI., 4, 78) can only be regarded as an *Apavāda* of (the rule P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of) यण् (i. e. a semivowel), because (only) the latter rule would be applicable in the case of इयति and of all other forms (that fall under P. VI., 4, 78). Such is the opinion of the ancient (grammarians).<sup>2</sup>

Others however (and their view is correct) say that if this Paribhāṣhā did not exist, the whole rule P. VI., 4, 78 would be superfluous. It would serve no purpose in (the formation of) इयेय, इयाय etc., for (here) the Guṇa (ए) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इय्+अ), and the Vṛiddhi (ऐ) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इ+अ), disappear (in the first instance again when the roots have to be reduplicated), because by P. I., 1, 59 (एय्+अ and ऐ+अ, so long as the reduplication has still to take place,) are regarded as uniform with (इय्+अ and इ+अ); and when then (subsequently) the reduplication has taken place, (i. e. when इय्+अ and इ+अ have become इ+इय्+अ and इ+इ+अ), and there is again occasion for (the substitution of) Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, the (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) would, because it is *antaranga*, take place in pre-

1. If P. VI., 4, 78 were an *Apavāda* of P. VI., 1, 101, इयङ् would have to be substituted in इ-इयङ्: in preference to ई, in case P. VI., 4, 78 did not contain the word असवर्णे. But as P. VI., 1, 101 is not applicable in all instances that fall under P. VI., 4, 78, the latter rule cannot be regarded as an *Apavāda* of the former.

2. P. i, e, of Siradeva and others.

ference to (the substitution of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, and Guṇa and Vṛiddhi not having been substituted for the radical vowel, P. VI., 4, 78 would) also in these (forms not be applicable).

Nor is the (rule P. VI., 4, 78) necessary for (the formation of) इयर्ति, (इयुतः), etc; if (the substitution of इयङ् in इयर्ति etc.,) were the sole object of (P. VI., 4, 78, Pāṇini, instead of saying अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे) would merely have said 'उः.' Here उः i. e. 'for इ and उ' would be valid (from VI., 4, 77; and क) would, both because it would stand near P. VI., 4, 81 (where इण् denotes the root इ),<sup>2</sup> and because it would be explained thus, denote only the root क; the meaning (of उः would therefore be): 'इयङ् (is substituted) for the letter इ of the root क.' (To form the rule) अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे 'for the reduplicative syllable before the root क,' or अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे: 'for the red. syllable of the root क,' would on account of the cumbrousness (of those expressions) be improper.<sup>3</sup> Nor can one say that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) is necessary for the sake (of the substitution) of इयङ् etc. in the Perfect of (nominal verbs) derived by means of the affix क्तिप्, in the sense of 'to behave like,' from the words ए, ऐ, ओ, औ; and also for the sake (of the substitution of उवङ् etc.) in forms like उवोणकीयिषति, the Desiderative of a nominal verb derived by means of the affix क्यच्, in the sense of 'to wish for,' from (ओगक, a noun) formed by the affix क्वल् from the root ओग्. For on the authority of the Bhāshya on the last (rule) of the first Āhnikā of the sixth Adhyāya<sup>4</sup>

1. I. e. We should form e. g. इष्+अ, = एष्+अ, = इष्+अ, = इ+इष्+अ, = ईष; इ+अ, = ऐ+अ, = इ+अ, = इ+ई+अ, = ई+अ, = ऐ+अ = आय. See below.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. See Par. CXXII.

4. Sci. which Bhāshya makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā. If there existed nominal verbs derived from

(nominal verbs derived by means of क्त्वि from ए, ऐ, etc.) are not in use; and as regards the last (instance उवोगकीयिषति) which was mentioned, its very formation is impossible because (in the Desid. of भोगकीय) the *second* (and not the first) syllable is reduplicated.<sup>1</sup> It follows then that it is correct to say that the whole rule (P. VI., 4, 78) indicates (the present Paribhāshā).

Although the words in the Bhāshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) 'by the fact that (Pāṇini) employs the word असवर्णे in VI., 4, 78' convey the meaning that only the word असवर्णे indicates (the existence of this Paribhāshā), nevertheless the words 'for the reduplicative syllable is never followed by any other heterogeneous vowel than a Guna or Vṛiddhi (vowel)', which make it clear how (the existence of the Paribhāshā is indicated), show that the *whole* rule (VI., 4, 78) indicates (the Paribhāshā). In the sequel also, viz. by the remark 'this does not indicate (the Paribhāshā), it may be (given) for the sake of the root ऋ', the attempt is made to show that the rule (VI., 4, 78) serves a purpose (even when the Paribhāshā does not exist), whereas, if only the word असवर्णे did indicate (the Paribhāshā), it would have been attempted to show that the word असवर्णे would serve a purpose (even if the Paribhāshā did not exist), viz. by adducing an instance which would be debarred (from the substitution of इयङ् etc. taught in P. VI., 4, 78) by the (word असवर्णे).

Nor is it correct to say that it can easily be proved that Par. LVI. is applicable<sup>2</sup> in (the formation of) इयेष etc., viz. by the

ए, ऐ etc. to which P. VI., 4, 78 were applicable, the latter rule would serve a purpose even if it did not indicate the present Paribhāshā, and the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 12 would be incorrect.

1. See Si. Kau. II., p. 239. यथेष्टं नामभानुषु | आद्यानां त्रयागामन्यतमस्य द्वित्वमित्यर्थः | अजादेस्त्वान्नैतत्स्य ||

2. If Par. LVI. were applicable, the *bahiranga* substitution of Guna

possibility of the reasoning that 'if the long (vowel ई) were not (substituted for ई+इ of ई+इत्+अ), Guṇa would be (substituted for the radical ई<sup>1</sup>)',—that by that Par. LVI. the (substitution of a) long vowel (for ई+इ) is inadmissible (in those forms), and that it is therefore (difficult to see) how the whole rule (VI., 4, 78) can indicate (the present Paribhāshā). For Par. LVI. is not (adopted); or, should it be (adopted), it is by the authority of the Bhāshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) which was quoted above<sup>2</sup> allowed to apply only where the *bahiranga* rule which destroys the causes of (an *antaranga* operation) applies subsequently to the time at which that *antaranga* operation should take place, (whereas in the present instance the *untaranga* and *bahiranga* operations apply simultaneously).

Nor is it correct to say that, even (if the present Paribhāshā did not exist and) if in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Par. of the Red. Perf. of ई etc. the long (vowel ई), because (its substitution is) *antaranga*, (were substituted for ई+इ), the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) would (still) serve a purpose, viz., this, to teach (the substitution of) इयत् (for the ई of ई+अ etc. Such a case as that of ई+अ would fall under P. VI., 4, 78) because (the substitute ई for ई+इ), being regarded as the final of what precedes,<sup>3</sup> would be the reduplicative syllable, and because it besides is

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or Vṛiddhi in ई+इत्+अ, ई+इ+अ etc. would by it supersede the *antaranga* substitution of ई for ई+इ, i. e. we should first have to form ई+इत्+अ, ई+ऐ+अ; and as P. VI., 4, 78 would here be applicable, it could not indicate the existence of the present Paribhāshā.

1. *Scil.* and by that substitution of Guṇa the cause of the substitution of ई would disappear. See below.

2. *Scil.* and which makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of the present Paribhāshā.

3. By P. VI., 1, 85.

an *i*, and is followed by an heterogeneous vowel *viz.* (the अ of the termination) णत्. (And one might say that the result which would here be attained by P. VI., 4, 78) would not have been attained (already) by P. VI., 4, 77, because (P. VI., 4, 78) would be meant to supersede the (substitution by P. VII., 2, 115 of) Vṛiddhi (for ई, which, had P. VI., 4, 78 not been given, would have superseded the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इयत् for ई.—This objection is futile) because by (the maxim of) association the word असवर्ग (in P. VI., 4, 78) only denotes an heterogeneous vowel which belongs to that portion (of a verbal form) which follows upon the reduplicative syllable (*i. e.* a radical vowel),<sup>1</sup> and because it is decidedly more proper that (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) should indicate the existence of a Paribhāshā than that it should be considered (to have been given merely) for the sake of preventing (the application of) the rule (P. VII., 2, 115 in one or two instances).

And this (Paribhāshā, the existence of which has thus been established, applies), as is proved by (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) which informs us of the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhāshā,<sup>2</sup> only when that which undergoes the operation taught in the Angādhikāra would likewise have to undergo the operation which is taught in the Sandhi-rule.<sup>3</sup> But it is false to say that this (Paribhāshā applies) only when (both operations) are dependent on, or in other words, have the same causes; for (if such were really

1. अभ्यासोत्तर°, यन्निरुपितपूर्वत्वमादायाभ्यासत्वं तदवच्छिन्नोत्तर°. P.

2. धर्मि°, धर्मी परिभाषा तद्भाषकं मानमुक्तसूत्रम्. P.

3. *Viz.* because such is the case in इयेष, इयाय etc., where the homogeneous long vowel should by P. VI., 1, 101 be substituted for the same radical इ (and the preceding इ) for which Guna or Vṛiddhi have to be substituted.



the case) forms like इयाय and इयेष would not result (from Pāṇi-  
ni's rules)<sup>1</sup> even if (the existence of the Paribhāshā) were in-  
dicated (by P. VI., 4, 78), and besides (this view) would in-  
volve the uselessness of the rule (P. VI., 4, 78). In स्योन  
however (from सि-इ-न) the semivowel य् has, because (its substi-  
tution is) *antaranga*, been substituted for इ,<sup>2</sup> because (there the  
present Paribhāshā) is not applied, it being, as will be shown  
(presently), not universally valid.

One cannot object that even if (by the present Paribhāshā  
Vṛiddhi etc. were substituted for the radical vowel) in (the for-  
mation of) the 3 Sing. of the Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+इ+अ, i. e.  
even if इ+ऐ+अ were first substituted for इ+इ+अ), it would  
still be impossible to substitute इयङ् (for the इ of the redupl.  
syllable), because Vṛiddhi etc. would have to be considered as  
equivalent to the original (इ etc.) so far as regards the substitution  
of इयङ्, and because (the substitution of इयङ्) would therefore be  
forbidden by the word असर्वे 'not when an homogeneous vowel  
follows' (in P. VI., 4, 78. This objection is futile) because for  
the very reason that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) has been given  
(Vṛiddhi etc.) cannot be regarded as equivalent to the original (इ  
etc.).<sup>3</sup> And this (fact that the rule P. VI., 4, 78 has been given)

1. The Paribhāshā would not be applicable in the formation of इयाय,  
इयेष etc., because the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel and  
that of Guṇa or Vṛiddhi have different causes, the one being caused by the  
radical इ, the other by the termination अ. We should then first have  
to substitute the homogeneous long vowel and after that substitution P.  
VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable, or in other words, would be useless.

2. *Scil.* in preference to Guṇa notwithstanding that the substitution  
of the latter is taught in the Angādhikāra. See above pag. 222.

3. *I. e.* If ऐ etc. were regarded as equivalent to the original इ etc., the  
rule P. VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable anywhere and would thus be  
superfluous.

teaches<sup>1</sup> us the general (truth) that, whenever there is occasion for an operation which concerns a reduplicative syllable, a substitute which forms part of that portion which follows immediately upon the (reduplicative syllable) is not regarded as equivalent to that for which it has been substituted, when (its being regarded as equivalent to it) would prevent the taking place of the operation (which concerns the reduplicative syllable). This shows that it is wrong to say that 'in (the formation of) आरति<sup>2</sup> etc. (from अर्+क्त+अति, अर्+र्+अति, अ+र्+अति<sup>3</sup>) a long vowel ought not by P. VI., 3, 111 to have been substituted (for the अ) of the reduplicative syllable, because the substitute र् (for क्त) is equivalent to क्त'; moreover (it is wrong to say so) because (the substitute र् for क्त) is (by P. I., 1, 58) forbidden to be regarded as equivalent (to क्त) in regard to a rule (like P. VI., 3, 111) which teaches (the substitution of) a long vowel. In the case of अरिद्विधा<sup>4</sup> (from अरि+क्त+यात्, अरि+रि+यात्<sup>5</sup>), on the other hand, (the substitute रि for क्त) is regarded as equivalent (to क्त) and इयङ् is therefore (substituted for इ), because (in this case) the fact that (रि) is regarded as equivalent (to क्त) does not prevent the operation which concerns the reduplicative syllable.

This (Paribhāṣhā) concerns, as appears from the Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 6, only such an operation of the Angādihikāra as takes place in the *Anga* or base; for in that (passage of the Bhāṣhya) it has been stated<sup>6</sup> that in (the formation of) कुमारी etc. (from कुमारी+ए

1. सामान्यविक्षं *scil.* ज्ञापकम्. P.

2. 3. Plur. Pres. of the Frequ. Par. of क्त. See Siddh. Kau. II., p. 216.

3. P. VIII., 3, 14.

4. 3. Sing. Bened. of the Frequ. Par. of क्त.

5. P. VII., 4, 28.

6. The author of the Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 6 does not state that in the case of कुमारी+ए य् is substituted for ई before आ is prefixed to ए,

etc. the augment) आत् (the addition of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 112, is prefixed to the termination ए) after (the substitution of) the semi-vowel य् (for ई).

That this (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid, follows from the circumstance that छ् in P. VI., 4, 19 has been put down with the augment तुक् (i. e. that Pāṇini has said च्छ् instead of छ्); if the Paribhāshā were universally valid, this would clearly serve no purpose<sup>1</sup>, because the substitution of श् (for छ्) being taught in the Angādihikāra (VI., 4, 19) would (by this Paribhā-

but the fact that he considers whether in the case of कुमार्य्+ए ए should first receive the accent that would follow from P. VI., 1, 174 or whether आ should first be prefixed to ए, proves that in his opinion य् is substituted for ई before आ is prefixed to ए. And if then य् is substituted for ई before the addition of आत् to ए, notwithstanding that the latter operation is taught in the Angādihikāra, this shows that the present Paribhāshā is not applicable in this case, viz. because the addition of आत् to ए, although it is taught in the Angādihikāra, does not take place in the *Anga* कुमारी but affects the termination ए. (P. यगुत्तरमादुक्तः i. e. तदुत्तरमुदात्तयण इत्युदात्तेन सह संप्रभारणं कृत्वा परत्वादादुक्त इत्यर्थः). See note 1 on pag. 219.

1. If the Paribhāshā were universally applicable, Pāṇini would have taught in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of श् for छ्, not for च्छ्; for in that case we should have reasoned thus: In the formation of प्रश्न from प्रश्त्+न two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 73 which teaches the addition of त् to the radical अ before छ्, and P. VI., 4, 19 which teaches the substitution of श् for छ् before न; although the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the latter has to take effect first because it is taught in the Angādihikāra, whereas the former is a Sandhi-rule; accordingly श् is substituted for छ् and subsequently P. VI., 1, 73 is no longer applicable. But as the present Paribhāshā is not applied here, the *antaranga* addition of त् takes place first (i. e. प्रश्त्+न=प्रश्त्+न=प्रश्त्+न) and Pāṇini is therefore obliged to teach in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of श् for च्छ्, and not for छ्.

shâ) have taken place before (the addition of) तुक्, and (after the substitution of इ) there would consequently have been no occasion for the addition of तुक्. More elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

1. अन्यत्त i. e. शैखरादौ. P.

### PARIBHĀṢĪTĀ LVI.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all but the particular cases mentioned above, the augment) इट् ought in (the formation of) सेदुषः etc. (from सेद्-वस्+अस् etc. in accordance with that Paribhāṣhâ) to be prefixed to वस् because it is *antaranga*, and that (having been prefixed to वस्) इट् would also subsequently, after the substitution of Samprasâraṇa (for व्), remain audible.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances some say<sup>2</sup> that

P. LVI: The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

(अकृतव्यूह is an attributive compound agreeing with पाणिनीयाः and) means 'one who does not insist on' *scil.* the taking effect of a rule; the words 'when its causes subsequently disappear' have to be supplied. In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (opera-

1. I. e. In सेद्-वस् इ ought to be prefixed to वस् by P. VII., 2, 35, and this इ ought to remain when subsequently, after the addition of the case-termination अस्, उ is substituted for व् by P. VI., 4, 131; the result would be सेदुषः.

2. कैचित्, connect with आहुः on pag. 62, l. 14 of the text.

tion) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation)'.<sup>1</sup> The (word) समर्थानाम् 'of the (words) significant' in the rule P. IV., 1. 82 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); for that (word) is meant to show that the affixes (इञ् etc.) are added to सूयित etc. *after* the long (vowel ऊ) has been substituted (for the उ+उ of सु+उयित etc.). If the present Paribhāshā did not exist, समर्थानाम् would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) an occasion for (the addition of) an affix would arise only when the substitution of the long (vowel for उ+उ), on account of its being *antaranga*, would actually have taken place.<sup>2</sup> (But as the present Paribhāshā does exist, the word समर्थानाम् is necessary; for the Paribhāshā prevents the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ), because the (sequence of two) homogeneous vowels (in सु+उयित which causes the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ) clearly disappears here by the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the first vowel which has to take place subsequently (when the Taddhita-affix has been added). Nor can one object that in this case the cause of the (substitution of ऊ, viz. उ+उ,) does not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi), because, although the substitute (ऊ), after it has taken the place (of उ+उ and after the Taddhita-affix has been added), is liable to undergo the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, there is no occasion for Vṛiddhi at the time when (ऊ) is being substituted (for उ+उ, viz. because at that time the affix is not added as yet. This objection

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1. Accordingly, in the formation of सेदुषः from सेद्-वस्+भस्, इ is not prefixed to वस्, because the initial व् of वस् by which the addition of इ would be caused, disappears by the substitution of उ for व् caused (indirectly) by the following भस्.

2. I. e. We should form सु+उयित=सूयित, and afterwards सूयित+इञ्=सूयिति.

namely) does not invalidate (what we have said above), because by the very fact (that the substitute ऊ disappears in consequence of the substitution of Vṛiddhi) indirectly the causes of the (substitute ऊ likewise) do disappear. Nor can one object that the causes of the (substitution of ऊ) do not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi) because (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi in सौत्थिति is *bahiranga* and therefore (by Par. L.) *asiddha*; for the employment of समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates besides that Par. L. is not applicable wherever the present (Paribhāṣhā may be applicable.)<sup>1</sup>

To maintain however that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates only that Par. L. is not universally valid, is wrong. For we learn from Par. L. that a *bahiranga* (operation) which applies simultaneously (with an *antaranga* operation), and a *bahiranga* (operation) which has previously taken effect, is regarded as *asiddha* when the *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, but we do not learn from it that a *bahiranga* operation (which applies) *after* the *antaranga* (operation) has taken effect is (likewise) regarded so, because there is nothing to prove (that Par. L. conveys this meaning), and because (even did it convey that meaning) no result would accrue from it;<sup>2</sup> and this being so, the substitution of the one (vowel ऊ for उ+उ) in सूत्थित etc. does (really) not result from Par. L., and it is therefore impossible that (समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate that that (Paribhāṣhā) is not universally valid.

Par. LII. etc. are contained already<sup>3</sup> in this (present Pari-

1. *Viz.* because, if Vṛiddhi were *asiddha* by Par. L., the word समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 would be superfluous.

2. फलाभावात्, अनन्यथासिद्धकथ्यसिद्धिरूपप्रसिद्धफलाभावात्. P.

3. See below.

bhāshā. To show this more clearly it must be stated that) moreover (this Paribhāshā is not only applicable when the cause or causes of an *antaranga* operation actually do disappear by the *bahiranga* operation, but that) the mere consideration that the causes (of the *antaranga* operation) would disappear (if the *bahiranga* operation were to take effect) likewise causes this (Paribhāshā) to apply. It is for this reason that in (the formation of) गोमहण्डी etc. (from गोमत्-सु+दण्डी etc. the termination सु of गोमत्-सु) does not disappear by (the substitution of) Lopa (which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68, but by the substitution of लुक् taught in P. II., 4, 71).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, (if the above statement were incorrect, the present Paribhāshā would not apply here) because at the time when Lopa would have to be substituted (for सु, i. e. in गोमत्-सु,) there would be no occasion for the substitution of लुक् which takes place when (गोमत् and दण्डिन्) are compounded; nor would there be any occasion (for the substitution of लुक्) subsequently to that (substitution of Lopa), because (at that time the termination सु), to remove which would be the object (of the substitution of लुक्), would no longer be present; it would thus come to pass that Lopa (and not लुक्) would be substituted (for सु, and this would give rise to the formation of a wrong form. But if what we stated above is accepted, then the present Paribhāshā must apply in the formation of गोमहण्डी etc. because) in this case also we do consider that if Lopa were not (substituted for सु), लुक् would be (substituted for it; and if the Paribhāshā is applied, then लुक् must by it, in preference to Lopa, be substituted for सु, and the form गोमहण्डी will be formed correctly).—When (Pāṇini) however in the rule VI., 4, 134 places a त् (after अ, i. e. when he teaches that Lopa is substi-

1, See Par. LII.

tuted only for short अ), his doing so serves a purpose because it indicates that the (present) Paribhāṣhā is not universally valid; for that (त् has been placed after अ) in order to prevent the (substitution of) Lopa (for आ) in such forms as आनः etc., (an Acc. Plur. of अन् derived by means of the affix क्त् from the root अन्.) If the present Paribhāṣhā were universally valid, then it ought to have been applied in the case of आनः etc., because we should consider here, that 'if the long vowel आ were not substituted (for the अ of अन् by P. VI., 4, 15), Lopa would be substituted (for अ),' and the long vowel (आ) would in accordance with this Paribhāṣhā have never been substituted (for the अ of अन्);<sup>1</sup> consequently that (त् which is placed in P. VI., 4, 134 after the vowel अ) would clearly have been altogether superfluous.

Kaiyaṭa<sup>2</sup> however, on P. IV., 1, 82, when he remarks that the (existence of the) Paribhāṣhā अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is indicated by the word समर्थानाम् and that thereby in the case of पपुषः etc. the augment इट्, although it had previously been prefixed (to वस्)

1. The substitution of long आ for the अ of अन् which is caused by the affix क्त् (P. VI., 4, 15) would never have taken place, and a word like आन् would not have existed.

2. See Bhāṣhya on P. IV., 1, 82: अथैतत्समर्थग्रहणं नैव कर्तव्यम् । कर्तव्यं च । किं प्रयोजनम् । समर्थानुत्तिर्यथा स्यादसमर्थान्मा भूत् । किं पुनः समर्थम् । अर्थभिन्नाने यत्समर्थम् । किं पुनस्तत् । कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकं पदम् । सौत्थितिः वैक्षमाणिरिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकमिति । तस्यैव लोकेऽर्थप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगात्समर्थत्वमिति भावः ॥ सौत्थितिरिति । विभङ्गान्वाख्यानं सु उन्थित इत्यस्मादापि प्रत्ययः स्यात् । ततश्च सावृत्थितिरित्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गो वाणीदाङ्गं बलीय इति वृद्धिप्रसङ्गात् । नन्वन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वाङ्मेषु कार्येषु कृतेषु प्रत्ययो भविष्यति । एवं तद्धेतुद्वयेन समर्थवचनेन ज्ञायते । अस्तीयं परिभाषाकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीया इति । तेन पपुषस्तस्थुष इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति । अत्रान्तरङ्गत्वात्पूर्वं कृतोऽती-  
चागम एतत्परिभाषावशाज्जिर्वर्तते । तत्र पपा वस् अस् इति स्थित इट् प्राप्नोति संप्रसारणं च । तत्र संप्रसारणं बलीयः प्रतिपदविधानादिति तत्र कृते बलादित्वाभावादिण् नास्तीति सिद्धं पपुष इति ॥



because (its addition is) *antaranga*, again disappears, understands the meaning (of the word अकृतव्यूहाः to be this) that (the followers of Pāṇini) do not allow (the result of) an operation to remain when the cause that had effected it disappears. In other words (the import of the Paribhāshā according to Kaiyaṭa is this that), when a cause disappears, that which was caused by it, disappears likewise. (The word) समर्थानाम् (is employed in P. IV., 1, 82) in order to prevent the formation of सवृत्ति, from सूयित+इम्, where the long vowel (उ) would on the substitution of Vṛiddhi (for the first उ of सु+उयित) cease to exist (because its cause उ+उ would disappear by Vṛiddhi, if the word समर्थानाम् had not been employed in P. IV., 1, 82). The meaning (which according to) this (view is conveyed by the present Paribhāshā) is also established by the practice of ordinary life; for we see that in ordinary life causes are two-fold; (a cause) either causes an effect to remain only so long as it remains itself, or it causes an effect to remain even after it has itself ceased to exist. (A cause) of the former kind is *e. g.* the *Apekshābuddhi* or comprehending intellect of the Nyāya-system,<sup>1</sup> for it is conceded that when it ceases, the duality (which was caused) by it, (likewise) ceases to exist; it is also well known that according to the Vedānta-doctrine the past deeds (which cause) the projective power (of ignorance called *Vikshepa*) make the latter continue only so long as they themselves continue.<sup>2</sup> (A cause) of the second description is *e. g.* the potter's wheel, for we see that

1. See Bhāshāparicheheda Ed. Roer, 107 etc. Translation pag. 60.

2. When the past deeds are consumed the projective power of ignorance which was caused by them ceases likewise. See Vedāntasāra Ed. Ballantyne pag. 24 etc.—P. adds as another instance that a crystal appears red so long as a red object is placed near it, but ceases to appear red when the latter is removed.

even when it ceases to exist, the pot (which was made with it) does not cease to exist (together with it). In grammar the one or the other (view of the nature of a cause) is adopted according as (one or the other view) suits the forms (that have to be made up by the rules of grammar). But there is no maxim (of ordinary life) nor is there even any suitable example (to prove that an effect), because its cause is going to disappear at some future period, should previously (to the actual disappearance of that cause) not be produced. Moreover there is nothing to prove that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate this latter meaning which is not established by (a maxim of) ordinary life and is altogether without precedent, when a sense may be assigned to it by making it indicate a maxim which is accepted by the world in general. This we have to understand to be the import of Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. IV., 1, 82.

Others however, (and they are right, maintain the following view). It appears from Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. IV., 1, 82, and from Kaiyaṭa<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 4, 22, that when one attempts to account for the formation of सेदुषः etc. by placing the several parts of which those words are made up side by side,<sup>2</sup> (and by applying subsequently the various rules for which there may be

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: पपुष इति । ननु चान्तरङ्गत्वादित्वा भाव्यम् । न च संप्रसारणे कृतेऽपि नित्यत्वनिमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपाय इत्यस्याः परिभाषाया भाष्यकारेणानाश्रयणात्तथा च चावित्यन्तर्गतमिहान्ये चो प्रत्यङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधमारभन्ते तदिहापि साध्यमित्यकारस्य निवृत्तावपि यणाद्यादेशानिवर्तनाच्चैतदुक्तम् । तथा च चक्षुरित्यन्तर्गतमवश्य-  
मत्र तुगभावार्थो यत्नः कर्तव्योऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्धि तुकः प्राप्तिरिति कृतेऽपि शकारे कृतस्य तुकोऽ-  
निवृत्ति मत्वा चैतदुक्तम् । एवं तर्हि नित्यशब्ददर्शने प्रतिभङ्गावयवेषु कल्प्यमानेष्वन्तरङ्ग-  
बहिरङ्गभावो नास्तीति यथा वसस् इति स्थिते नित्यत्वादित्वा वाधित्वा संप्रसारणं भवत्यन्वि-  
धित्वाच्च स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादित्येऽप्रसङ्गः । अथवा संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीत्यत्र  
विषये पूर्वमिदं न प्रवर्तते ॥

2. पदावधिकेऽन्वाख्यानै, i. e. पदघटकविभक्तिपर्यन्तेऽन्वाख्येयत्वेनादौ संस्थाप्ये-पद-

any occasion), and has in this manner placed (*e. g.*) सेद्+वस्+अस् side by side, in which case there is occasion for the taking place of (two operations, *viz.*) the (addition of the augment) इद् (to वस्) and (the substitution of) Samprasāraṇa (for the व् of वस्,—the substitution of) Samprasāraṇa (for the व् of वस्) is the first to take place because in the rule (VI., 4, 131) which teaches it (the affix वस्) is exhibited in this very form वस्;<sup>1</sup> and (afterwards, when Samprasāraṇa has thus been substituted for व्,) there is no occasion whatever for (the addition of the augment) इद् because (the affix) no longer begins with one of (the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra) वल्; (the augment इद् is) therefore (not added, and the forms सेदुषः etc. for the correct formation of which the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā was said to be necessary) are formed (without that Paribhāṣhā). Although<sup>2</sup> the circumstance that in a rule which teaches an operation (regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) only<sup>3</sup>

स्य विभागपूर्वकं संस्थापनं कृत्वा; or the words पदावधिके—स्थिते may be explained: पदस्य विभक्त्यान्वाख्यानमिति पक्षे सेद् वस् अस् इति स्थिते. P.

1. See P. VI., 4, 131 वसोः संप्रसारणम्; on the other hand P. VII., 2, 35 teaches generally that इद् shall be prefixed to an Ārdhadhātuka which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra वल्.

2. P. Nor can one say that although the substitution of Samprasāraṇa would thus take place first, it would by the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā be *asiddha*, and that the addition of इद् would therefore take place nevertheless. For the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā is *anītya*, and besides it does not apply within the sphere of a Pratipadavidhi. Kaiyaṭa therefore is right when he says (on P. VII., 2, 98): परित्यन्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परवर्तीयस्त्वम्. The Pratipadavidhi is therefore like an Apavāda. To indicate this Nāgojibhaṭṭa says: 'Although'....

3. *Scil.* on the authority of the Bhāṣhya on P. V., 4, 154. See Par. LXIV.

when (without its doing so) there would be absolutely no occasion for its taking effect, yet (the same circumstance) at any rate causes that rule to take effect first even when there would be an occasion for the taking effect (of it in case it did not supersede the other rule). Such is the import of the above (remarks of Kaiyaṭa); and this has been considered in many places in the S'abdendus'ekhara.

The word समर्थानाम् in the rule P. IV., 1, 82 however merely expresses what we know already from the (Antaranga-) maxim,<sup>1</sup> (and it has been employed) in order to guard against the erroneous notion that, because *e. g.* in (the formation of) विष्णु (from विश्वक्+न) the affix (न) is evidently (added to विष्णु+भक्)<sup>2</sup> before (these two members) are joined by the rules of Sandhi, the same ought to be done wherever (a Taddhita-affix might have to be added). And this is suggested in the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 4, 2; for there वैक्षमाणि has been given as an instance for the Antaranga-paribhāṣā.<sup>3</sup> Moreover it appears from Kaiyaṭa on the very rule (P. IV., 1, 82) that when the formation (of सौत्थिति etc.) is accounted for by dissolving (it into all its constituent parts and by applying afterwards the rules of grammar) and when thus (*e. g.*) सु+उत्थित+भस्+इ have been placed side by side, the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82.) is necessary

1. न्याय° *i. e.* अन्तरङ्गन्याय°, P.

2. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 681 (on P. V., 2, 100) विश्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसंज्ञेः, *i. e.* न is added to विश्वक् while at the same time the second member (भक्) of the compound is dropped, but before विष्णु+भक् have been joined according to the rules of Sandhi.

3. वैक्षमाणि from वि-ईक्षमाण+इ; by P. IV., 1, 82 इ is added after वि-ईक्षमाण have been joined.—अन्तरङ्गपरिभाषा°, P. अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गबलीय इति परिभाषा°.—See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 4, 2: वृद्धेरैकादेशः°। वैक्षमाणिः सौत्थितिः। वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोत्येकादेशश्च। परत्वाद्वृद्धिः स्यादेकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः।

to prevent the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the उ of सु) which according to Par. LV. ought to take place (in preference to the substitution of ऊ for the उ of सु and the उ of उत्थित).<sup>1</sup>

Because<sup>2</sup> then such is the case, the remark has been made in the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 4, 22, that (Pāṇini) should have stated that the Samprasāraṇa, (substituted) for (the व् of the affix) वस् (by P. VI., 4, 131), ought to be considered as *having* taken effect in respect to a rule concerning a vowel, viz. in order that, when e. g. in (the formation of) पपुषः (from पपा+वस्+अस्) Samprasāraṇa has taken the place of (the व् of वस्), the आ (of पपा) might be elided (by P. VI., 4, 64). The import of this (remark is this) that the elision of the आ (of पपा) is caused by उत्, because, when the word (पपुषः) in order to explain its formation has been dissolved into its constituent parts (पपा+वस्+अस्), and when then in the manner suggested by Kaiyaṭa and mentioned above the (substitution of) Samprasāraṇa (has taken place) first, there is no occasion for (the addition of the augment) इट्. (If) on the other hand (Kaiyaṭa's view were not adopted, then

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1. I. e. If P. IV., 1, 82 did not contain the word समर्थीनाम् and if in the present instance Par. LV. did supersede the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā, the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the उ of सु of सु-उत्थित+इ would by Par. LV. take place in preference to the substitution of ऊ for उ+उ, because the former is taught in the Angādhikāra (P. VII., 2, 117) whereas the latter is taught in a Sandhi-rule.—P. And thus, if Par. LV. on account of its *anityatva* is not applied, समर्थीनाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 teaches what is taught already by the Antaranga-paribhāṣhā; and if Par. LV. is applied, समर्थीनाम् prevents the substitution of Vṛiddhi which according to that Paribhāṣhā would take place first; in neither case does it indicate the existence of the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā.

2. I. e. Because what has been stated in the words परे तु-स्यटम् is the correct view of the whole matter, and because such a Paribhāṣhā as भकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is not adopted.

the augment) इट् would be added because (its addition) is *antar-anga*; in that case (however) the elision of the आ (of पपा) would be caused by that (इट्), and the above (passage from the Bhāṣhya) would have no sense.<sup>1</sup>

It is for the same reason<sup>2</sup> that the author of the Vārttikas (on P. VI., 3, 138) has stated 'that a *pratyanga i. e. antaranga* (operation) is forbidden (to take effect) before चु (i. e. अञ्चु)' and that this statement has not been refuted by the

1. If the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā is adopted, इट् is, in the formation of पपुषः from पपा+वस्+अस्, not prefixed to वस्, because its cause, the initial व् of वस्, disappears by the substitution of Samprasāraṇa for व्; or, if इट् is prefixed to वस्, it disappears again as soon as Samprasāraṇa is substituted for व्. But the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā is not adopted; in the case of पपा+वस्+अस् Samprasāraṇa is substituted for व्, as has been shown by Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 314), प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and subsequently there is no longer any occasion for the addition of इट्. Now Samprasāraṇa would by P. VI., 4, 22 be *asiddha* in regard to the elision of the आ of पपा taught in P. VI., 4, 64, and that elision would accordingly not take place, if we did not learn from the Bhāṣhya that the substitution of Samprasāraṇa must be regarded as *siddha* in regard to rules like P. VI., 4, 64. If we do not adopt Kaiyaṭa's view (प्रतिपदविधित्वान्पूर्वं संप्रसारणे), the Vārttika वसुसंप्रसारणमन्विधौ सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् becomes useless; for in that case we have first to add the augment इट् because it is *antar-anga*, and if then Samprasāraṇa is substituted *after* the elision of the आ of पपा, Samprasāraṇa, not being the cause of that elision, cannot be *asiddha* in regard to it; and if Samprasāraṇa is substituted *before* the elision of आ, then, even when Samprasāraṇa is *asiddha*, इट् being there, the elision of आ will be caused by इट्. If the Vārttika is to have any sense, we must adopt Kaiyaṭa's view, which is this that Samprasāraṇa is first substituted for व्, प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and that afterwards there is no occasion for the addition of इट्.

2. See note 2 on pag. 316.

author of the Bhāshya. If, on the contrary, the (Akṛitavyūha-) paribhāshā did exist, that (statement) would clearly serve no purpose.<sup>1</sup>

For the same reason has it been said in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 19, that<sup>2</sup> some effort<sup>3</sup> had necessarily to be made to account for the absence of (the augment) तुक् in such (forms as मष्ट etc., from मष्), because तुक्, being *antaranga*, has to be added. On the other hand, did the present (Pari. bhāshā really exist), then there would be no occasion for (the addition of) तुक्, and in that case it would clearly have no sense to say that some effort had necessarily

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1. In the formation of प्रतीचः from प्रति-अच्+अस् two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of प्रति, and P. VI., 4, 138 which teaches the elision of the अ of अच्; the former of these two rules is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*. Now we are taught by the Vārttika on P. VI., 3, 138 that the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ shall not take place before अच्; we accordingly form प्रति+च्+अस्, and subsequently by P. VI., 3, 138 प्रतीचः. If the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāshā did really exist, it would prevent the substitution of य् for इ, because its cause अ disappears by P. VI., 4, 138, and the Vārttika on P. VI., 3, 138 would be superfluous. See Calcutta Ed. of Pāṇini on P. VI., 3, 138.

2. See note 1 on pag. 306. मष्ट from मष्+ता; the addition of तुक् i. e. त् or च् before छ् is *antaranga*, the substitution of श् for छ् *bahiranga*. If the present Paribhāshā did really exist, तुक्, though *antaranga*, would not be added because its cause छ् disappears by the substitution of श् for छ्. But as the present Paribhāshā is not adopted, the *antaranga* addition of तुक् before छ् must take place, i. e. we have first to form मच्छ्+ता; and in order that श् may be substituted for च्छ्, Pāṇini has to make some effort in P. VI., 4, 19, i. e. he has to say there च्छ् (instead of 'छ').

3. यन्नः, viz. सनुप्रदेशरूपः. P.

to be made (to account for its absence). Nor can the meaning of the above (passage of the Bhāṣhya) be this that the (effort which is made to account for the absence of तुक्)<sup>1</sup> is merely intended to indicate that the present (Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā) is not universally valid; because, (if such were really the meaning of the above passage), the words अवश्यमत्र 'necessarily in such forms' would happen to be void of their proper force.

Moreover (if the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā were really adopted, then the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in) P. VII., 2, 98 and (the employment of व्यप् in) P. II., 4, 36 would by the very (fact) of the existence of that Paribhāṣhā serve a purpose, and the statement of (the author of) the Bhāṣhya, according to which (the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 and व्यप् in P. II., 4, 36) indicate that (the substitutions of) लुक् and व्यप् supersede *antaranga* (operations) would thereby be refuted.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover this (Paribhāṣhā) is not found in the Bhāṣhya; this is stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 in the words 'because the Paribhāṣhā "when a cause disappears that which was caused by it disappears likewise" is not adopted by the author of the Bhāṣhya.' (Nor can one say that without this Paribhāṣhā the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc. cannot be accounted for;)<sup>3</sup> on the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other

1. तद्, i. e. सन्निर्देशरूप्यत्वावश्यकत्वकथनम्. P.

2. See Par. LII. and LIV. If the Akṛitavyūha-paribhāṣhā were adopted, it would prevent the taking effect of the *antaranga* operations in the formation of प्रज्ञग्य, तत्कृत etc. and in that case व्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 and the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 would serve a purpose even if Par. LIV. and LII. did not exist.—See above pag. 309.

3. हरि+स्, by P. VIII., 2, 66 हरि+र्, by P. VIII., 3, 15 हरिः. One might say that the Paribhāṣhā ought to be adopted in order that one might be able to account for the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc.,



words) हरिः गच्छति etc. is perfectly correct, because after the substitution of Visarga (for the final र्) in the case of हरिः etc. (this Visarga remains) when (हरिः) is subsequently joined with (words like) गच्छति etc; or (we may assume that) in cases like this<sup>1</sup> the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other words) is not adopted (and that Visarga therefore is not substituted at all.) This is the point of view (from which we have to look at the whole question.)

where the final Visarjaniya, on the disappearance of the pause (अवसान) by which its substitution had been caused, has likewise disappeared again. This is refuted in the following.

1. तद्विषये, i. e. पदान्तरसंयुक्तपदसंयुक्तविषयविषये, P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS LVII. AND LVIII.

An *Apavāda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* (rule).<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the word *Apavāda* herein (the author of the Paribhāshās) expresses (in the following):

P. LVII: A rule which is given (in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which, or to all of which,) another (rule) cannot but apply,

1. That an *Apavāda* possesses greater force even than *para*, *nitya*, and *antaranga* rules, we know already from Par. XXXVIII; but we have still to learn why such is the case; and this we learn from the maxim येन नामाप्ति यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति which teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavāda*. The words of the text भन्तरङ्गदध्ययवादो बलीयान् are merely a repetition of a portion of Par. XXXVIII., and should not have been printed in the text as a separate Paribhāshā; the new Paribhāshā introduced by them is contained in the words येन

(or in other words, which all fall already under some other rule), supersedes the latter.<sup>1</sup>

(The affix) त in प्राप्ते denotes a state; the meaning of the words येन नामप्राप्ते is (therefore) 'while another (rule) is *necessari-*

नाप्राप्ते-भवति. (See Chitprabhā: एतावत्यन्तं नित्यादन्तरङ्गं बलीय इत्यंशप्रपञ्चो वर्णितः । इदानीमवशिष्टस्वनन्तरङ्गादपवादो बलवानित्यंशः सोऽपि सप्रपञ्चं वर्णयितव्यः । तच्चापवादपदार्थज्ञानमन्तरा न संभवतीत्यतस्तब्जानाय प्रथमतोऽपवादपदार्थबोधकं वचना-न्तरमवतारयितुमुपक्रमतेऽन्तरङ्गादपीति ॥).

1. This Paribhāshā teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavāda* and in doing so tells us the reason why an *Apavāda* possesses greater force than *antaranga* and other rules. An *Apavāda* is a *special* rule; it is given in reference to particular cases which all fall under some *general* rule (*Utsarga*); as it is not applicable in any case which does *not* fall under the general rule, it must necessarily supersede the latter, because it would otherwise not serve any purpose whatever. *E. g.* By P. VIII., 2, 31 द् has to be substituted for the final इ of roots; by P. VIII., 2, 32 ण् for the final इ of roots that begin with द्; the latter rule is not applicable in any case that would not fall under the former rule, and it must accordingly supersede the former rule, because it would otherwise serve no purpose whatever. But one may object that no Paribhāshā is necessary to teach us this, because the very fact that P. VIII., 2, 32 could not take effect anywhere, if P. VIII., 2, 31 were applied in the case of roots beginning with द्, proves sufficiently that P. VIII., 2, 32 must supersede P. VIII., 2, 31. This objection, it must be admitted, is well founded; there are however other cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the taking effect of the general rule and here we do want the present Paribhāshā to teach us that even in these cases the general rule is not to take effect but is to be superseded by the special rule. *E. g.* P. VI., 1, 1 teaches that the first syllable of roots is reduplicated, P. VI., 1, 2, that of roots beginning with a vowel the second syllable is reduplicated; in this case P. VI., 1, 2 might well take effect after the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 1; nevertheless we are told by the present Paribhāshā that even here P. VI., 1, 2 must supersede P. VI., 1, 1, solely because P. VI., 1, 2 is not applicable anywhere where P. VI., would not be applicable.

ly applying,' for the two negatives, (न, and अ in अपाप्ते), impart more force to the word (पाप्ते, than this word would possess without them). Accordingly<sup>1</sup> (the meaning is this that) a (general) rule is superseded by a special rule when that, in reference to which (the former rule) teaches something, is determined by general properties which inhere in something which is determined by (certain) special properties (in addition to those general properties, this latter something being that) in reference to which the special rule is given.<sup>2</sup> The reason namely why (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) is this that it cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not apply. Moreover we learn from this maxim that (a special rule) supersedes a (general rule) even when there *would* be a possibility of its taking effect after the taking effect of the (general rule). If it were otherwise, the supersession (of the general rule) would result already from the circumstance that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of the (special rule if it did not supersede the general rule), and such being the case, it would be superfluous to give this (Paribhāṣhā) at all, and it would have no sense to quote (in support of it) the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.<sup>3</sup>

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1. एवं च *i. e.* तथा शब्दार्थे च. P.

2. *E. g.* In the above instances P. VIII., 2, 31 is given with reference to 'roots that end with ह्,' P. VIII., 2, 32 with reference to 'roots that end with ह्, when they begin with ढ्'; P. VI., 1, 1 is given with reference to 'roots,' P. VI., 1, 2 with reference to 'roots that begin with a vowel.'

3. When we give the order 'Let curds be given to the Brāhmins, buttermilk to (the Brāhman) Kaundinya,' we mean to say that Kaundinya shall receive *only* buttermilk. Although it would be quite possible to give to Kaundinya first curds and afterwards buttermilk, nevertheless buttermilk alone shall be given to him in preference to curds. If the

To illustrate the above, (in the case of a root which begins with a vowel) the reduplication of the first (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 1) is superseded by the reduplication of the second (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 2), although there *would* be room for the latter subsequently to (the taking effect of) the former. Or, to give another instance, the rule P. I., 1, 52 is (e. g. in P. VIII., 4, 61) superseded by P. I., 1, 54, notwithstanding that the latter rule might have taken effect (after the former); for, (although the final of स्था, स्तम् would have been affected by P. I., 1, 52), their initial (to which P. I., 1, 54 refers) would have remained (unaffected by P. I., 1, 54). This is expressed in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 47 where it is stated that (an *Apavāda*) supersedes (a general rule) even when both might take effect (together); if it were otherwise, the supersession of the giving of curds by the giving of buttermilk, (which is intended when we say) 'let curds be given to the Brāhmans, buttermilk to Kauṇḍinya,' would not result (from that phrase) because buttermilk might be given (to Kauṇḍinya) after the curds or before.<sup>1</sup>

It is for the above reason<sup>2</sup> that in the Bhāshya on the rule P. III., 1, 31,—where it had previously been suggested that in (the formation of) गोपायिष्यति etc. (the affixes) स्य etc., because they are (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. III., 1, 33), ought to be added (to the root) in preference to (the affixes) आय etc.,—the fol-

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maxim of Kauṇḍinya and the buttermilk is quoted in support of the present Paribhāshā, the latter likewise refers to cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the general rule.

1. See Bhāshya Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 552: लोके हि सत्यपि संभवे वाधनं भवति | तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तर्कं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दधिदानस्य तद् कृदानं निवर्तकं भवति.....|

2. अत एव, i. e. तथा चारितार्थ एवानेत वाधाङ्गीकारदेव. P.

lowing statement occurs : 'There is no opportunity for the addition of आय etc. (unless they supersede स्य etc; they could not be added) even in (the formation of) गोषायति etc., (because here) ञप्, which is one of (the affixes) स्य etc.,<sup>1</sup> ought to be (added to the root). Nor (can one object that) it makes no difference whether ञप् is (added) or not; it is quite another thing to say that it makes no difference (whether ञप् is added or not); we have spoken before of an opportunity for (the addition of) आय etc. anywhere where स्य etc. would not be (added), and such an opportunity does not exist.' It is the same in the (instance given) above; although (the reduplication of the second syllable) might take place after the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) has been applied, (just as आय etc. might be added after the addition of ञप्), yet there is no opportunity (for its taking place) anywhere where the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) would not be applicable; consequently (both cases are) exactly alike.

Because then (an *Apavāda* or special rule supersedes a general rule even when there would be a possibility of the taking effect of both), therefore an *Apavāda* supersedes (a general rule) also when both affect different (portions of a word etc.). For this reason has it been suggested in the Bhāṣya on P. VII., 1, 95, that (in the formation of तिसृणाम्<sup>2</sup> etc. from तिसृ+आम् etc.) the (addition of

1. ञप्स्यादिः, i. e. स्यादिसमुदायान्तर्गतः ञप्. P.

2. तिसृ+आम्; P. VII., 1, 54 teaches the addition of नृट् to आम्; P. VII., 2, 100 the substitution of र् for the ऋ of तिसृ before a vowel; the latter rule, being an *Apavāda* of P. VII., 1, 54 etc., would supersede the former (just as in the case of तिलः it supersedes the substitution of Guna for ऋ which is taught in P. VII., 3, 110), if we did not learn from P. VI., 4, 4 that नृट् is added to आम् and र् not substituted for ऋ.

the augment) नृट् (to भाम् which is taught in P. VII., 1, 54) ought likewise to be superseded by the substitution of र् (for the ऋ of तिसृ, which is taught) in P. VII., 2, 100, viz. because the latter is (taught in) an *Apavāda* or special rule,<sup>1</sup> — (a suggestion) which is disposed of by (the remark that) the rule P. VI., 4, 4 indicates (that the substitution of र् for ऋ does not supersede the addition of नृट् to भाम्, because, if it did supersede the latter, the rule P. VI., 4, 4 would have no sense). When some (scholar) says that the (rule P. VI., 4, 4) shows that an *Apavāda* does not supersede (a general rule) when both affect different (portions of a word etc.), he is wrong; for, (if he were correct), then the substitution of लृक् for विन् and मत् (taught in P. V., 3, 65) would not supersede the elision (by P. VI., 4, 155) of the last vowel together with any consonant that may follow it, so often as the latter may present itself.<sup>2</sup>

See Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 95: नुमचिरतृन्वद्वावेभ्यो नृट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन वक्तव्यः ॥ नुमोऽवकाशः लपूणि जतूनि । नुटोऽवकाशः अग्नीनां वायूनाम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । जपूणां जनूनाम् ॥ अचि रादेशस्यावकाशः । तिलस्तिष्ठन्ति चतस्तिष्ठन्ति । नुटः स एव । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति तिसृणां चतसृणाम् ॥ . . . नृड् भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वा नृड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । न वैतद्विप्रतिषेधेनापि सिध्यति तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । कथं तर्हि सिध्यति । नृड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । नृड्विषये रप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादो रादेशः । स यथैव गुणपूर्वसवर्णो बाधत एवं नुटमपि बाधेत । तस्मान्नृड्विषये रप्रतिषेधः । तस्मान्नृड्विषये रादेशस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाचि रादेशो नुटं बाधत इति यदयं न तिसृचतसृ इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति नामि दीर्घत्वस्य ॥

Kaiyaṭa: न वेति । नृड्फयोर्विप्रतिषेध उक्तः स नैत्यर्थः ॥ स यथैवेति । मध्येऽपवादा इत्येतदनाश्रित्येतदुक्तम् । तत्र ह्याश्रीयमाणे गुणं न बाधेत । गुणपूर्वसवर्णग्रहणमुपलक्षणमृत उदित्युत्त्वस्यापि बाधनात्प्रियतिलः स्वमित्यादौ ॥ यदयमिति । न हि रादेशो कृते दीर्घस्य प्राप्तिः । अनजन्तत्वाद्नुडभावाच्च । एवं च विप्रतिषेधोऽपि न वक्तव्यो ज्ञापकादेव नृड्भावात् ॥

1. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: अन्नापवादत्वेन नृडाभवाद्वा न तु येनानाप्राप्तिन्यायेन नुटः प्रवृत्त्युत्तरं रादेशप्रवृत्तेः । विषयभेदेऽपि बाधनं भवतीत्यलपरदृष्टान्तता बाध्या ॥

2. I. e. In the formation of स्तजिष्ठ etc., from स्तग्विन्+इष्ट etc., the sub-

The statement, however, made by Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 4, 9, viz. that the substitution of दिगि (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9) may take effect after the reduplication (of the root दे), is an (incorrect) conceit (of his own); and that such is the case has been suggested by Kaiyaṭa himself in his subsequent remarks.<sup>1</sup>

The view of (the author of) the Vārttikas, on the other hand, according to which (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) only when there is no possibility (of their taking effect both),

stitution of लृक् for विन् would supersede the elision of इन्, but it would not supersede the elision of the अज् of स्रज्, after the disappearance of विन्; but as a matter of fact the elision of the अज् of स्रज् is superseded by the substitution of लृक् for विन्. See pag. 263.

1. In reality the substitution of दिगि for दे which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9 supersedes the reduplication taught in P. VI., 1, 8, because it cannot take effect anywhere where P. VI., 1, 8 would not be applicable.

See Bhāṣya on P. VII., 4, 9: इहावदिग्येऽवदिग्याते अवदिग्यरे दिग्यादेशो कृते द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति तल साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । ननु च द्विर्वचने कृते साभ्यासस्य दिग्यादेशो भविष्यति । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । दिग्यादेशस्य परत्वात्साभ्यासस्यादेशवचनम् । दिग्यादेशः क्रियतां द्विर्वचनमिति परत्वाद्विग्यादेशेन भवितव्यम् । तल साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । एवं तर्हि दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं वाधिष्यते । पुनःप्रसङ्गाविज्ञानाद्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । पुनः-प्रसङ्गाविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यम् । पुनःप्रसङ्गाविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यमेतद्वति । तद्यथामादिषु कृतेषु पुनःप्रसङ्गाच्छिञ्चोऽलुङ्नुमौ न भवन्त्येवं दिग्यादेशो कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गाद्विर्वचनं न भविष्यति ॥ अथवा विप्रतिषेधे पुनःप्रसङ्ग इत्युच्यते । विप्रतिषेधश्च द्वयोः सावकाशयोः । इह पुनरनवकाशो दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं वाधिष्यते ।.....

Kaiyaṭa observes in regard to the first opinion, that the substitution of दिगि would supersede the reduplication, both being *śavakāśa*: तल द्विर्वचनस्यावकाशः पपाचेति, कृते द्विर्वचने दयातिसद्वावादिग्यादेशस्य, अकृते तु द्विर्वचन उभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्विग्यादेशः. He assumes therefore that दिगि is not *anavakāśa* (i. e. that it is *charitārtha*).—In regard to the second view of the Bhāṣya he however observes: अनवकाशो दिग्यादेशः ॥ पूर्वं सामान्यविशेषभावमनाश्रित्योभयोः सावकाशात्त्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु सामान्यविशेषाश्रयेण नाप्राप्ते द्विर्वचन आरभ्यमाणस्य दिग्यादेशस्यापवादत्वमुच्यते ॥

*viz.* because the (supersession of the one rule by the other) is caused (solely) by the conflict (of the two),<sup>1</sup>—this view can, because it is censured by the author of the Bhāṣya, not be adopted for the formation of words.

The maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk concerns likewise only that which cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not be applicable,<sup>2</sup> and it concerns besides only that which is taught (in a rule);<sup>3</sup> this appears from the

1. *Scil.* 'but not by the mere fact that the one rule cannot take effect anywhere where the other would not be applicable.'

2. P. VII., 2, 117 can therefore not be regarded as an *Apavāda* of P. VII., 2, 116 because the former rule can and does take effect in cases where P. VII., 2, 116 is not applicable, as *e. g.* in सुभृन्, सौभृन्.

See Bhāṣya on P. VII., 2, 117 : तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्योपभालक्षणप्रतिषेधः । तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्योपभालक्षणाया वृद्धेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कौटुः जागत इति । ननु चाचामादिवृद्धिरन्योपभालक्षणा वृद्धिं बाध्मिष्यते । कथमन्यस्योच्यमानान्यस्य बाधिका स्यात् । असति खल्वपि संभवे बाधनं भवति । अस्ति च संभवो यदुभयं स्यात् । लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धं सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तर्कं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दध्निदानस्य तर्कदानं निवर्तकं भवत्येवमिहापि सत्यपि संभवेऽचा-मादिवृद्धिरन्योपभालक्षणा वृद्धिं बाध्मिष्यते । विषम उपन्यासः । नाप्राप्ते दाधदाने तर्कदान-मारभ्यते तत्प्राप्त आरभ्यमाणं बाधकं भविष्यति । इह पुनरप्राप्तयामन्योपभालक्षणाया वृद्धा-वचामादिवृद्धिरारभ्यते । सुभृन् सौभृन् इति ॥ पुष्करसङ्ग्रहादा । अथवा यदयमनुदानि-कादिषु पुष्करसच्छब्दं पठति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽचामादिवृद्धावन्योपभालक्षणवृद्धिर्न भवतीति ॥

3. *I. e.* Only that which is taught in a special rule supersedes that which is taught in a general rule; but one cannot say that by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyāya a special statement (विशेषानुवाद) concerning that which undergoes an operation supersedes another general statement (सामान्या-नुवाद). P. III., 1, 22 teaches that the Freq. affix यङ् is added to mono-syllabic roots beginning with a consonant to denote that the sense of repetition or intensity is expressed by the root; P. III., 1, 23, that the same affix is added to roots denoting motion to denote that the idea of crookedness is expressed by the root. Here it would be wrong to maintain that *e. g.* वाङ्मयते can by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyāya not mean 'he



Bhāṣya on the rules P. VII., 2, 117, III., 1, 22<sup>1</sup> etc.

Sometimes however (one rule) supersedes (another) solely because there would be no opportunity whatever<sup>2</sup> for its taking effect (if it did not do so ; in the formation of रामायाम् etc. from रामा+ङि etc. the substitution of) भाम् for (the termination) ङि (taught in P. VII., 3, 116) supersedes thus (the addition of) याद् etc. (to ङि, which is taught in P. VII., 3, 113); for after the addition of याद् etc. (the substitution of) भाम् for ङि would no longer be possible because (ङि) which is put down (in P. VII., 3, 116 as that for which भाम् shall be substituted) would be separated (from the base रामा by याद् etc). Here the supersession

goes frequently,' and Kaiyaṭa who on P. III., 1, 23 has adduced that Nyāya is therefore incorrect. वात्रव्यने cannot mean 'he goes frequently' simply because that sense would not be understood from it.

1. The Bhāṣya referred to is the Bhāṣya on the word नित्यम् in P. III., 1, 23:

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ लुप्तदचरज्जा० । उत्तरयोर्विग्रहं विशेषासंप्रत्ययान्नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकं न हि कुटिलं क्रामतीति चङ्क्रम्यत इति गम्यते ॥ अथैतेभ्यः क्रियासमभिवहारे यङा भवितव्यम् । क्रियासमभिवहारे च नैतेभ्यः । क्रियासमभिवहारे नैतेभ्यो भवितव्यम् । भृशं जपति ब्राह्मणो भृशं समिधो दहतीत्येव ॥

Kaiyaṭa: चङ्क्रम्यत इत्यस्माद्योऽर्थः प्रतीयते नासौ कुटिलं क्रामतीति वाक्येन शक्यः प्रत्यापयितुमिति तदर्थानभिधानादेव वाक्यं न भविष्यति । अर्थान्तरे च कौटिल्यमात्रप्रतिपादने वाक्यं निवारयितुमशक्यमिति नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकमित्यर्थः ॥ क्रियास० । तत्कौटिल्यन्यायेन कौटिल्यभावगर्हाभ्यां यङः क्रियासमभिवहाराच्छिद्य स्वीकृतत्वादिति भावः ॥

Of. Pāyagunda: भातरेकाच इति । यद्यप्यत्र सूत्रे न किमपि भाष्य उक्तं तथापि नित्यं कौटिल्ये लुप्तदचरज्जायैतेभ्यः क्रियासमभिवहारे यङा भवितव्यमिति प्रक्षेपे क्रियासमभिवहारे च नैतेभ्य इत्युक्तम् । तत्र पूर्ववार्तिकस्य विशेषासंप्रत्ययादित्यस्य चकारेणानुकर्षः । तथा च भृशं जपतीत्याद्यर्थविशेषस्य तादृशयङन्तादप्रतीतौ स नेति भावः ॥ यद्यनुवादेऽपि तद्व्यायसंचारः स्यात्तर्हि तथैव वदेत् । यतो नोक्तमतस्तस्य विधेयविषयत्वमेव । तत्रत्यकैयटस्तद्व्यायसंचारपरस्त्वयुक्त एव ॥

2. I. e. Not even after the taking effect of the other rule.

(by one rule) of other (rules) consists merely in this that the superseding (rule) takes effect first. When here after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule (which was superseded by it still) applies, then that too takes effect; e. g. in the very instance which was mentioned above, यद् etc. are added (after the substitution of आम् for ङि). But if (after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule) does not apply, then (it does) not (take effect); e. g. in (the formation of) पच्युः etc. (from पच+या+उः) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the final अ of पच which is taught in P. VII., 3, 101) does not take place after the substitution (by P. VII., 2, 80) of इय् (for य)<sup>1</sup> which, because otherwise there would have been no opportunity for the taking effect of it, has superseded the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of पच).

What has been stated last, is (by modern grammarians)<sup>2</sup> expressed thus :

P. LVIII.: Sometimes<sup>3</sup> the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavāda* has been applied.

Here the word *Apavāda*<sup>4</sup> denotes (a rule) which supersedes (another rule because otherwise there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of it).

1. I. e. The final अ of पच is not lengthened by P. VII., 3, 101 because it is no longer followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra यच्.

2. तदेतन् i. e. तदुत्तरप्राप्तिकोत्सर्गकर्तृकं भवनमित्येनदेव; पद्यने scil. आभुनेकैः. P.

3. क्वचित् 'in some cases,' i. e. when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule is still applicable; in other cases, viz. when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule no longer applies, it is entirely superseded.

4. We have learned from Par. LVII. that an *Apavāda* is a rule which cannot apply in any case that would not fall under some other

The above<sup>1</sup> is expressed in the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 4, 82 in the following passage: 'Apavādas do not supersede general rules when both teach changes of a reduplicative syllable. (The formation of) अजीगणत् (offers an instance for this maxim); in (the formation of) this form the (substitution of) ई for the final of the reduplicative syllable of गण् (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 97) does, although (this rule is) an Apavāda, not supersede the elision of the consonant ण् (taught in P. VII., 4, 60.<sup>2</sup>—This is incorrect); the (substitution of) ई for (the final of general rule; and we have seen that such an Apavāda may be two-fold; it either cannot take effect at all if it does not supersede the general rule, (i. e. it would be *anavakāśa* if it did not supersede the general rule); or it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule. As we do not want any Paribhāṣhā to teach us that an *anavakāśa* rule supersedes another general rule, (see note on pag. 321), it follows that Par. LVII. can only teach us that an Apavāda which might take effect together with or after the general rule, supersedes the latter; and it follows moreover, that we are allowed to say 'one rule supersedes another rule *Apavādatvena* i. e. "because it is an Apavāda," only when it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule, but that when the latter is not the case, we have to say 'it supersedes another rule *anavakāśatvena* i. e. because it would not take effect anywhere if it did not supersede another rule.' An Apavāda in the narrower sense of the word that results from Par. LVII. supersedes a general rule altogether; an *anavakāśa* rule, on the other hand, supersedes a general rule only so far that it takes effect before it; and the general rule takes effect subsequently if after the taking effect of the *anavakāśa* rule it is still applicable.

1. 'The above' i. e. that there is a difference between an Apavāda which might take effect together with or after a general rule, and an *anavakāśa* Apavāda. (See Chitprabhā : नन्वपवादशब्दस्योभयसाधारण्यमेव कुतो न विनिगमनाविरहादित्यतस्तत्कौण्डिन्यन्यायेन वाधविषय एवापवादशब्दो नोभयसाधारण इत्यत्र सप्तमस्य चतुर्थस्यगुणो यङ्लुकोरिति सूत्रस्थं भाष्यं विनिगमकमाह तदुक्तमिति ॥)

2. I. e. The ण् of गण् is elided first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the अ of the remaining ग.

the reduplicative syllable of) गण् would not, because it is (taught in) an *Apavāda*, supersede the elision of the consonant ण्. Why then? Because there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking place of it (if it did not supersede the elision of ण्). The meaning (of P. VII., 4, 97) being this that ई is to be substituted for the final ण् of the reduplicative syllable गण्, there can be no opportunity for the taking effect of that (rule) after (ण्) has disappeared by the elision (taught in P. VII., 4, 60); if, on the other hand, the (substitution of) ई (for ण्) takes place first, then there is no occasion for the (rule VII., 4, 60), because (in that case) the final consonant no longer exists.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently (the formation of अजिगणत्) is (in the Bhāshya) accounted for by (the maxim) that, so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another;<sup>2</sup> and this being (accepted as correct), the elision (of the final ण् of गण्) takes place first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the final of what remains (of the reduplicative syllable, i. e. for the अ of ग), because it is only (thus that the formation of the rule P. VII., 4, 97) serves a purpose;<sup>3</sup> thus all is correct. And one cannot say that (the rule P. VII., 4, 97) may also easily be proved to be an *Apavāda* by the maxim expressed in Par. LVII., for it has been stated that a rule is only then considered to be an *Apavāda* (in the sense that results from Par. LVII.), when it might take effect (after the general rule; and such is not the case with P. VII., 4, 97).—This is suggested also in the Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 9; for there it has

1. Accordingly P. VII., 4, 97 cannot be an *Apavāda* of P. VII., 4, 60 in the narrower sense of that term which results from Par. LVII.

2. See Par. LXVI.

3. सामर्थ्यात् i. e. ईत्वविधायकसूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात्. P.

been stated that (in the formation of forms like विचिषति) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the radical vowel, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 16, first) supersedes the (substitution by P. VII., 3, 84 of) Guṇa (for the same vowel), because no result would accrue from it after the (substitution of) Guṇa and because there would therefore be no opportunity at all for the taking effect of it, (if it did not supersede the substitution of Guṇa. Now it is asserted that, if the rule P. I., 2, 9 did not exist), then Guṇa would be (substituted) after the substitution of the long vowel, (and that the rule P. VI., 4, 16) which teaches the substitution of the long vowel, would (in this case have only the one) object, to teach the substitution of a long vowel for the इ of मि, in order that after this substitution (मि) might be denoted by the word मी in P. VII., 4, 54. Under these circumstances, (it is stated, is the desiderative affix of such forms as विचिषति etc.) by P. I., 2, 9 made (an affix) characterized by the indicatory letter क्, in order to prevent the substitution of Guṇa for which there would be occasion after (the substitution of the long vowel.<sup>1</sup> If), on the other hand, (the maxim expressed in Par. LVII. were applicable also to a rule for the taking effect of which there would be no opportunity whatever if it did not supersede another general rule, then P. VI., 4, 16) would (in the present case) supersede (P. VII., 3, 84) on account of its being an *Apavāda* (in the sense assigned to this term in Par. LVII.; and under these circumstances) the general (Guṇa-) rule (P. VII., 3, 84) could not take effect where (P. VI., 4, 16) takes effect and the (above passage

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1. P. VI., 4, 16 first supersedes P. VII., 3, 84 because it would otherwise be *anavakāśa*; subsequently P. VII., 3, 84 would take effect if this were not prevented by P. I., 2, 9. If, on the other hand, P. VI., 4, 16 did supersede P. VII., 3, 84 by Par. LVII., the latter rule would be *entirely* superseded by P. VI., 4, 16 and P. I., 2, 9 would be superfluous.

from the) Bhāshya (on P. I., 2, 9) and that rule itself would clearly have no sense.

To say however that in the case of काञ्चनी etc. (the affix) अण् (which is taught in the general rule P. IV., 1, 83) has by the maxim 'sometimes the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavāda* has been applied' been added also (to काञ्चन) to which (the affix) मयट् which is taught in the *Apavāda* (P. IV., 3, 144) is added, is untenable, because this is contrary to the Bhāshya on the rule P. III., 3, 12; for there it has been stated that अण् is repeated (in P. III., 3, 12) in order that it may be added also where an *Apavāda* may be applicable<sup>1</sup> as *e. g.* in गोदायो व्रजति etc.<sup>2</sup> In the case of काञ्चनी etc. अण् must be regarded to have been added (to काञ्चन) by P. IV., 2, 92 in the sense of 'made of' gold.

With reference to the above (Par. LVII.) the following must not be lost sight of. When the word येन in येन-नाप्राप्ते 'while another—is necessarily applying,' denotes 'anything different from the *Apavāda*,' then, whatever else than the *Apavāda* is applicable where the *Apavāda* applies, all that must be superseded (by the *Apavāda*), because nothing (to which the *Apavāda* might apply) is of such a nature that another rule would not apply to it. This is called the general consideration of what must be superseded (whatever this may be). Provided one can produce any example, one may speak of this also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no op-

1. This passage of the Bhāshya would have no sense if the maxim 'sometimes the general rule.....' were adopted here.

2. See Bhāshya on P. III., 3, 12: किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । नाविशेषेण कर्मण्यण् [३.२.१] इत्यण् कर्मणि विहितः स क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्यामन्यत्र च भक्षिष्यति । अणः पुनर्वचनमपवादविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अणः पुनर्वचनं क्रियतेऽपवादविषयेऽनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । गोदायो व्रजति कम्बुदायो व्रजतीति ॥

portunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else), for there is nothing which could restrict (that consideration to an *Apavāda* in the sense which results from Par. LVII.). On the other hand, when the word येन denotes 'a rule' or 'an operation,' then we have to consider specially (what particular rule or operation) should be superseded. Also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else) is this special consideration possible, provided one can produce any example, because one may consider whether (a rule) becomes effective by superseding this or by superseding that (particular rule or operation).

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### PARIBHĀSHĀ LIX.

When then (the word येन in Par. LVII.) out of its (three possible meanings) denotes 'an operation,' and it has accordingly been ascertained (*e. g.*) that (the substitution of) *Vṛiddhi* which is taught (in P. VI., 1, 89), while another operation *viz.* the substitution (for two vowels) of the second of them (applies in all instances that would fall under P. VI., 1, 89), supersedes (by Par. LVII.) this (latter operation), one has to consider the particular (rules in which this latter operation is taught) and to ask which of them (is superseded by P. VI., 1, 89. To answer this question the author of the *Paribhāshās*) says :

P. LIX.: *Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded

by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).<sup>1</sup>

The reason for (the validity of) this (maxim) is this: When it is absolutely necessary that, (in order to become effective, a rule) should supersede something else, it does become effective by superseding the nearest (rule) which (being the nearest) presents itself first; and such being the case, there is nothing to prove that it (likewise) supersedes (a rule) which follows upon that (nearest rule) and presents itself (on that account) later, for (after having superseded the nearest rule) it no longer wants (something to be superseded by it), and besides there is nothing to prove why, (when the *Apavāda* by superseding the nearest rule has become *charitārtha*), the rule P. I., 4, 2 (by which of two rules that are both *charitārtha* the subsequent rule possesses greater force than the preceding rule) should not be valid.<sup>2</sup>

1. E. g. P. VI., 1, 89 supersedes P. VI., 1, 94 (e. g. उप+एति=उपैति by P. VI., 1, 89, not उपैति by P. VI., 1, 94), but not P. VI., 1, 95; and we form therefore अव+एहि (i. e. आ-इहि)=अवेहि by the latter rule, and not अवेहि by P. VI., 1, 89.

2. I. e. Both rules being *charitārtha* (e. g. P. VI., 1, 89 in the case of उप+एति=उपैति, and P. VI., 1, 95 in the case of अग्र+ओदा=अग्रोदा) the subsequent rule 95 must by P. I., 4, 2 supersede the preceding rule 89, when both are applicable in one and the same place (अव+एहि). See Par. XL.



## PARIBHĀSHĀ LX.

When it has been ascertained (*e. g.*) that the rule P. IV., 1, 55, so far as the portion commencing with ओष्ठ is concerned, supersedes something else, *viz.* the prohibition of (the addition of) ङीप्, the question arises which (of the rules) that forbid (the addition of ङीप्, is superseded by P. IV., 1, 55. To answer this question the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. LX.: *Apavādas* that are surrounded (by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that precede, not those that follow, them.

Accordingly (P. IV., 1, 55) supersedes, so far as the five words ओष्ठ etc. are concerned, only the prohibition (of ङीप्) contained in the words असंयोगोभ्रात् 'not having a conjunct for its penultimate' (of P. IV., 1, 54), but not the prohibition (of ङीप्) which is contained in the rule P. IV., 1, 57.<sup>1</sup> This is found in the

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1. P. IV., 1, 54 teaches that ङीप् is *not* added optionally to Bahuvrihi etc. compounds which end with nouns denoting a part of the body that have a conjunct for their penultimate.

P. IV., 1, 55 teaches that ङीप् is added optionally to Bahuvrihi etc. compounds which end with ओष्ठ etc.

P. IV., 1, 57 teaches that ङीप् is *not* added to Bahuvrihi-compounds that begin with सह etc. and end with a noun denoting a part of the body.

By Par. LVII. P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavāda* of both P. IV., 1, 54 and 57, nevertheless it supersedes by the present Paribhāshā only the preceding rule 54, not the following rule 57. We do form therefore by P. IV., 1, 55 *e. g.* दीर्घजङ्गु or दीर्घजङ्गु, but we can only form दिद्यमानजङ्गु by P. IV., 1 57.

Bhāṣya on P. IV., 1, 55.<sup>1</sup> The reason for (the validity of) this (Paribhāṣhā) is this that (an *Apavāda*, when it has become effective) by superseding (the rule) which presents itself first,<sup>2</sup> no longer wants (to supersede something else).

(The first portion नासिकोदर of P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavāda* of P. IV., 1, 56 and 57, but supersedes by Par. LIX. only P. IV., 1, 56).

1. See Bhāṣya on P. IV., 1, 55: इह तावज्जासिकोदर इति बह्वलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्जिवद्यमानपूर्वलक्षणश्च । पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा बह्वलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं वाधिष्यते सहनञ्जिवद्यमानलक्षणं न वाधिष्यते । ओष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्चेति संयोगोपलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्जिवद्यमानलक्षणश्च । मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन्वाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा संयोगोपलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं वाधिष्यते सहनञ्जिवद्यमानपूर्वं न वाधिष्यते ॥

2. पूर्वोपस्थित<sup>०</sup>, पूर्वानुभवजन्यसंस्कारजन्यस्मृतिविषयेत्यर्थः । उत्तरस्य त्वननुभावात्स्मृत्ययोगः ॥ P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXI.

One might suppose that P. III., 4, 88, just as it teaches that (the substitute हि for सि) is (in the Veda) optionally *apit*, (i. e. not characterized by an indicatory ण), which term immediately precedes (the rule III., 4, 88) in P. III., 4, 87, would also teach that (in the Veda) हि is optionally (substituted for सि, the substitution of हि for सि having likewise been taught in P. III., 4, 87); in like manner one might suppose that the prohibition (of *Vṛiddhi*) in P. VII., 2, 4, as it prohibits the *Vṛiddhi* that would result from P. VII., 2, 3, would likewise prohibit the *Vṛiddhi* taught in P. VII., 2, 1 and VII., 2, 114. (The author of the *Paribhāṣhās*) gives therefore (the following *Paribhāṣhā*) which is altogether based on the maxim stated above :<sup>1</sup>

1. उत्कन्याय<sup>०</sup>, i. e. अनन्तरप्रथमोपस्थितवाधेन साफल्ये व्यवहितपश्चादुपस्थितवाधे मानाभावः P. See Par. LIX.

P. LXI : (A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything),  
either enjoins or forbids (only) that which is  
nearest (to it in some other rule).

It is for this reason that the word ङीष् in P. IV., 1, 26 serves a purpose ; for it (has been employed) in order that (P. IV., 1, 26) may not enjoin (the addition of) ङीष् which is nearest (to P. IV., 1, 26, viz. in P. IV., 1, 25, and the addition of which P. IV., 1, 26 would have taught by the present Paribhāshā, had ङीष् not been employed in the latter rule). And (for the same reason) does the word दीर्घः in the rule P. VI., 4, 39 serve a purpose ; for it (has been employed in P. VI., 4, 39) in order that (P. VI., 4, 39) may not forbid merely what is taught in the nearest rule P. VI., 4, 37 (viz. the elision of a nasal, but also the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in P. VI., 4, 15. Had the word दीर्घः not been employed in P. VI., 4, 39, then this rule would by the present Paribhāshā have prohibited only the elision of a nasal taught in the nearer rule VI., 4, 37, but not the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in the more remote rule P. VI., 4, 15).—Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 1, 21 remarks that the present maxim possesses greater force than the maxims (expressed in Paribhāshās) LX. etc.<sup>1</sup>—Another view (concerning the

1. औदा in P. VII., 1, 21 is an *Apavāda* of लृक् ; this लृक् is taught in P. II., 4, 71 and P. VII., 1, 22. By Par. LX. P. VII., 1, 21 would supersede P. II., 4, 71, and not P. VII., 1, 22 ; but in reality P. VII., 1, 21 supersedes by the present Paribhāshā the nearer rule P. VII., 1, 22, and not the remote rule P. II., 4, 71.

See Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 21 : अष्टाभ्य औदा । औदाद्यौ । औदाद्याविति वक्तव्यम् । किमिदमद्याविति । अनुत्तरपद इति । किं प्रयोजनम् । इह मा भूत् अष्टपुनः अष्टभार्यः । अस्तु । लृक् तल । अस्त्वल औद्वलं लुभावेष्प्यति । षड्भ्योऽप्येवं प्रसज्येत । इहानि तर्हि प्राप्नोति । अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति । अष्टौ पश्येति । अपवादः । अपवादनादौद्वलं लृक्

relation that obtains between this and the preceding Paribhāṣhâs is this, that the present (Paribhāṣhâ) is based on (the maxim of) association, and that either this or the preceding Paribhāṣhâs are had recourse to just as (the adoption of one or the other) suits the (formation of the) forms (which have to be made up by the rules of grammar).—Or it may be that now and then the present maxim is set aside in consequence of the circumstance that a Svarita is assigned<sup>1</sup> to some (portion or other of a rule which is intended to be valid in a subsequent rule). In this manner P. IV., 1, 15 *e. g.* enjoins (the addition of the affix) ङीप्, although ञप् (in P. IV., 1, 13) intervenes between the (ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 5

वाध्रियते । इहानि तर्हि वाधेत । अष्टपुलः अष्टभार्यः । यस्य विषये । यस्य लुको विषय  
 औश्नं तस्यापवादः । यो वा तस्मादनन्तरः । अथवानन्तरस्य लुको वाधकं भविष्यति ।  
 कृत एतत् । अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वाते ॥

Kaiyata : औशाद्याविति । औशादेशो नाप्राप्ते लुत्कारभ्यमाणो विशेषाभावात्सर्वस्य लुको वाधकः प्राप्नोतीति भावः । इतरो येनाप्राप्तिन्यायेन षड्भ्यो लुगित्यस्यैवायमपवादी न सुपौ भानुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्यस्याप्राप्ति मत्वाह । अस्त्विति । भवत्वौशादेशस्तस्य लुग्भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । एतच्चौशादेशप्रवृत्तिमभ्युपगम्योच्यते । नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमेव लुका भाव्यम् । अन्तरङ्गानि विधीन्वाहिरङ्गौ लुग्वाभत इति वा । इतरो लुको विशेषमपश्यन्यत्रापवादे प्रवृत्त उत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते तदातिप्रसङ्ग इत्याह । षड्भ्य इति । सूत्रैकदेशानुकरणमेतत् । षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमयोशौ लुक् प्राप्नोति । अथ विभ्रानसामर्थ्यान्न भवति तदाष्टपुल इत्यन्तापि न प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । इतरो येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य वाभ्रनमित्याश्रित्याह । अपवाद इति । षड्भ्यो लुगिति सर्वत्र प्राप्नोति स एवौशा वाध्यते सुपौ भानुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्ययं तु क्वचित्प्राप्नोति तं प्रत्यस्य वाधकत्वायोगादन्तरङ्गानि विधीन्वाहिरङ्गौ लुग्वाभत इति पूर्वमेव लुक् प्रवर्तते ॥ यो वा तस्मादिति । औशाः षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमनन्तरो द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्तु व्यवहितः । ननु मध्येऽपवादा इति द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्यैव लुको वाभा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । यत्र द्वावि विहितौ पूर्वोत्तरौ तत्र पूर्वानुभावहितसंस्कारोपगनितस्मृत्युगारूढस्य पूर्वस्य युक्तो वाध इह त्वनेकाध्यायव्यवहितौ द्वितीयाध्यायविहितौ लुङ्महता यत्नेन स्मरणीयो अनन्तरस्त्वनुभवनीय इति स एव वाध्यते । अथवा मृत्यामसत्या चोऽलम्बौ प्रत्यासत्त्यानन्तरस्यैव वाधेन भाव्यम् । एतच्च लुकः समकक्षत्वमभ्युपगम्योक्तं भिन्नकक्षौ त्वेता लुकावेकस्य सर्वत्र प्राप्त्यापरस्य क्वचित्प्राप्त्या ॥

and P. IV., 1, 15; similarly) the rule P. IV., 1, 10 forbids (the addition of) both यत् and णि (whereas according to the present Paribhāshā it would forbid only the addition of the यत् in P. IV., 1, 9, not that of णि in P. IV., 1, 5).—The present (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 42 etc.<sup>1</sup> More elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. See Ed. Ballantyne pag. 512.

2. उद्गोतादौ. P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS LXII., LXIII., AND LXIV.

Now one might say that, if *e. g.* in the (formation of the) 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भ, भन्त् were, because (its substitution) is *antaran-ga*<sup>1</sup>, substituted (by P. VII., 1, 3 for the झ् of भ+झि), then the substitution of भत् (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 4) would be impossible, for (the substitute भन्त् for झ्) would not be equivalent to the original (झ्), because (the original झ्), with reference to which P. VII., 1, 4 teaches (the substitution of भत्), is a letter; accordingly the (rule P. VII., 1, 4) would happen to serve no purpose whatsoever. (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore:

P. LXII: *Apavādas*, it is certain, are considered first (in order to find out where they apply); afterwards the general rules (are made to take effect in all cases to which it has thus been ascertained that the *Apavādas* do not apply).<sup>2</sup>

1. भन्तरङ्गत्वात्, पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्, पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्, अल्पनिमित्तकत्वात्, अपरनिमित्तकत्वाच्च. P.

2. Accordingly भन्त् is never substituted for झ् in the 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भ.

The meaning is this that he who is guided solely by the rules (of grammar) first looks about to find out where the *Apavāda* applies, and having thus ascertained that a particular form does not fall under that (*Apavāda*), he employs for its formation the general rule ; if it were otherwise, (the general and the special rules) would (in some cases both) be employed alternately.<sup>1</sup> अभिनिवि-  
ज्ञन्ते means 'they are taken into consideration.' Paribhāshā LXV., however, does not apply in the case of दधति etc. because (P. VII., 1, 4) cannot take effect anywhere where (P. VII., 1, 3 which teaches) the substitution of अन् (for इ) would not be applicable.<sup>2</sup>

He however who is guided solely by the forms (of the language) employs, even without having considered the *Apavāda* rule, the general rule for the formation of all except those forms that fall under the *Apavāda* rule, because he also acquires religious merit only when he employs the words after due remembrance of their grammatical formation. This (the author of the Paribhāshā) expresses thus :

P. LXIII : Or (we may say that) first all (forms) which fall under the *Apavāda* are set aside, and that subsequently the general rule is employed (in the formation of the remaining forms).

The word ततः 'subsequently' means 'even before the *Apavāda* rule has been taken into consideration.' प्रकल्प्य means 'after setting aside.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Vis. because both are equally authoritative.

2. चारितार्थाभावात्, तस्य युगपत्प्राप्तिविषयत्वाच्चेति बोध्यम्. P.

3. According to Par. LXII. the taking effect of the *Utsarga*, which

It is because (the last Paribhāshā conveys the meaning here assigned to it, and because consequently Par. LXII. and LXIII. really teach one and the same thing, though in different ways), that in the Bhāshya on P. II., 3, 46, after both the above (Paribhāshās) have been given, something to this effect has been said, *viz.* that the general rule never takes effect at once, (but) that it waits first for the *Apavāda* rule.<sup>1</sup> Modern (grammarians)<sup>2</sup> give (the following Paribhāshā) which is entirely based hereon<sup>3</sup> :

P. LXIV : An *Apavāda* supersedes, even though the causes of its (application) are still to present themselves, a general rule the causes (of the application) of which are already present.<sup>4</sup>

When<sup>5</sup> Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 1, 5, after having quoted the beginning प्रकल्प्य वा (of Par. LXIII.) proceeds to illustrate (that Paribhāshā) by saying that *e. g.* on account of the rule P.

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applies everywhere, is in particular cases prevented by the *Apavāda* which is kept in mind. According to Par. LXIII. the *Utsarga* does from the very beginning not apply everywhere.

1. See Bhāshya on P. II., 3, 46 : न तावदन कदत्तचित्तिहादेशो भवति । अपवादादौ तावच्चातुशानचौ प्रतिक्षते ॥

2. नवीनाः, *i. e.* दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. एतन्मूलकमेव, *i. e.* एतदुभयफालिनमूलकमेव. P.

4. *E. g.* दधति; the *Apavāda* P. VII., 1, 4 supersedes the general rule P. VII., 1, 3 in धा+ङि, although धा is not yet reduplicated.

5. P. Nāgojibhaṭṭa now censures Kaiyaṭa's wrong interpretation of Par. LXIII.—It appears from Kaiyaṭa's words that he takes Par. LXIII. to mean that the general rule takes effect in such a manner as to leave room for the taking effect of the *Apavāda*; this interpretation however is contrary to the words तत उत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते of Par. LXIII. (Cf. Rāghavendra : यथापवादविषयसिद्धिस्तथोत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशत इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यात् न तु तत इत्यादि । यथोक्त्या हि पूर्वमुत्सर्गाप्रवृत्तिर्गम्यत इति भावः ॥)

VI., 1, 37 Samprasāraṇa is first substituted for the later semi-vowel,<sup>1</sup> and that on the other hand the non- (substitution of Samprasāraṇa) for the preceding (semivowel) is caused by this (substitution of Samprasāraṇa for the later semivowel), his statement is not in accordance with the meaning of the words तत् उत्सर्गः etc. (of Par. LXIII).<sup>2</sup> —To say however that the above (two Paribhāshās LXII. and LXIII.) convey the sense that 'without the meaning of the *Apavāda* rule (having been ascertained) the general rule does not convey any meaning,' is incorrect; for (in order to arrive at this explanation) it must be assumed that the words अभिनिविशन्ते (in Par. LXII.) and अपवादविषयम् etc. (in Par. LXIII.) are not employed in their proper sense; besides there is no reason why a sentence (such as a general rule) should not convey a meaning when the meaning conveyed by its words is (ascertained and) present to the mind.—

Where, on the other hand, the *Apavāda* is forbidden, there the general rule *does* take effect even in instances that would have fallen under the *Apavāda* rule (had it not been forbidden); e. g. in the (formation of the) N. Du. of वृक्ष (from वृक्ष+औ) Vṛid-dhi is (by the general rule P. VI., 1, 88) substituted (for अ+औ), for the (substitution for two vowels) of a long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them, which is taught in the *Apavāda* rule P. VI., 1, 102), does, because it is forbidden by P. VI., 1, 104, not take place, and does consequently not supersede the

1. E. g. व्यभृ, विद्ध; P. VI., 1, 16 & 37.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 1, 5: प्रकल्प्येति । यथा न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति वचनादयस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणं प्रवर्तते पूर्वस्य तु तन्निमित्तः प्रतिषेधः । यदि तु परस्य यणः पूर्वं न प्रवर्तते तदा पूर्वस्यापि प्रतिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

Phyagunda adds: किंच न संप्रसारण इत्यत्र ज्ञापकादयमर्थः साधितो भगवता । यदि न्यायविषयस्तर्हि भाष्यासंगतिरेवेति तद्भाष्यविरुद्धमित्यादि बोध्यम् ॥



(substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in the general rule). On this account are forms like तौ etc. in P. III., 2, 127 etc. quite correct; and this very (form तौ) which is put down (in P. III., 2, 127) proves that the maxim according to which (something does not take place) when the occasion (for the taking place of it) has once gone by, is not adopted in Pāṇini's grammar;<sup>1</sup> this is also suggested in the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 3, as has been shown in the Bhāshyapradīpodyota.<sup>2</sup> The maxim which says that Devadatta does not revive when his murderer has been killed is no way applicable in the present case (of वृद्धौ, तौ etc.). When Devadatta has been killed, he does not revive, but Devadatta does cease to be in danger of his life when the man who attempts to murder him is killed. So it is also in the present case; the (substitution for two vowels of a) long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them) does not put an end to the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, but it merely *applies*, which is as it were an *attempt* to put an end (to the substitution of Vṛiddhi), for a prohibition (like P. VI., 1, 104) forbids only something that is applicable (but not something which actually has taken

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1. First the general rule P. VI., 1, 88 teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi, afterwards the *Apavāda* P. VI., 1, 102 the substitution of the *Pūrvasavarnāḍīrgha*, and finally P. VI., 1, 104 forbids the substitution of the *Pūrvasavarnāḍīrgha*; if the maxim यस्यावसरो भ्रष्टस्तन्न were valid in grammar, P. VI., 1, 88 would not be applicable again, after having been once superseded by P. VI., 1, 102.

2. See Mahābhāshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 276-78. P. VII., 2, 1 सिद्धि वृद्धिः is superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 इलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः; this is again forbidden by P. VII., 2, 4 नेटि. Here the author of the Bhāshya remarks that the last rule forbids not only P. VII., 2, 3, but also P. VII., 2, 1, a remark which would be superfluous if the Bhrashṭāvasara-nyāya did apply in grammar: for if such were the case, P. VII., 2, 1 would have been superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 once for all.

effect. The substitution of a homogeneous long vowel does therefore not take place, and does for this reason not put an end to the substitution of Vṛiddhi).

The circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) likewise only when (without doing so) it would have no opportunity of taking effect. This appears from the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on the rule P. V., 4, 154; for there first the question is raised whether the word शेषात् (in P. V., 4, 154,) might not be superfluous, viz. because (even without शेषात्) those (affixes), which are taught (in rules) in which the words (to which the affixes are to be added) are each given individually, would supersede (the affix क्त् taught in P. V., 4, 154); subsequently (however) it has been stated (that the last remark is incorrect) because rules supersede (other rules) when (without doing so) they would have no opportunity of taking effect, whereas (the rules which teach the addition to individual words of) *samāsānta* affixes, on the alternative that क्त् (which according to P. V., 4, 154 is *optionally* added) is not added, *have* an opportunity of taking effect.—Sometimes when subsequent, *nitya*, and other (rules) are weighed against each other, the circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is exhibited in its individual form, gives greater force to this rule even when an opportunity of taking

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1. See Bhāṣhya on P. V., 4, 154 : शेषाद्विभाषा । शेषादित्युच्यते । कः शेषः । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्तो न विधीयते स शेषः । किमर्थं पुनः शेषग्रहणं क्रियते । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्ता विधीयन्ते ताभ्यः कस्मा भूदिति । नैनदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । ये प्रातिपदं विधीयन्ते ते तत्र बाधका भविष्यन्ति । अनवकाशा हि विधयो बाधका भवन्ति सावकाशाश्च समासान्ताः । कोऽवकाशः । विभाषा क्त् यदा न कर्त्तुं सावकाशः ।.....

effect is not wanting to it; (the greater force is here) caused by the fact that (the rule in which a word etc. is actually put down in its individual form) is more immediately present (to the mind than another rule in which such is not the case), and its effect is this that (such a rule) takes effect *before* (that other rule.<sup>1</sup> Such is the case) because Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 2, 98 quotes the statement that in the case of subsequent, *nitya, antaranga* rules, and rules in which the word etc. (regarding which the rules teach something) is exhibited in its individual form, when they come into conflict in the formation of one and the same form, (*one* rule takes effect), and that when they apply simultaneously, each following rule possesses greater force (than each and all of the rules mentioned before it).<sup>2</sup> It has on this account<sup>3</sup> (been stated) that in the (formation of the) Voc. Sing. of रमा (from रमा+स्) etc. the (substitution of) ए (for the final आ of रमा which is taught in P. VII., 3, 106,) takes place before (the elision of स् taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) *viz.* because in the former rule the individual word (संबुद्धि 'the Vocative termination') is actually read; (and ए having thus been substituted,) it is suggested that

1. See above Par. LVI. pag. 314 सेद्+वस्+अस्=सेदुषः. The substitution of Samprasāraṇa for the व् of वस् which is taught in P. VI., 4, 131 possesses greater force than, and takes therefore effect before, the addition of the augment इट् to वस् taught in P. VII., 2, 35, because in the former rule the individual वस् has actually been put down, whereas the latter rule teaches generally that इट् is prefixed to an Ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra वल्.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 98: नित्यादप्यन्तरङ्गो बलीयास्तथा चोक्तं पर-नित्यान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविभयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ See above pag. 288.

3. अत एवेति । निरवकाशत्वाभावेऽयुक्तरित्या प्रतिपदोक्तस्य बाधकत्वादवेत्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhā.



*Apavāda* of (both the substitution of) यच् (taught in P. VI., 1, 77) and (that of) Guṇa, viz. because it serves a purpose when it depends on the same (letters on which the substitution of यच् or Guṇa depends).<sup>1</sup> This concerns such *antaranga* (rules) as are *antaranga* for the reason that their causes (in the order of the pronunciation of the letters) precede (the causes of the *bahiranga Apavādas*).<sup>2</sup>

When Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 4, 19 states (the opinion) that (the addition of) an augment and a substitution cannot one supersede the other, because their results differ, this<sup>3</sup> being the reason why e. g. when we say 'that curds shall be given to the Brāhmins, a blanket to Kauṇḍinya,' the giving of curds (to Kauṇḍinya) is not superseded by the (giving of a) blanket,<sup>4</sup>—this is wrong; for (that opinion) is contrary to the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 4, 83 where it is stated that (the addition of the augment) नुक् should supersede the substitution of a long vowel.<sup>5</sup>

1. As e. g. in श्री+ईशः=श्रीशः where the substitution of the long vowel supersedes the substitution of य् for ई; and in दण्ड+अग्रम्=दण्डाग्रम् where the same substitution supersedes the substitution of the Guṇa vowel अ for अ+अ.

2. See Par. L. pag. 260.

3. I. e. this difference of the results of both. Curds are given for the preparation of food, blankets to protect from cold.

4. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 19: अथ ऊडादिः कस्मान्न भवति । आदिष्टिद्वव-  
तीत्यादिः प्राप्नोति । कस्य पुनरादिः । वकारस्य । अस्तु वकारस्य । का प्रतिपत्तिः । लोपो  
व्यवहोति लोपो भविष्यति । ....

Kaiyaṭa ..... लोपो भविष्यतीति । ननु नाप्राप्ते लोप आरभ्यमाण ऊङ् लोपस्य वाध-  
कः प्राप्नोति । अत्र केचिदाहुः । भिन्नजातीयकत्वादागमेनादेशो न बाध्यते यथा दधि ब्राह्म-  
णेभ्यो दीयतां कम्बलः कौण्डिन्यायेति दध्नः कम्बलो न बाधकः ॥ .....

5. See Par. LXVI.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXVI.

Now one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Aor. of गृ the (substitution by P. VII., 4, 97 of) ई (for the final of the reduplicative syllable गृ) ought, because there would (otherwise) be no opportunity for the taking effect of it, to supersede the elision of the consonant गृ (taught in P. VII., 4, 60). Under these circumstances (the author of the Paribhāshā) says :

P. LXVI : So far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another.<sup>1</sup>

The employment of the word अकितः 'which has not an indicative क्' in P. VII., 4, 83 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); else (अकितः) would clearly be superfluous, because after the addition of (the augment) नुक् (*e. g.*) in यंयन्ते there would (even did P. VII., 4, 83 not contain the word अकितः) be no occasion for the (substitution of a) long vowel (which is taught in that rule), because (the reduplicative syllable) no longer ends in a vowel.<sup>2</sup> This (Paribhāshā) teaches that subsequent,

1. See Par. LVIII., pag. 331.

2. In the formation of यंयन्ते there apply to the reduplicative syllable य the two rules P. VII., 4, 85 which teaches the addition of नुक् to य, and P. VII., 4, 83 which teaches the lengthening of the अ of य. Here the addition of नुक् must take effect first because P. VII., 4, 85 is an *Apavāda* of P. VII., 4, 83, and as by this addition अ ceases to be the final of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 83 would no longer be applicable even if it did not contain the word अकितः. But as the present Paribhāshā teaches that the substitution of the long vowel is *not* superseded by the addition of नुक्, अकितः is necessary in P. VII., 4, 83, to prevent the lengthening of the अ of the reduplicative syllable of यंयन्ते after the addition of नुक्.

*antaranga*, and other (rules) which (according to preceding Paribhāshās) would supersede (other rules), do likewise not possess that superseding power (when both concern changes of a reduplicative syllable); the result thereof is (the correct formation of forms like) अचीकरत्, मीमांसते etc.; in the former the change (of the reduplicative syllable) in such a manner as takes place in the Desiderative, would (if the present Paribhāshā did not exist) be superseded by (the substitution of) a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable) because the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 4, 94, the former having been taught in P. VII., 4, 93);<sup>1</sup> in the latter (i. e. in मीमांसते) the substitution of short इ (taught in P. VII., 4, 79) would be superseded by the substitution taught in P. III., 1, 6 of a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable), because (this latter rule is) *antaranga*<sup>2</sup> (in regard to the former).<sup>3</sup>

1. By the present Paribhāshā the vowel of the reduplicative syllable is first changed to इ by P. VII., 4, 93, and this इ is lengthened by P. VII., 4, 94.

2. The substitution of इ taught in P. VII., 4, 79 is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the following Desid. affix सन्. In the formation of मीमांसते P. VII., 4, 79 takes by the present Paribhāshā effect first, and subsequently the इ which is substituted by that rule is lengthened by P. III., 1, 6.

3. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 4, 82 :

ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वाङि परं दीर्घत्वम् । ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति । उदौक्यते तौलौक्यत इति । ननु च ह्रस्वत्वे कृते मूलगुणो भविष्यति दीर्घत्वं न भविष्यति । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । ह्रस्वाङि परत्वादीर्घत्वम् । ह्रस्वत्वं क्रियता दीर्घत्वमिति परत्वादीर्घत्वेन भवितव्यम् ॥ न बाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गावाभक्तत्वात् । न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गावाभक्तत्वात् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा उत्सर्गाज्जि बाधन्त इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं सन्वद्वावस्य दीर्घत्वम् । अचीकरत् अजोहरत् । सन्वद्वावमपवादत्वादीर्घत्वं न बाधते । मान्प्रभृतोना दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं न बाधते । गणेरित्वं ह्रस्वादिः शेषस्य । गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्भ्रस्वादिः शेषं न बाधते ॥

When Kaiyaṭa however (in his remarks) on the rule P. VI., 4, 120 states that the present (Paribhāshā is applicable) only where all (the rules can) take effect i. e. where both the superseding rule (can) take effect when the rule, which (without this Paribhāshā) would have been superseded by it, has taken effect, and where also the latter rule (can) take effect after the former, <sup>1</sup> he is wrong; for as (in the case of यंयम्यते) the (substitution of a) long vowel would not apply after the addition of (the augment) नुक्, (Kaiyaṭa's statement) goes against (the employment of the term अकितः in P. VII., 4, 83) which proves the existence of the Paribhāshā,<sup>2</sup> and it is also at variance with the example (मीमांसते) which in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VII. 4, 82 is given for this (Paribhāshā), because the (rule which teaches) the substitution of short इ no longer applies when

इदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमवायुक्तम् । ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वादि परं दीर्घत्वमित्युक्तं तत् उच्यते न वाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गावाधकत्वादिति तस्या अपि परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि नाभोच्यन्ते प्रयोजनं सन्वद्वावस्य दीर्घत्वं मान्प्रभृतीनामित्वस्य गणेरित्वं हलादिः शेषस्येति । न च सन्वद्वावमपवादत्वाद्वर्धित्वं बाधते । किं तर्हि । परत्वात् । न खत्वापि मान्प्रभृतीनां दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं बाधते । किं तर्हि । अन्तरङ्गत्वात् । न खत्वपि गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्वलादिः शेषं बाधते । किं तर्हि । अनवकाशत्वात् । एवं तर्ह्यपि परिभाषा कर्तव्या । अभ्यासविकारेषु बाधका न बाधन्त इति । सा तद्धोषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयमाकित इति प्रतिषेधं ज्ञास्ति ॥

Kaiyaṭa : ऐचोरिति । ह्रस्वस्यावकाशः पपावित्यादि । दीर्घोऽकित इत्यस्यावकाशः कृते ऽकृते वा ह्रस्वत्वे पापच्यत इति । ङादौक्यत इत्यादौ तु परत्वादौकारस्य दीर्घ औकार एव प्राप्नोति । . . . . .

1. As e. g. in the case of नर्नोत्त where P. VII., 4, 92 is applicable when P. VII., 4, 66 has taken effect and *vice versa*.

2. See Par. LV. pag. 303. If the Paribhāshā did convey the meaning assigned to it by Kaiyaṭa, it would not be applicable in the formation of यंयम्यते etc., and in that case अकितः in P. VII., 4, 83 would be entirely superfluous.



a long vowel has been substituted (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable of) मान्, वभ etc.<sup>1</sup> More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI, 4 120 : णकारषकारादेरेत्त्ववचनं लिटि । णकारषकारादेरेत्त्वं लिटि वक्तव्यम् । नेमनुः । नेमुः । सेहे । सेहाते । सेहरे । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । अनादेशादेरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । लिटा-  
नादेशादिं विशेषयिष्यामः । लिटि य आदेशादिस्तदादेर्न । अस्त्यन्यलिङ्गहणस्य प्रयोजनम् । किम् । इह मा भूत् । पक्ता । पक्तुम् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । कृतीति वर्तते ।  
एवमपि पक्कः पक्कवानित्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनैत्त्वमुच्यते न चालाभ्यास-  
लोपं पश्यामः । एवमपि पापच्यत इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । दीर्घत्वमत्र बाधकं भविष्यति । नाप्राप्ते  
ऽभ्यासविकार एत्त्वमारभ्यते । तद्यथासावन्यानभ्यासविकारान्वाधत एवं दीर्घत्वमपि  
वाधेत । सत्यमेवमेतत् । अभ्यासविकारैष्वपि तु व्येष्टमध्यमकनीयासः प्रकारा भवन्ति । तत्र  
ह्रस्वहलादिः शेषानुत्सर्गो । तयोर्दीर्घत्वमपवाद एत्त्वं च । अपवादविप्रतिषेधादीर्घत्वं भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyaṭa : लिटि य आदेशादिरिति । नत्वसत्वधोरनैमित्तिकत्वाल्लिङ्गिणमिच्छत्वाभावः ॥  
अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनेति । अभ्यासलोपश्चेति चशब्दः समुच्चये न त्वन्वाचये ॥ दीर्घत्वमन्ते-  
ति । अभ्यासविकारेषु बाधका न बाधन्त इत्येतत्तु यत्र सर्वेषां प्रवृत्तिस्तत्ताश्चीयते । यद्यपि  
कृते दीर्घत्व एत्त्वाभ्यासलोपप्रसङ्गस्तथाप्येत्त्वाभ्यासलोपयोः कृतयोर्दीर्घत्वाप्रसङ्ग इति विरुद्ध-  
त्वादबाधकत्वाभावः ॥ नाप्राप्त इति । काचिद्भ्रुस्वः काचिद्भ्रुलादिः शेषश्च प्राप्नोति ॥ व्येष्ट-  
मध्यमकनीयास इति । मध्यमापेक्षयोत्सर्गस्य प्रकर्षसद्वावात्कनीयानुत्सर्गोऽन्तर इत्यर्थः ।  
मध्यमो यः कस्यचिद्बाधकः कस्यचिद्बाध्यः । व्येष्टो यो बाधकस्यापि बाधकः ॥

2. P: Nor can one say that if Kaiyaṭa's statement is rejected the Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 120, on account of which Kaiyaṭa makes his statement, becomes improper. The opinion of the author of the Bhāṣhya is simply this that Paribhāṣhâ LXVI. is *anītya* (because that which is indicated by a Jñāpaka is not universally valid) and therefore not adopted on P. VI., 4, 120. This Nāgojibhaṭṭa indicates by saying इत्यन्यत्र i. e. उद्गोतादौ, विस्तरः.

PARIBHĀSHĀ LXVII.

One might say that, wherever (the affix) कृत् (is added by P. III., 2, 135, in the sense of) 'having such a habit' etc., (the affix) कृत् also may be (added by P. III., 1, 133 in the same sense);<sup>1</sup> nor (would it be correct to object that) कृत् is an *Apavāda* (of कृत् and that it supersedes the latter on that account altogether), for an *Apavāda*-(affix which is) not uniform (with an *Utsarga*-affix) supersedes (the latter by P. III., 1, 94 only) optionally. (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

P. LXVII: The rule P. III., 1, 94, (by which an *Apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *Utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally), has no concern with (*Apavāda*-affixes) added in the sense of 'having such a habit' (i. e. with the affixes taught in P. III., 2, 134-177).<sup>2</sup>

The fact that (the addition of) कृत् to the monosyllabic (roots निन्द् etc.) is taught by the rule P. III., 2, 146 (to form निन्दक etc.), while, (if the present Paribhāshā did not exist, the same bases निन्दक etc.) would have resulted from (the addition of the affix) कृत् (taught in P. III., 1, 133), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); for there would be no difference of accentuation (between bases formed) by the addition of कृत् or of

1. Vñ. in accordance with P. III., 1, 94.

2. The affix कृत् of P. III., 2, 135 supersedes therefore the affix कृत् of P. III., 1, 133, not optionally, but altogether.

बुञ् to (monosyllabic roots like निन्द् etc).<sup>1</sup> The Locative नाच्चीलि-  
केषु (in this Paribhāshā conveys the meaning that P. III., 1, 94  
has no concern) with any (*Apavāda*-affixes) whatsoever (added  
in the sense of 'having such a habit,' and) we are thereby in-  
formed that (such affixes supersede not merely *Utsarga*-affixes  
likewise) added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' (but) also  
(*Utsarga*-affixes that are) not added in the sense of 'having such  
a habit,' (contrary to P. III., 1, 94), not optionally, (but neces-  
sarily and altogether.)<sup>2</sup> Now one might say that if such were  
(the meaning of the present Paribhāshā,<sup>3</sup> two bases) such as  
कच्चा and कमना ought not to be formed<sup>4</sup> (by P. III., 2, 167 and  
P. III., 2, 149 etc. respectively), because (in this instance the

1. A base formed by the addition of the affix ण्वल् has the *udātta*  
accent on the syllable that precedes the affix (P. VI., 1, 193); a base  
formed by the addition of बुञ् is *ādyudātta* (P. VI., 1, 197). When ण्वल्  
and बुञ् are added to monosyllabic roots, the bases so formed are in  
both cases *ādyudātta*. In the case of polysyllabic roots there does arise  
a difference of accentuation from the addition of ण्वल् and बुञ्, and it  
would therefore have been necessary for Pāṇini to teach in III., 2, 146  
the addition of बुञ् to असूय, even if the present Paribhāshā did not exist.

2. The affix इङ्गुच् which by P. III., 2, 136 is added to अलङ्कृञ्, su-  
persedes therefore not merely the addition of तृन् to अलङ्कृञ् (by P. III.,  
2, 135), but also the addition of ण्वल् to the same (by P. III., 1, 133.) If  
a *tāchchhīlika Apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhīlika Utsarga*,  
it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in III., 2, 150 the  
addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition by P. III., 2  
154 of उक्ञ् to पद् would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद्  
by P. III., 2, 149. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 372.

3. I. e. if a *tāchchhīlika Apavāda* were to supersede also a *tāchchhīlika Utsarga*.

4. Nor गन्तृ and गामृक् by P. III., 2, 135 and 154; nor विकृत्तिन् and  
विकृत्तिन् by P. III., 2, 143 and 149, etc.

affix) युच् of P. III., 2, 149 ought (in accordance with this Paribhāshā) to be superseded altogether by (the *Apavāda*-affix) र्ताught in P. III., 2, 167; but such an objection would be futile, for the prohibition by P. III., 2, 153 of (the addition of) युच् to दीप् shows<sup>1</sup> that what is taught in the present (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid.<sup>2</sup>

1. If the Paribhāshā were universally valid, the affix र्ता the addition of which to दीप् is taught in P. III., 2, 167, would in accordance with it supersede the addition of युच् to दीप् altogether, and it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in III., 2, 153, that युच् is not to be added to दीप्. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 370 and 373.

2. See Bhāshya on P. III., 2, 146 : किमर्थं निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्चिष्यते न ण्वुल्लेव सिद्धं न ह्यस्ति विशेषो निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्चो ण्वुल्ले वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः । वुञ्चमनेकाचः प्रयोजयन्ति । असूयकः । अथ यत्रैकाचः पठ्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणं किमर्थं न तेषां ण्वुल्लेव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । अयं तच्छिलादिष्वर्थेषु तृन्विधीयते स विशेषविहितः सामान्याविहितं ण्वुल्लं बाधेत । वासरूपेण ण्वुल्लि भविष्यति । अत उत्तरं पठति । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्चचनमन्येभ्यो ण्वुल्लप्रतिषेधार्थं वा । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्चचनं क्रियते ज्ञापकार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्तच्छिलादिषु वासरूपन्यायेनान्येभ्यो ण्वुल् न भवतीति । तृजादिप्रतिषेधार्थं वा । अथैतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्तच्छिलिकेषु सर्वे तृजादयो वासरूपेण न भवन्तीति ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXVIII.

Now one might say that, (if) then (P. III., 1, 94 had no concern merely with *Apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit'), the (*Utsarga*-affix) यच् might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, by P. III., 3, 18) be added e. g. (to इत्

just as the *Apavāda*-affix क has by P. III., 3, 114 been added to it) in हसितं छात्रस्य, (or the *Apavāda*-affix व्युट् by P. III., 3, 115 in) हसनं ( छात्रस्य; or, as the *Apavāda*-affix तुमुन् has by P. III., 3, 158 been added to भुज् ) in इच्छति भोक्तुम्, (so might the *Utsarga*-affixes) लिङ् and ङोट् (be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 157 in the same phrase;<sup>1</sup> or, as the *Apavāda*-affix युच् has by P. III., 3, 128 been added to पा) in ईषत्यानः सोमो भवता, (so might the *Utsarga*-affix) खल् (be added to पा by P. III., 3, 126 in the same phrase. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXVIII : The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with (the affixes) क, व्युट्, तुमुन्, and (युच्) added in the sense of खल् (in P. III., 3, 126, when these affixes are *Apavāda*-affixes).<sup>2</sup>

This results from the circumstance that the rule P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid ; and that (P. III., 1, 94) is not universally valid is indicated by P. III., 3, 169 ; for in that (rule the affixes denoted by the term) कृत्य and तृच् are put down in order that (the addition of the affixes denoted by) कृत्य and तृच् may not be (entirely) superseded by (the addition of the affix) लिङ् (in P. III., 3, 168), which, as is shown by the word च 'and' (in P. III., 3, 169), may likewise be added (by P. III., 3,

1. लिङ् may be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 159. See Kaiyaṣa on pag. 44 above.

2. एतेषु घञादीनामपवादभूतेषु सत्सु स नास्तीत्यर्थः. P. The *Apavāda*-affixes क and व्युट् of P. III., 3, 114 and 115 supersede therefore the *Utsarga*-affix षच् of P. III., 3, 18 entirely etc. When क etc. are *Utsarga*-affixes, the rule P. III., 1, 94 does apply.

169);<sup>1</sup> more elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. (The Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 94.<sup>3</sup>

1. If P. III., 1, 94 were universally valid, कृत्यतृचः in P. III., 3, 169 would be superfluous; for in that case लिङ्, which is taught in P. III., 3, 168 and which, as appears from the च in P. III., 3, 169, is valid also in the latter rule, would supersede the affixes termed कृत्य and तृच् which have been taught in preceding general rules, only optionally. The fact that कृत्यतृचः has been put down in III., 3, 169 shows, that लिङ् would supersede the affixes कृत्य and तृच् entirely, if कृत्यतृचः were not put down in III., 3, 169, or, in other words, that P. III., 1, 94 cannot be universally valid.

2. अन्यत् *i. e.* दोषरादौ. P. The fact that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid, allows us to dispense with Par. LXVII.—LXIX. altogether.

3. See above pag. 44.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 314.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXIX.

Now one might say that, (as the *Apavāda*-affix लृट् has by P. III., 3, 15 been added to णच् in ऋ: ऋत्, (so) might (be *Utsarga*-affix) लट् also, in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, (by P. III., 3, 13,) be added (to णच् in the same phrase), because (लृट् and लट्) cease to be uniform when their substitutes have taken their places.<sup>1</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore:<sup>2</sup>

1. लृट् and लट् are really by Par. VIII. uniform, and P. III., 1, 94 should therefore have no concern with them; but being regarded as not uniform because the substitutes which must take their places are not uniform, P. III., 1, 94 would apply to them if the present Paribhāshā did not forbid its application.

2. See Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

P. LXIX: The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with the substitutes for the लृ (of लृट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लोङ्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्).

I. e. it has no concern with लृट्, लिट् etc. although they cease to be uniform when their several substitutes have taken their places.<sup>1</sup> The fact that (Pāṇini) in III., 2, 116 teaches (the addition of) लङ् indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; if), on the other hand, (the Paribhāshā did not exist),<sup>2</sup> it would have been superfluous to teach (the addition of) लङ् (in P. III., 2, 116), for in that case (the *Utsarga*-affix) लङ् (of P., III., 2, 111) might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94), have been added wherever (the *Apavāda*-affix) लिट् would have been added by P. III., 2, 115, because (लिट् and लङ्) are not uniform (when their substitutes have taken their places).

When<sup>3</sup> in (the rule P. III., 2, 124 लट्: शतृशानचौ) which teaches (the substitution of) शतृ, the word विभाषा 'optionally' is valid

1. The *Apavāda*-affix लृट् of P. III., 3, 15 supersedes therefore the *Utsarga*-affix लृट् of P. III., 3, 13, not optionally, but entirely. Similarly does an *Apavāda*-substitute for one of the affixes लृट्, लिट् etc. supersede an *Utsarga*-substitute for the same affix entirely. See below.

2. If this Paribhāshā did not exist, the लिट् of P. III., 2, 115 would in accordance with P. III., 1, 94 supersede the लङ् of P. III., 2, 111 only optionally, and it would be superfluous to teach that after ह and शश्त् लङ् as well as लिट् may be added to a root. When Pāṇini in P. III., 2, 116 nevertheless teaches this, he shows thereby that the लिट् of III., 2, 115 supersedes the लङ् of III., 2, 111 entirely, and he indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhāshā.

3. Chitprabhā: नन्वेवमादेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु वासरूपविध्यभावेऽपि तदादेशेषु तत्सारख्याद्वयारूपविधिः स्यात् । तथा सति निषेदिवानित्यत्र भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः [ 3. 2. १०८ ] इति सूत्रेण भूतसामान्ये सदादिभ्यो विधीयमानालिटः कसुस्तेन तिङ्समा-

(from P. III., 2, 121), to the end that (the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ् also may be substituted wherever शतृ etc. are substituted (by P. III., 2, 124),<sup>1</sup>—and when the word वा ‘optionally’ is put down in P. III., 2, 106—, (both) these (circumstances) indicate, as is suggested by Kaiyaṭa<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere, that the *Apavdda*-affixes (spoken of) in P. III., 1, 94, can only be such

वेदो ससदित्यग्नि स्यादित्यत आह शलादिभिरिति ॥ The following ‘when in the rule....’ is added to justify the interpretation of लादेशेषु by आदेशकृतवै-  
रूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु. According to what follows P. III., 1, 94 can have no concern with the substitutes for लट् etc. because the *Apavdda*-affixes referred to in P. III., 1, 94 can only be such affixes as are no substitutes, and we want therefore, according to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, no *Paribhāshā* to teach us that P. III., 1, 94 has no concern ‘with the substitutes for लट्, लिट् etc.’ Notwithstanding this remark of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, we have taken लादेशेषु as a Tatpurusha-compound, in the sense of लस्यादेशेषु, and have translated it accordingly by ‘the substitutes for the ल् of लट्, लिट् etc.’ In our opinion the *Paribhāshā* refers not merely to लट्, लिट् etc. for which in the actual language we always find substitutes, but it refers also to the different substitutes for any one of the affixes लट् etc.

1. If P. III., 1, 94 did apply, the substitution of शतृ etc. would already by that rule supersede the substitution of तिङ् only optionally, and it would be superfluous to make the word विभाषा of P. III., 2, 121 valid in the rule लटः शतृशानचौ. The same remark applies to the substitute कानच् for लिट् and to the word वा ‘optionally’ in P. III., 2, 106.

2. On P. III., 2, 127. See Chitprabhā: कैयटे ध्वनितमिति । तृतीयस्य द्वि-  
तीये तौ सादिति सूत्र इति शेषः । तत्र ह्यथवा चैतावुत्तरी श्रान्तौ किमेतौ लादेशावाहोस्वि-  
दलादेशौ कश्चाल विशेष उत्तरयोर्लादेशौ वाचनम् । तत्रोत्तरयोरिति प्रतीकमुपादाय लादे-  
शेषु वासरूपविभिर्नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति भाव इति भावः । यदि वासरूपे उत्तररूपद्वयोऽप्य-  
वाद आदेशत्वानाक्रान्तप्रत्ययरूपो न गृह्येत तदा लादेशेष्वित्युक्तपरिभाषाया लक्षणादिनादे-  
शकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु न नास्तीत्यर्थे प्रकृते तदप्रवृत्त्या नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति कैयटोक्तिरयुक्ता  
स्यादतस्तत्र स आदेशत्वानाक्रान्त एव प्रत्ययरूपो गृह्यत इति तदुक्त्या ध्वनितम् । ध्वनिते  
च तस्मिन्स्तत्र एव वासरूपविभिर्न प्रवर्तते न तु परिभाषावत्त्वादिति तदाशयः ॥



affixes as have not the nature of substitutes;<sup>1</sup> the result hereof, however, must be considered to be this that for the लिट्, which is added to सद् etc. to denote past time generally, क्सु only (can be substituted), and (that we have) not the alternative (of substituting for it the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ्.<sup>2</sup>

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1. As शतृ etc. are substitutes, P. III., 1, 94 cannot apply to them.

2. See above pag. 358. note 3.

## PARIBHĀṢHĀ LXX.

With reference to (rules) like P. VIII., 3, 32 (in which one term is exhibited in the Ablative and another in the Locative case) there might arise a doubt whether (*e. g.* the words डमोऽचि in P. VIII., 3, 32 should mean, in accordance with P. I., 1, 67, that डमुट् is added) to अच् when this follows upon डम्, or, (in accordance with P. I., 1, 66, that डमुट् is added) to डम् when अच follows (upon the latter).<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāṣhâs says therefore :

**P. LXX :** When both (a term in the Locative and another in the Ablative case) are exhibited (or valid in the same rule), then the Ablative in which the one (term) is exhibited possesses greater force (than the Locative in which the other term is exhibited).<sup>2</sup>

(In the case of P. VIII., 3, 32) the rule P. I., 1, 67 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) is applied (in preference to P. I., 1, 66 which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative), because the Ablative (डमः) in which (डम्) is exhibited finds no scope elsewhere, whereas the Locative अचि in which (अच्) is exhibited serves a purpose in the subsequent rule P.

1. See above pag. 58, and note 2.

2. *I. e.* we have to apply P. I., 1, 67 and not P. I., 1, 66. P. VIII., 3, 32 teaches accordingly that डमुट् is added to अच् when this follows upon डम्.

VIII., 3, 33.<sup>1</sup> Where however, as *e. g.* in the case of P. VIII., 3, 29, both (the Locative in which one term is exhibited and the Ablative in which the other term is exhibited) serve no purpose (in any other rule), there (the sequence of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar) makes us decide in favour (of the application of P. I., 1, 67 which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) *viz.* because (this rule) P. I., 1, 67 *follows* upon the rule P. I., 1, 66 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative case). So it is also when both (the Locative and the Ablative) serve a purpose (in some other rule) which is the case *e. g.* in P. VII., 1, 52; here the Locative आमि serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 53, (and) the Ablative आत्<sup>2</sup> (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 52 from P. VII., 1, 50) serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 50. (All) this we find in the Bhāṣhya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 1, 66.<sup>3</sup>

1. Here then the Ablative is stronger than the Locative, *anavakāśatvena*; in the other instances it is stronger *paratvena*.

2. The Ablative सर्वनाम्नः in P. VII., 1, 52 is *Vihita-panchamī* (भदन्तात्परस्य सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्य) and the rule P. I., 1, 67 does consequently not apply to it. P.

3. See Mahābhāṣhya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 744-750.—P. adds the following: Where only the Locative is *anavakāś'a*, there it is stronger than the Ablative, as *e. g.* in P. VII., 2, 82 आने मुक्; here आने is *anavakāś'a*, but the Ablative अतः which is valid from P. VII., 2, 80 is *śva-kāś'a* in that rule; मुक् is accordingly added to that which precedes आन. In P. VI., 1, 75, 76 दीर्घात् पदान्ताद्वा the Ablative is *anavakāś'a*, and the Locative छे *sāvakāś'a*; nevertheless a Jñāpaka (Si. Kau. I., pag. 71) indicates that the Locative is stronger, and the augment तुक् is consequently added to the vowel which precedes छ्. P. adduces another instance in which both the Locative and Ablative are *charitārtha* and where nevertheless the Locative is stronger than the Ablative, and concludes with the remark that the present Paribhāṣhā is consequently not universally valid.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXI.

One might say that स् (which) by P. VIII., 3, 46 (is substituted *e. g.* for the Visarga of अयः in अयः+कुम्भ = अयस्कुम्भ) ought not (by the same rule) to have been substituted in अयस्कुम्भी (from अयः+कुम्भी), because only the word कुम्भ has been given (in P. VIII., 3, 46. The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

P. LXXI: A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived (from it) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning (of the Paribhāshā) is this that, whenever a word, which denotes Prātipadikas generally,<sup>2</sup> or denotes a particular Prātipadika (or particular Prātipadikas),<sup>3</sup> is employed (in grammar), it must be understood to denote also (such crude forms) as are derived (from the former) by the addition of an affix denoting gender; (and the word) अपि 'also' (shows that such a word denotes besides) also (those Prātipadikas which) alone (would be denoted by it, if the present Paribhāshā did not exist. The existence of) this (Paribhāshā) is indicated by

1. The Prātipadika कुम्भ in P. VIII., 3, 46 denotes accordingly not only कुम्भ, but also कुम्भी; similarly पात्र in the same rule denotes not only पात्र, but also पात्री. For other instances see the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 1, below.

2. As *e. g.* प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1; P. adds that, because the Paribhāshā does apply to the word प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1, the necessity of the expression इत्याप् in that rule has been questioned in the Bhāshya. See below. See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 86.

3. विशेषरूपेण, प्रातिपदिकत्वं व्याप्यधर्मविशिष्टबोधकशब्दोपादाने. Bhairavamis'ra.

the fact that we read in the (Gana on the) rule<sup>1</sup> P. II., 1, 70 which occurs in the chapter (of rules) relating to (the composition of) coordinate (words),<sup>2</sup> the feminine words श्रमणा etc. ; this namely indicates (the existence of) the (Paribhāshā), because (the words) श्रमणा etc. which end with a feminine affix, can be coordinate only with the word कुमारि, but not with the word कुमार (in P. II., 1, 70).<sup>3</sup>

It appears from the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 1, that this (Paribhāshā) has no concern with the *Upapadas*<sup>4</sup> in rules like P. III., 2, 39; (nor with *Prātipadikas*) in rules that teach (the addition of) *samāsānta* affixes;<sup>5</sup> (nor with महत् in the rule P. VI, 3, 46 which teaches) the substitution of अ for (the final of) महत्;<sup>6</sup> (nor with *Prātipadikas* that fall

1. सूत्रे *i. e.* सूत्रविषयकगणपठे. P.

2. समानाधिकरणेन being valid from P. II., 1, 49.

3. The feminine words श्रमणा etc. in the Gana on P. II., 1, 70 show that कुमार in P. II., 1, 70 must denote also कुमारि, and it can do so only by the present Paribhāshā; but it must denote also कुमार itself, because only this can be coordinate with the masculine bases अघ्यायक etc. which likewise have been enumerated in the Gana श्रमणादि. Si. Kau. I., pag. 366.

4. *E. g.* द्विषत् which is *Upapada* (see P. III., 1, 92) in P. III., 2, 39 denotes only द्विषत्, and not also द्विषती. We form accordingly by P. III., 2, 39 द्विषतय; but when द्विषती is *Upapada*, we must form द्विषतीताय. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 333.

5. *E. g.* राजन् in P. V., 4, 91 denotes only राजन्, not also राज्ञी; टच् is therefore by P. V., 4, 91 added *e. g.* to मद्राजन् = मद्रराज, but not to मद्रराज्ञी. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 382; 113.

6. महत् in P. VI., 3, 46 denotes only महत्, not also महती; we therefore apply P. VI., 3, 46 *e. g.* in महान्प्रियोऽस्य = महाप्रियः, but not in the case of महती प्रियास्य = महतीप्रियः. See P. VI., 3, 34.

under the rule P. VI, 1, 197 which teaches) the accent (of Prātīpadikas formed by means of affixes that are characterized) by an indicatory ँ or न्;<sup>1</sup> (nor with ब्राह्मण and कुमार in the rule P. VI., 2, 59 which teaches) the accent of राजन् when (in a Karmadhāraya-compound) it is followed by ब्राह्मण or कुमार;<sup>2</sup> (nor with compound bases) in (accent) rules like P. VI., 2, 175 that are given with reference to the *whole* compound.<sup>3</sup> And from the same (Bhāṣya it appears) likewise that (it does) not (concern a Prātīpadika in a rule which teaches) an operation caused by a (following) case-termination<sup>4</sup>. As regards the rules that teach (the addition of *samāsānta* affixes (which were mentioned) in the above, (the Paribhāṣhā has) no (concern) only (with such Prātīpadikas) that may occur in them, as form *part* (of the compound to which the *samāsānta* affix is added),<sup>5</sup> but where the

1. P. VI., 1, 197 teaches accordingly the accent only of Prātīpadikas formed by means of *nit* and *nit* affixes, but not of their feminine bases; e. g. it teaches the accent of दाक्षि (दक्ष+इन्, P. IV., 1, 95), but not of दाक्षी (दक्षि+ङीष्, P. IV., 1, 65).

2. P. VI., 2, 59 teaches therefore the accent of राजन् in राजब्राह्मण and राजकुमार, but not in राजब्राह्मणी and राजकुमारी.

3. P. VI., 2, 175 teaches therefore e. g. the accent of बहुगोमत् (बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्मिन्) but not of the feminine बहुगोमती (बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्याम्), viz. because बहुगोमत्, so far as the rule VI., 2, 175 is concerned, does not denote also बहुगोमती. Where a rule teaches the accent of *part* of a compound, there the Paribhāṣhā *does* apply to the Prātīpadika which forms that part; कुशूल in P. VI., 2, 102 denotes therefore not only कुशूल, but also कुशूली, and कुशूली in कुशूलीविल is therefore by P. VI., 2, 102 *antodātta*, just as कुशूल is by it *antodātta* in कुशूलविल.

4. See Par. LXXII.

5. E. g. it has no concern with राजन् in P. V., 4, 91. See above pag. 364 note 5.

whole compound (base) is given (in such rules, the Paribhāshā) does apply to it;<sup>1</sup> this follows from the circumstance that in the above (Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 1) fault has been found (with the application of the Paribhāshā) to whole compound bases, only when they occur in rules that teach their accent; and it follows besides from the Bhāshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 25.<sup>2</sup>

The above are all the cases in which (the Paribhāshā), not being universally valid,<sup>3</sup> must not be applied; for it has been stated in the Bhāshya (on P. IV., 1, 1) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhāshā) have been enumerated (in the above).

Now one might object that (if) then (the above were the true meaning of this Paribhāshā),<sup>4</sup> the Bhāshya<sup>5</sup> on the rule

1. Chitprabhā : यथा शेषाद्विभाषा [५. ४. १५४] इति क्विति । एवं चेदं यथा महायशस्क इत्यत्र प्रवर्तते तथा बहुव्री माळा यस्या इति विग्रहे बहुव्रीह्युपसर्जनद्वये पुनष्टापि प्रवर्तते ॥

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhāshā has been applied to the compound base कुण्डोभस्. See below.

3. See Par. LXXII.

4. एवम्, i. e. परिभाषाया उक्तार्थीङ्गकारे. P. Above it has been stated that this Paribhāshā is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes Prātipadikas generally (as प्रातिपदिक does in P. IV., 1, 1), or denotes a particular Prātipadika (such as कुमार in P. II., 1, 70). Now one might say that as the word बहुव्रीहि which is valid in P. V., 4, 153, denotes neither the one nor the other, the Paribhāshā ought not to be applied to it, and that the term Bahuvrihi ought therefore to denote e. g. only the Prātipadika कुण्डोभस्, but not its feminine कुण्डोभ्री; that nevertheless कुण्डोभ्री has in the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 25 been regarded as a Bahuvrihi, and that the above interpretation of this Paribhāshā must therefore be incorrect. See Rāghavendrāchārya : ननु सामान्यरूपेण विशेषरूपेण चेत्युक्तत्वाद्बहुव्रीहिल्लस्य रूपातिदेशेन सुलभोऽयं धर्म इति कथं शङ्कोत्थितिरिति चेत् । न । विशेषरूपेणेत्यस्यानुपूर्वविशेषरूपेणेत्यर्थेभ्रमेण तामुत्थाप्य प्रातिपदिक-त्वव्याप्यार्थपरत्वेन समाधानात् ॥

5. See Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 25 : ऊभसो नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे । ऊभसो

P. IV., 1, 25 would be improper; for there (it has been stated that the affix) कप् should by P. V., 4, 153 be added to कुण्डोष्ठी, the meaning (assumed to be conveyed by P. V., 4, 153 being this that कप् is added) to a Bahuvrīhi ending with a *nadī* (like ई);<sup>1</sup> this (statement) would be improper (if the Paribhāshā did convey the above meaning), because (in that case कुण्डोष्ठी) which ends with the *nadī* (ई) would not (by this Paribhāshā) be (denoted by the term) Bahuvrīhi (of P. V., 4, 153;<sup>2</sup> nor can

नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे वक्तव्यः । इह मा भूत् । महोष्ठाः पर्जन्य इति ॥ न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । न वा लिङ्गाधिकारे नकारः कर्तव्यः । किं कारणम् । समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । समासान्ताधिकार एव स्त्रीग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥ इतरथा हि कविधिप्रसङ्गः । इतरथा हि कविधिः प्रसज्येत । कस्यां पुनरवस्थायां कप्प्राप्नोति । प्राङ् ङीष्त्वञ्चैः । प्राक्तावन्न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । न हि ङीष्विभाषा । उत्यन्ने ताई ङीष् प्राप्नोति । उत्यन्ने चापि न भवितव्यम् । किं कारणम् । नद्यन्तानां यो बहुव्रीहिरित्येवं सः । न चैष नद्यन्तानां बहुव्रीहिः । प्रागेव ताई प्राप्नोति । ननु चोक्तं न हि ङीष्विभाषेति । यद्यपि न ङीष्विभाषा कसु विभाषा । कपोऽवकाशोऽन्यो बहुव्रीहिः । भयवकः । भव्रीहिकः । ङीषोऽवकाशः । विभाषा कस्यदा न कप्सोऽवकाशः । कुण्डोष्ठी घटोष्ठी । कप्प्रसङ्ग उभयं प्राप्नोति । परत्वात्कप्स्यात् । तस्मात्सुष्ठुच्यते न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणादितरथा हि कविधिप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

Kaiyata: ऊभस इति । ऊभसोऽनङ् [५. ४. १३१] इति समासान्तप्रकरणे सूत्रमकृत्वा बहुव्रीहेरूभसो ङीष् नक्षेति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रालोऽन्यस्येत्यन्यस्य नकारो ङीष्प्रत्ययश्च स्त्रियां भवतीत्यर्थो भवति । धनुषोऽनङ्ङिति समासान्तेषु पठितव्यमेवं च महोष्ठाः पर्जन्यः कुण्डोष्ठी भेनुकमित्यनङ् न भवति ॥ न वेति । समासान्तप्रकरणे एषोभसोऽनङ् स्त्रियामिति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रैवावश्यं कर्तव्यम् । कप्प्रमासान्तनिवृत्त्यर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ कस्यां पुनरिति । द्वावल कपो नदीलक्षणो निष्पः शेषलक्षणो विकल्पितश्च तत्र कस्य प्रसङ्ग इति प्रश्नः ॥ प्रागिति । शेषलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥ न हि ङीषेति । "यत्र कप्स्यात् ङीष्विधानमनवकाशं स्यादिति भावः । द्वयोस्तु विकल्पो सति परस्परपरिहारेण प्रवर्तनान्नास्ति ङीषोऽनवकाशत्वम् ॥ उत्यन्ने इति । नदीलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥

1. See P. I., 4, 3.

2. बहुव्रीहिस्य सुबन्तसमूहधर्मेतेनान्यतरूपेण प्रातिपदिकाग्रहणात्परिभाषाप्रवृत्त्यभावेन तस्य तत्त्वाभावादित्यर्थः । बहुव्रीह्यर्थकत्वात्प्राभाषाच्चैत्यपि बोध्यम् ॥ P.



one say that the above statement has been made by the *Pūrva-pakshin*, from ignorance of the true state of the case, for the addition of कप् to कुण्डोष्ठी) has been rejected (not by the statement that कुण्डोष्ठी is not a Bahuvrihi, but) by the (different) interpretation (of P. V., 4, 153) 'that ( कप् is added to) a (Bahuvrihi-) compound which has for its second member a noun the base of which ends with a *nadī*.'<sup>1</sup> (This objection would however be) futile, because the import (of the above statement from the Bhāshya in which कुण्डोष्ठी is regarded as a Bahuvrihi) is this that, when a feminine affix has been added (to a base), the nature of a Prātipadika and all those properties for the possession of which a base is termed a Prātipadika, that may be found in the base void of the (feminine affix), are by this Paribhāshā assigned also to the whole new base (which results from the addition of the feminine affix).<sup>2</sup>

1. The words नद्यन्तानां यः समासः are explained in the text by नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकमुबन्तोत्तरपदकः समास इति, *scil.* तदाशयः.

2. एवं चान्यतरूपेण वस्तुनः प्रातिपदिकत्वादिवद्ग्रहणे सति तद्विशिष्टस्यापि परिभाषार्थो बोध्यः. P.—कुण्डोष्स् being a Prātipadika because it is a Bahuvrihi-compound (P. I., 2, 46), its feminine कुण्डोष्ठी is likewise a Prātipadika and a Bahuvrihi-compound by the present Paribhāshā, and it has therefore correctly been termed a Bahuvrihi in the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 25.

Extract from the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. IV., 1, 1 :

उद्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकं प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणात् ।  
उद्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकम् । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कः पुनरत्र विशेषः । एषा वा परिभाषा

1. *Kaṣyapa* : लिङ्गविशिष्टस्येति । यथाकथंचिन्प्रातिपदिकग्रहण एषा परिभाषोपनिष्ठते न नु प्रातिपदिकस्य स्वरूपग्रहण एवैति भावः ॥ कः पुनरिति । उद्याब्ग्रहणं लघु न नु

क्रियेत ङ्याङग्रहणं वा । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्प्रेतस्याः  
 परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । कानि । प्रयोजनं सर्वनामस्वरसमासतद्धितवि-  
 धिलुगलुगर्थम् ॥ सर्वनामविधिः प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नः सुट् [७.१.५२] ।  
 इहैव स्यात् । येषां तेषाम् । यासां तासामित्यत्र न स्यात् । नैतदस्ति  
 प्रयोजनम् । अवर्णान्तादाङ्विधीयते । तत्रैकादेशः । एकादेशे कृतेऽन्ता-  
 दिवद्भावात्सुङ् भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च  
 [२.३.२७] । इहैव स्यात् । भवता हेतुना भवतो हेतोरिति । भवत्या  
 हेतुना भवत्या हेतोरित्यत्र न स्यात् । सर्वनाम ॥ स्वर । कुशूलकूपकुम्भ-  
 शालं विले [६.२.१०२] । इहैव स्यात् । कुशूलविलम् । कुशूलीविलमित्यत्र  
 न स्यात् । स्वर ॥ समास । द्वितीयाश्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते [२.१.२४]  
 इहैव स्यात् । कष्टं श्रितः कष्टश्रितः । कष्टं श्रिता कष्टश्रितेत्यत्र न स्या-  
 त् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । श्रितशब्दोऽकारान्तः । तत्रैकादेशे  
 कृतेऽन्तादिवद्भावाद्भविष्यति । इदं तर्हि । पूर्वसदृश [२.१.३१] इति ।  
 इहैव स्यात् । पित्रा सदृशः पितृसदृशः । पित्रा सदृशी पितृसदृशीत्यत्र  
 न स्यात् । समास ॥ तद्धितविधि । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् [४.२.४७] ।  
 इहैव स्यात् । हस्तिनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिक-  
 मित्यत्र न स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्भावेनैतत्सिद्धम् ।  
 इदं तर्हि । प्रमाणे द्वयसच् [५.२.३७] । यथेह भवति हस्तिद्वयस-  
 मेवं हस्तिनीद्वयसमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । तद्धितविधि ॥ लुक् । नेन्सिद्धव-  
 भ्रातिषु च [६.३.१९] । इहैव स्यात् । स्थण्डिलशायी । स्थण्डिलशायि-  
 नीत्यत्र न स्यात् । लुक् ॥ अलुक् । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् [६.३.१८] ।  
 इहैव स्यात् । ग्रामेवासी । ग्रामेवासिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ मानिनि च  
 विधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । विध्यर्थं तावत् । क्यङ्गानिनोश्च [६.३.३६] । इहै-

परिभाषेति भावः ॥ स्थण्डिलशायिनीति । गतिकारकोपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्रा-  
 वस्यन्तेति वचनादनुपपन्न एव कीपि समासे सति नान्तमेषां चरपदमित्यप्रयोजनमेतत् ।

व स्यात् । दर्शनीयमानी । दर्शनीयमानिनीत्यन्न न स्यात् ॥ प्रतिषेधार्थ-  
मपि । वक्ष्यति स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि [६.३.४०.१.] । तस्मिन्क्रियमा-  
ण इहैव स्यात् । दीर्घमुखमानी । दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यन्न न स्यात् ॥ प्रत्य-  
यग्रहणोपचारेषु च प्रयोजनम् । तृजकाभ्यां कर्तारि [२.२.१५.] । इहै-  
व स्यात् । अपां स्रष्टा । अपां स्रष्टीत्यन्न न स्यात् ॥ उपचार । अतः  
कृकमिकंसकुम्भ [८.३.४६.] । इहैव स्यात् । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्कुम्भी-  
त्यन्न न स्यात् ॥ एतान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा  
परिभाषा कर्तव्या । एतस्यां च सत्यां नार्थो ङ्याब्ग्रहणेन ॥

अतिप्रसङ्ग उपपदविधौ । उपपदविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । द्विषत्पर-  
योस्तापेः [३.२.३९] यथेह भवति द्विषंतप इत्येवं द्विषतीताप इत्यन्ना-  
पि स्यात् ॥ यजिजोः फक्यतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । यजिजोश्च [४.१.१०१]  
इति यथेह भवति गार्ग्यायणो दाक्षायण एवं गार्गेयो दाक्षेय इत्यन्नापि  
स्यात् । नैष दोषः । ढगन्न बाधको भविष्यति ॥ समासान्तेषु चातिप्र-  
सङ्गो भवति । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् [५.४.९१] यथेह भवति मद्रराज  
एवं मद्रराज्ञीत्यन्नापि स्यात् । न वा भवति मद्रराजी । भवति यदा समा-  
सान्तादीकारः । लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे त्वीकारान्तात्समासान्तः प्रसज्येत ।  
तन्न को दोषः । पुंवद्भावष्टिलोपश्च तत्र मद्रराजीत्येतद्रूपं स्यान्मद्रराज्ञी-  
ति चेष्ट्यते ॥ महदात्वे प्रियादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । आन्महतः समाना-  
धिकरणजातीययोः [६.३.४६] इति यथेह भवति महान्प्रियोऽस्य महा-  
प्रिय एवं महती प्रियास्य महतीप्रिय इत्यन्नापि स्यात् । किमुच्यते प्रिया-  
दिष्विति । यत्र पुंवद्भावः प्रतिषिध्यते यत्र तु न प्रतिषिध्यते भवितव्य-

एवं ग्रामवासिनी दर्शनीयमानिनी दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यपि द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ ढगन्नेति । परत्वादिति  
भावः ॥ समासान्तादीकार इति । मद्रराजस्य भार्या मद्रराज्ञीति पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्  
[४.१.४८] इति ङीष् ॥ तत्र को दोष इति । टश्च कृते यस्येति च [६.४.१४८] इती-  
कारे लुप्ति टित्वात् ङीप् कृते मद्रराज्ञीति सिध्यतीति प्रश्नः ॥ यत्र पुंवद्भाव इति । तत्तापूर-  
णीप्रियादिष्विति वचनान् [६.३.३४] ॥ यत्र त्विति । मद्रराज्ञ इत्यादौ ॥ दाक्षीति । इतो

मेव तत्रास्वेनेति ॥ अत्रिस्वरेऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । अत्रित्यादिरुदात्तो भव-  
ति [६.१.१९७] । यथेह भवति दाक्षिरहिचुम्बकायनिरेवं दाक्ष्यद्विचुम्ब-  
कायनीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ राज्ञः स्वरे ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरतिप्रसङ्गो भवति ।  
राजा च ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः [६. २. ५९] इति यथेह भवति राजब्राह्मणो  
राजकुमार एवं राजब्राह्मणो राजकुमारीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ समाससंघातग्र-  
हणेषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति । बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि [६.२.१७५] यथेह  
भवति बहुगोमान्बहुयवमानेवं बहुगोमती बहुयवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् । कि-  
मुच्यते समाससंघातग्रहणोऽप्यति । यदवयवग्रहणं प्रयोजनमेव तदस्याः  
परिभाषायाः कुशूलकूपकुम्भशालं विले कुशूलीविलमिति ॥ यथा विभ-  
क्तौ चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति ॥  
एतेऽस्याः परिभाषाया दोषा एतानि च प्रयोजनानि । एते दोषाः स-  
मा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति  
परिभाषा न कर्तव्या लक्षणं च न प्रणेयम् । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति  
स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते । न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः ख-  
ल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् ।  
न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्तीति । तस्माद्यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोज-  
नानि तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

मनुष्यजातेरिति [४.१.६५] ङीप्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्त इष्यते ॥ बहोर्नञ्वदिति । बहुशब्दा-  
दुत्तरपदबहुत्वे वर्तमानाद्यत्वरं पदं तदन्तस्य समासस्य नञ इव स्वरो भवतीत्यतिदेशार्थः ।  
तेन बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्य बहुगोमानित्यत्र नञ्सुभ्यामिति [६.२.१७२] समासस्यान्तोदात्त-  
त्वं भवति ॥ बहुगोमतीति । बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । उगितश्च [४.१.६] इति  
ङीप् । समासोऽत्र संघातरूपः कार्यति लिङ्गविशिष्टसमासग्रहणान्समासान्तोदात्तत्वाभावा-  
दकारः पित्वादनुदात्तो भवतीकारान्तु पूर्व उदात्तो भवति ॥ कुशूलीविलमिति । पूर्वपदस्यात्र  
कार्यत्वं न तु संघातरथेति पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तत्वं भवत्येव ॥ विभक्तौ चोक्तमिति । उगिदचाम  
[७.१.७०] इत्यलौकं यथा गोमानिति नुम् भवत्येवं गोमतीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । तत्र परिहार  
उक्तौ न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति विभक्त्याश्रयकार्ये क्रियमाणे लिङ्गविशिष्टपरि-  
भाषा नश्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ प्रतिविधेयमिति । अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलाङ्गलाङ्कुशेत्यत्र वार्तिके षट्-  
ग्रहणेनैव षट्ग्रहणे सिद्धे षट्ग्रहणमस्याः परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेनानिष्टे त्रिषये  
नोपतिष्ठते ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhāshā LXXI. were adopted, युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133 ought to denote also युवति, and in that case) the Samprasāraṇa (उ) ought by P. VI., 4, 133 to be substituted also (for the व of युवति) in युवतीः पश्य, just as it is substituted (by P. VI., 4, 133 for the व of युवन्) in यूनः पश्य. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXII : (A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika) before a case-termination (or which affects a case-termination after the Prātipadika), does not denote (a crude form) derived (from the Prātipadika) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.<sup>1</sup>

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1 explains the Paribhāshā first by विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तत्र भवतीत्यर्थः, and subsequently he explains the words विभक्तौ यत्कार्यम् by 'विभक्तैर्वत्कार्यं यच्च विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यम्.' Accordingly the Samprasāraṇa उ which by P. VI., 4, 133 is substituted for the व of युवन् before the termination भस् of the Acc. Plur., is not substituted for the व of युवति in the Acc. Plur.; in like manner is the termination आ of the Instr. Sing., which by P. VI., 1, 182 is *anudatta* after श्वन्, not by the same rule *anudatta* after शुनी, viz. because युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133 and श्वन् in P. VI., 1, 182 denote only युवन् and श्वन्, and do not denote at the same time their feminine bases युवति and शुनी. The Acc. Plur. of युवति is therefore युवतीः, and शुन्या is *antodattu* by P. VI., 1, 174.— P. adds that because the present Paribhāshā is applicable to युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133, we need not have recourse to the alternative proposed in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 133

This is found in the Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 1 (where it is given as a separate Paribhāshā). Others assume that, because Par. LXXI. is (shown to be) not universally valid by the fact that (in a Vārttika on P. III., 2, 9) घट as well as घट are actually enumerated,<sup>1</sup> (what is taught in) the present (Paribhāshā) follows already from that (very circumstance that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid, and that the present is therefore not a new and separate Paribhāshā).

*viz.* that अनः should be supplied in P. VI., 4, 133 from P. VI., 4, 134. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 160); should that alternative be adopted nevertheless, then गोमान्, गोमती etc. would be instances for the present Paribhāshā. (See Bhāshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1, below).—See Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 133 :

आदीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् । आदीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । अनकारान्तस्य मा भूत् । मघवता मघवते ॥ तथा प्रतिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति यथेह भवति यूनः पश्येत्येवं युवतीः पश्येत्यत्रापि स्यादिति ॥ यत्तावदुच्यते नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति न कर्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । उक्तमेतत् । भवणस्तु मघोनक्ष न शिष्यं छान्दसं हि तदिति ॥ यदप्युच्यते तथा प्राति—स्यादिति लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे चोक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादिति ॥ अथवोपरिष्ठाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते । श्रुयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ भक्त्योः । भकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥ ततोऽन इत्युभयोः शेषः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa : न वा विभक्ताविति । यद्यपि विभक्तिमाश्रित्य संप्रसारणं न विधीयते तथापि विभक्तौ विधीयते इति लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषानुपस्थानम् ॥ अन इत्युभयोः शेष इति । समुदायपेक्षणात् । न च तादेशौ कृतेऽनन्तत्वमस्ति । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वेनाप्यनन्तत्वं नास्ति सामान्यातिदेशे विशेषानतिदेशात् । युवतिशब्दोऽप्यनन्ता न भवतीति तस्यापि संप्रसारणाभावः ॥

1. *Sci.* which would have been superfluous if Par. LXXI. were universally valid, because in that case घट alone would have denoted not only घट but also घटी.

Extract from the Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. VII., 1, 1 :

विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणं नेत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । . . . अव-  
श्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्पेतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ।  
कानि । प्रयोजनं शुनः स्वरे । यथेह भवति शुना शुने शुन्या शुन्यापि-  
त्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ यूनः संप्रसारणे प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति यूनः पश्येत्येवं  
युवतीः पश्येत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ उगिदचां नुम्बिधौ प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भव-  
ति गोमान्यवमानेवं गोमती यवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ अनडुह आ-  
म्बिधौ प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवत्यनङ्गानित्येवमनडुहीत्यत्रापि स्यात् । न  
वा भवत्यनङ्गाहीति । भवत्यन्येन यत्नेन । आमनडुहः स्त्रियां वा  
[७.१.९८.१] इति । लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादीकारान्तस्य प्राप्नोति ॥ पथि-  
मथोरात्वे प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति पन्था मन्था एवं पथो मथीत्यत्रा-  
पि प्राप्नोति । न केवलः पथिशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते । उपसमस्तस्तर्हि वर्त-  
ते । सुपथी ॥ पुंसोऽसुङ्गिधौ प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति पुमानेवं पुंसी-  
त्यत्रापि स्यात् । न केवलः पुंशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते । उपसमस्तस्तर्हि  
वर्तते । सुपुंसीति ॥ सख्युर्णिच्त्वानङौ प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति स-

1. Kaiyata: विभक्त्यापि । विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तन्न भवतीत्य-  
र्थः ॥ शुनेति । सविकाचः [६.१.१६८] इति प्राप्तं विभक्तैरुदात्तत्वं न गोश्वन्  
[६.१.१८२] इति प्रतिषिध्यते ॥ शुन्येति । गौरादित्वात् ङीषि कृत उदात्तयणौ इत्युर्वात्  
[६.१.१७४] इत्यस्य विभक्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गः । ननु विभक्तैरेतत्कार्यं न तु विभक्तौ  
परतः पूर्वस्येति कथं लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषायाः प्रतिषेधः । नैष दोषः । विभक्तैरेतत्कार्यं यच्च  
विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यमिति सर्वत्र प्रतिषेधप्रवृत्तिः ॥ एवं युवतीरिति । एव-  
मर्थमन इत्युभयोः शेष इति नाश्रयितव्यं भवति ॥ पथीति । समासेकदेश उदाहृतः । इतर एताव-  
द्वैवादाहृतमिति मत्वाह न केवल इति ॥ सुपथीति । शोभनः पन्था भस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः । न  
पूजनात् [५.४.६५] इति समासान्तप्रतिषेधः । भृजेभ्यो ङीप् [४.१.५] इति ङीप् । भ-  
स्य टिङ्गोपः [७.१.८८] इति टिङ्गोपः ॥ सुपुंसीति । शोभनाः पुमांसोऽस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः ।  
वरः प्रभृतिषु पुमानिति विभक्त्यन्तपाठस्य प्रयोजनमुक्तमेकवचनान्तस्यैव नित्यः कथ्यथा स्या-  
दिति तेनात्र शेषादिभाषा [५.४.१५४] इति विकल्पो भवति । पातेर्मुमुन् [उण० ४.१७७]

खा सखायौ सखाय एवं सखी सख्यौ सख्य इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥ भव-  
ज्जगधदघवतामोद्भावे प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति भो भगो अघो इत्येवं  
भवति भगवत्यघवतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ एतान्यस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोज-  
नानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ॥

इति प्रत्ययस्योगित्वादुक्तश्च [४.१.६] इति ङीप् ॥ सखी सख्याति । सख्यश्चितीति भाषा-  
याम् [४.१.६२] इति ङीष् । अनङ्गिस्त्वे भन्न प्राप्तुतः । ङीष्विधानं तु सखीभ्यामिन्मात्रार्थं  
स्यात् ॥ भवद्भगवदिति । यदा संबुद्ध्या भवदादयो विशेष्यन्ते तदा भवत्यादीनामपि प्रसङ्गो  
यदा त्ववशब्दो विशेष्यते तदा येन नान्यवधानमित्येकवर्णव्यवधान भोत्त्वं प्रवर्तते भवत्यादौ  
तु वर्णद्वयव्यवधानादौत्वाभावस्तदभावात्तत्संनियोगविहितस्य ह्यस्याप्यभाव इति केचिदाहुः ॥

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ LXXIII.

One might say that, because in (the rule) P. IV., 1, 92  
(which teaches the addition of certain affixes in the sense of  
'descendant of', the word for descendant *viz.* अपत्य) has been  
put down in the singular number and neuter gender, (those  
affixes) ought not to be added to denote *e. g.* a male descendant  
of Garga, or two male descendants of Garga. To refute this  
(the author of the Paribhāṣhās) says :

P. LXXIII: The (particular) gender and number  
(in which a word is put down) in a rule, are not  
(intended) to teach anything.<sup>1</sup>

1. *E. g.* The fact that तस्य in P. IV., 1, 92 is masculine, is not meant  
to teach that the affixes referred to in P. IV., 1, 92 are added only to  
masculine bases ; nor does the circumstance that अपत्यम् in the same  
rule is singular and neuter, forbid the addition of the same affixes in case  
we wish to denote one or more male descendants.—अतन्त्रम् is equivalent  
to अप्रसीनम्.—See Bhāṣya on P. IV., 1, 92 :

पुंलिङ्गेनायं निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च तेन पुंलिङ्गादेवोत्पत्तिः स्यादेकवचना-



The fact that (Pāṇini) employs the word नपुंसकम् 'neuter' in II., 2, 2 (in order that अर्धे which is qualified by नपुंसकम् may be taken as the *neuter* अर्धे, and notwithstanding that अर्धे itself is put down in the neuter gender, viz. as अर्धम्,) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup> That the (word नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2) is *not* intended (to teach that we should understand by अर्धे the अर्धे) which is *always* neuter, (in other words, that 'अर्धे which signifies exactly equal parts, i. e. halves, and which in that sense is always neuter'), has been shown elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In<sup>3</sup> the Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 92 we see it stated that (their particular gender and a particular number) are given to the

न्ताच्च स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गाद्विवचनबहुवचनान्ताच्चेदं न स्यात् । तद्वितार्थनिर्देशो लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणं तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । तद्वितार्थनिर्देशो लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणम् । किं कारणम् । तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । नात्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् । कथं पुनस्तेनैव च नाम निर्देशः क्रियते तच्चातन्त्रं स्यात् । तत्कारी च भवास्तद्वेशो च । नान्तरियकत्वात् पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च । अवश्यं कयाचिद्विभक्त्या केनचिच्च वचनेन निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । तद्यथा कश्चिदन्तार्थो शालिकलापं सतुषं सपल्लमाहरति नान्तरियकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपल्लान्युत्सृजति तथा कश्चिन्मांसार्थो मन्थ्यान्सशकलान्सकण्टकानाहरति नान्तरियकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शकलकण्टकान्युत्सृजत्येवमिहापि नान्तरियकत्वात्पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च न ह्यत्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गादिति । सुमातुरपत्यं सौमित्रः भवत्स्यापत्यं क्षान्तिरित्यादा-  
वित्यर्थः ॥ तद्वितार्थनिर्देश इति । तद्वितप्रकरणादेवमुक्तम् । सर्वत्रेव हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्ना-  
न्तरियकत्वादुपात्तं लिङ्गं संख्या च न विवक्ष्यते । कश्चिन्संख्या तु विवक्ष्यते यथा सुप्तु-  
पेति ॥ अप्रमाणमिति । तद्विशालकार्यस्य विधिविषयौ न भवत इत्यर्थः । भावसूत्रे विस्तरेण  
भाष्यमेतद्व्याख्यातमिति तत्र एवावधार्यम् ॥ — Cf. also Bhāshya on P. III., 3, 18.

1. If the present Paribhāshā did not exist, अर्धम् would by itself denote the *neuter* अर्धे, and नपुंसकम् would be superfluous.

2. Viz. in the S'abdendus'ekhara where it has been shown that अर्धे when it means 'a half' is not necessarily neuter. P.

3. भाष्ये तु युक्तिसिद्धत्वमुक्तमस्या इत्याह धान्येति । P.

words (that occur in the rules of grammar) because (words) cannot be without<sup>1</sup> (some gender and number), as little as it would be possible in ordinary life to get corn without straw.— (Because then the present Paribhāshā must be adopted) therefore the word एका in P. I., 4, 1 does serve a purpose.<sup>2</sup> More hereof elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 3, 18 : अन्तरशब्दो गहादिषु पठ्यते स च विनाथे वर्तते । अन्तरे भवमन्तरियम् । तत्र नऊसमासे कृते पृषोदरादिभ्याम्यकारवचन-  
प्रामाण्याद्वा नलोपाभावः । ततः स्वार्थे कन्प्रत्ययः ॥

2. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, the singular संज्ञा in P. I., 4, 1 would by itself mean 'one Samjñā' and एका would be superfluous.

3. अन्यत्र i. e. शेखरादौ. P.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXIV.

One might say that the (affix) च्चि which by P. III., 1, 12 may be added to भृश etc. when they do not end with (the affix) च्चि, to denote the meaning expressed by (the root) भृ, may be added (to भृश) also in the phrase क दिवा भृशा भवन्ति 'where are the (stars that were) visible (by night,) in day-time'?<sup>1</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

**P. LXXIV :** (An expression) formed by the addition of  
(the negative) नच् or of (the particle of comparison)

1. In other words, one might say that it is by P. III., 1, 12 allowable to say क दिवा भृशान्ते instead of क दिवा भृशा भवन्ति, viz. because भृश in this phrase does not end with च्चि, and is in construction with भवन्ति. Si. Kau. II., pag. 226 explains the above sentence by ये रात्रौ भृशा नक्षत्रादयस्तं दिवा क भवन्ति, Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 1, 12 by ये भृशा आलोकास्ते दिवसे क प्रदेशे भवन्ति.

एव to (some word or other) denotes something which is different from and (yet) similar to (what is denoted by the latter),. because it is so that (such expressions) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life).

(Wherever) we see (in a rule) any (term) which is formed either by the addition of (the negative) नञ् or by that of एव to (some other word), we know that the operation (which is taught in the rule must take effect) in something which differs from, (and is at the same time) similar to, that (which is denoted by that other word), because it is so that (such terms) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life);<sup>1</sup> for when (somebody) has been told ('अब्राह्मणमानय' i. e.) to fetch a non-Brāhman, and has thereupon brought a lump of earth, he is not considered to have done what he ought to have done.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly क्यङ् (can be added by P. III., 1, 12 e. g. to भृश only) when it does not end with चि, and is yet similar to words that do end with चि, i. e. when the sense to be expressed is this that that which formerly was not (भृश), becomes or is (भृश; no such meaning being conveyed by the words भृशा भवन्ति) in the above-mentioned phrase, it follows that (in this case we are not allowed to apply the rule P. III., 1, 12, and that consequently) no incorrect form

1. तादृश एवार्थः प्रतीयत इत्यर्थः । लोक इति शेषः । तदाह न क्षति । तथा च लोक-न्यायसिद्धेयमिति भावः ॥ P.

2. In ordinary life अब्राह्मण denotes one who, though he is not a Brāhman, is yet similar to a Brāhman, e. g. a Kshatriya, but it cannot denote e. g. a lump of earth. In the same manner the term अस्मि in P. III., 1, 12 tells us that क्यङ् is added to भृश etc. when they do not end with चि and are yet similar to words that end with चि i. e. when they are employed like the latter अभूतनृत्वादिष्वे. See P. V., 4, 50.

can result (from its application). One<sup>1</sup> should understand that the employment of the words विभक्तौ 'case-termination' etc. in P. VI., 3, 132 etc. (in addition to the words अग्रथमा etc. in the same rules) merely tells us what is established already by the present maxim; that those<sup>2</sup> who maintain that (the employment of those words) विभक्तौ etc. indicates that the present (maxim) is not universally valid, are hereby refuted, viz. because even if it were (regarded as) not universally valid, there would not accrue from that circumstance any result admitted (to be derived from it) in the Bhāṣhya; and that for this very reason (viz. that the Paribhāṣhā is in reality universally valid) the word कारके which occurs in the rule P. III., 3, 19 has in the Bhāṣhya been rejected (as superfluous).<sup>3</sup>

This (Paribhāṣhā) is found in the Bhāṣhya<sup>4</sup> on P. III., 1, 12;

1. Now one might object that, if the present Paribhāṣhā were adopted, विभक्तौ in P. VI., 3, 132, or कारके in P. III., 3, 19 would be superfluous, because अग्रथमायाम् in P. VI., 3, 132 and अकर्तृरिति in P. III., 3, 19 alone would by this very Paribhāṣhā mean any case-termination, and any Kāraka except the first and except the Kartri. Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'One should understand.....'

2. Sīradeva and others.

3. Viz. by means of the present Paribhāṣhā. (Bhāṣhya on P. III., 3, 19 एवमिहाप्यकर्तृरांतं कर्तुः प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नकर्तृरिति कर्तृसदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते | किं चान्यदकर्तृ कर्तृसदृशम् | कारकम् |).

4. See Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 12 : ननु चोक्तमिह कस्मान्न भवति क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्तीति | नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः | नञ्युक्तमिवयुक्तं वा यत्किंचिदिह दृश्यते अन्यस्मिन्स्तत्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते | तथा ह्यर्थो गम्यते | अब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते नासौ लोपमानाय कृता भवति | एवमिहाप्यच्चेरिति प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नक्ष्यन्ते चित्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते | किं चान्यदतोऽच्यन्तं चित्सदृशम् | अभूतत्वावः ॥

Cf. also the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 37 (above pag. 146), and elsewhere

by<sup>1</sup> saying in it अन्यसदृश (its author) shows that similarity does not imply difference, and this has been considered in the Manjūshā.

1. According to the Naiyāyikas similarity implies difference (तद्विज्ञाने सति तद्वतभूयोभर्मवत्त्वं सादृश्यम्); if their definition were adopted, the word अन्य in the Paribhāshā would be superfluous. Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'by saying....' An example for इव is सोम्यः = सोम इव (P. V., 3, 96 and 103), i. e. सोमसदृशस्तद्विज्ञः.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXV.

One might say that in the case of व्याघ्री, कच्छी etc. (the feminine affix) ङीष् ought not to have been added by P. IV., 1, 63, because (वि+भा and कच्छ) are compounded (with घ and ण) after the addition (to the latter) of a case-termination;<sup>1</sup> (previously namely to this addition of a case-termination the feminine affix टाप् must be added to घ and ण because its addition) is *antaranga* even in regard to that of the former<sup>2</sup>, and when टाप् has thus been added, we have (no longer a base) ending in short अ (to which P. IV., 1, 63 could be applicable. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXV: It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas<sup>3</sup> are compounded with (bases

1. The supposition being that सुप् of P. II., 1, 4 is valid in P. II, 2, 19 and in the rule गतिः which we obtain when we take गति in P. II., 2, 18 as a separate rule. It will be shown in the sequel that in reality सुप् is not valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 378, 379 and notes.

2. See above pag. 261.

3. The meaning of the terms *Gati*, and *Upapada* which is an *anvartasamjñā* (see above pag. 95: P. explains it उप समीप उच्चारितं पदम् )

that end with) Kṛit-affixes<sup>1</sup> before a case-termination (or feminine affix) has been added (to the latter).<sup>2</sup>

As the word अनिङ् occurs in P. II., 2, 19 and has to be supplied (also for the rule गतिः which we obtain by taking गति) in P. II., 2, 18 (as a separate rule),<sup>3</sup> and as the meaning (of those rules) accordingly is this that an (Upapada or Gati) compound does not end with a तिङ् or personal termination, it follows that सुप् of (P. II., 1, 4) can no longer be valid in those two rules;<sup>4</sup> this proves, that part (of the Paribhāshā viz. that portion of it which relates to Gatis and Upapadas) has to be

is sufficiently clear from P. I., 4, 60 etc. and P. III., 1, 92. *Kāraka* I would translate now by 'a noun the case-termination of which denotes a relation that obtains between what is expressed by the base of the noun and an action denoted by a verbal form.' See P. I., 4, 23.

1. कृद्धिः । तैरेव सह । एवव्यावर्त्य ध्वनयन्नाह प्रागिति ॥ P. In the Bhāṣya on P. IV., 1, 48 where the objects of this Paribhāshā are stated at length, the words प्राक् सुबुल्लक्षणेः are omitted.

2. The term सुप् in सुबुल्लक्षणेः must be intended to denote a feminine affix as well as a case-termination. See Bhairavamis'ra : अत्र प्राक् सुबुल्लक्षणेः इत्यर्थोऽनन्तरपदे प्राक् सुबुल्लक्षणेः । तेन चर्मक्रीत इत्यत्र पूर्वस्य पदत्वान्नलोपसिद्धिः ॥ सुप्रहणं च स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । अन्यथा पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात्स्त्रीप्रत्ययोरित्यनन्तरं समासे पूर्वोक्तानुपपत्तितादवस्थं स्यात् ॥—Accordingly the Gatis वि+भा are compounded e. g. with the Kṛit व्र before any feminine or case-affix is added to the latter ; the form which results is व्याघ्रि ; to this we add in the feminine ङीप् by P. IV., 1, 63, and obtain thus व्याघ्री ; an example of a *Kāraka* is अश्वक्रीत, अश्वक्रीतो below ; of an Upapada, कच्छप, कच्छपी above.

3. गतिश्चेति विभक्तसूत्रे. P.

4. Viz. because अनिङ् would be superfluous if सुप् were valid. See above pag. 250, note 2. Upapadas and Gatis are accordingly by P. II., 2, 18 and 19 not compounded with *subanta* primary nouns, but they are

admitted (as correct), and thereby the (Paribhāshā) is established also so far as regards that portion of it which relates to Kāraṅgas; by (adopting it also for the latter we are enabled to show that) अशक्ती is formed correctly.<sup>1</sup> If, on the other hand,<sup>2</sup> (the feminine affix) टाप् had been (added to क्रीत) previously (to its composition with अश), we should have had no (base) ending with short अ, and in that case क्रीप् could not have been added by P. IV., 1, 50. As this (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid, composition takes sometimes also place after the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the base that ends with the Kṛit-affix; such has been the case) e. g. in (the formation of धनक्रीत which occurs in the phrase) सा हि तस्य धनक्रीत. Others however say that there is nothing to prove that (the Paribhāshā) is not universally valid, and that in the case (of धनक्रीत) टाप् has been added (by P. IV., 1, 4) because (धनक्रीत) is one of the words अज etc. (which by P. IV., 1, 4 take टाप् in the feminine.)

Because then (the Paribhāshā is valid also for Kāraṅgas,) the (formation of a) Genitive (Tatpuruṣa-) compound must likewise take place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the second member) in case (we wish to form such a compound) e. g. of कुम्भ and कार;<sup>3</sup> and when no Genitive (Tatpuruṣa-) compound is formed, the meanings (of

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compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination (or feminine affix) is added to the latter.

1. I. e. अश is compounded with क्रीत before a feminine affix is added to the latter; the result is अशक्रीत; to this we add क्रीप् by P. IV., 1, 50, and obtain thus अशक्रीतो.

2. अन्यथा i. e. एतदनङ्गीकारे. P.

3. कुम्भस्य कार = कुम्भकार by P. II., 2, 8; the Genitive कुम्भस्य results from P. II., 3, 65, and is therefore a Kāraṅga.

कुम्भ and कार) are united by means of an Upapada-compound;<sup>1</sup> so that no (such) phrase (as कुम्भस्य कारः can) here (be employed instead of कुम्भकारः);<sup>2</sup> this is clear from the Bhāṣhya on P. II., 2, 19.<sup>3</sup> For there (we have first) the Vārttika 'that (in the case of कुम्भकार etc.) an Upapada-compound should in accordance with P. I., 4, 2 be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound';<sup>4</sup> and subsequently as an alternative the refutation of it 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally, and that when such a compound is not formed, an Upapada-compound has to be formed'.<sup>5</sup> Although the author of the Vārttikas has stated that (even) without (the

1. P. II., 2, 19 and III., 2, 1.

2. P. तथा चाग्रहत्वे निव्यसमासन्वलाभात्पृष्ठीसमासेऽग्रन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदात् [६.१. १६९] इत्यस्याप्रवृत्त्या न षष्ठ्युपपदसमासयोस्तत्र विशेष इति स एवास्त्विति भावः ॥.— If compounds such as कुम्भकार, as Shashṭhi-samāśas, could be dissolved (कुम्भकारः = कुम्भस्य कारः), they would be *anitya*; Upapada-samāśas however are *nitya*; consequently such compounds would in certain cases have a different accent if regarded as Shashṭhi-samāśas, from what they would have as Upapada-samāśas. It is therefore stated that, even when they are regarded as Shashṭhi-samāśas, they cannot be dissolved.

3. See Bhāṣhya on P. II., 2, 19: षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । षष्ठीसमासस्यावकाशो राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः । उपपदसमासस्यावकाशः स्तम्भेरमः कर्णेजपः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोत कुम्भकारो नगरकारः । उपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

न वा षष्ठीसमासाभावादुपपदसमासः ॥ न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन । किं कारणम् । षष्ठीसमासस्याभावादुपपदसमासो भविष्यति । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्तैरिति समासवचनात् ॥

अथवा विभाषा षष्ठीसमासो यदा न षष्ठीसमासस्तदोपपदसमासो भविष्यति ॥

4. Viz. because the formation of the former is taught in P. II., 2, 19, that of the latter in the preceding rule P. II., 2, 8.

5. P. उपपदम् [२.२.१९] इति सूत्रविहितसमाससंज्ञा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा च स्थास्यतीत्यर्थः ॥



above first Vārttika) an Upapada-compound would be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound, because, as he thereby intimates, the Upapada-compound is *antaranga* (in regard to the Genitive Tatpurusha-compound,)<sup>1</sup> nevertheless the (passage from the) Bhāshya which was quoted above 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally...' is calculated to refute both the above (statements of the author of the Vārttikas),<sup>2</sup> because we derive from the (present) Paribhāshā which speaks of Kārakas generally, the meaning that the composition of a noun, which ends with a case-termination denoting a Kāraka<sup>3</sup>, with primary nouns, always takes place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix) to the latter. Hereby the view is refuted that this (Paribhāshā) is applicable only when (the word) कारक

1. *Viz.* because, in the opinion of the author of the Vārttikas, the Upapada-samāsa is formed of कुम्भ-भस्+कार, the Shashṭhi-samāsa of कुम्भ-भस्+कार-स्, i. e. after the case-termination स् has been added to कार, सुप्ता being, in his opinion, valid in P. II., 2, 8, but not in P. II., 2, 19.

2. The statement of Patanjali अथवा... refutes both the preceding Vārttikas. There is no Vipratishedha between the Shashṭhi-samāsa and Upapada-samāsa; the former is formed only optionally, and on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samāsa is formed. Nor is the Upapada-samāsa *antaranga* in regard to the Shashṭhi-samāsa, for the latter like the former is formed *before* the addition of a case-termination to कार; therefore what was stated above is valid also here; the Shashṭhi-samāsa is formed only optionally, and, on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samāsa is formed.

3. The Genitive-termination of कुम्भस्य in कुम्भस्य कार does denote the Kāraka Kārman (see P. II., 3, 65), and therefore the present Paribhāshā is applicable in the formation of the Shashṭhi-samāsa कुम्भकार.

or a particular Kāraka occurs<sup>1</sup> (in a rule that teaches the formation of a compound; it is) further (refuted by the fact) that this Paribhāshā does not unite with (certain) rules (of Pāṇini's) so as to form together with them one rule, (but) teaches like the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2, that one operation must take place in preference to another, and that we therefore cannot arrive at the meaning (that it applies) 'only when (the word कारक or a particular Kāraka) occurs (in a rule).'<sup>2</sup>

1. Chitprabhā: कारकतद्विशेषेति । अत्र कारकपदोपादानेन कुलापि समासविधानाभावात्तद्विशेषोपादान एवेत्यत्रैव तात्पर्यं तद्विशेषोपादानेन समासविधानं तु कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् [२.१.३२] इत्यादिना ॥ In P. II., 2, 8 we find neither the word कारक nor a particular Kāraka such as *Karman* etc.; nevertheless the Paribhāshā is applicable in the formation, by P. II., 2, 8, of कुम्भकार, *viz.* because the word कारक in the Paribhāshā means कारकविभक्त्यन्त.

2. Chitprabhā: अस्या इति । अस्या हि परिभाषाया विप्रतिषेधशास्त्रान्कार्यव्यवस्थापकत्वमेव न विध्येकवाक्यता तथैव तस्या निराकाङ्क्षत्वात् । तथा सति नोपादान एवेत्यर्थज्ञाभः । एतेन प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे [प<sup>०</sup> ७१] इत्यतो ग्रहणपदानुवृत्तिः कल्प्याकाङ्क्षया तदेकवाक्यता वेत्यपास्तम् । एवमप्येवेत्यस्याल्लाभादिति भावः ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXVI.

One might say that the word अभातो: 'not being a root' in P. VII., 1, 70 which teaches that in strong cases 'नुम्' is the augment of that which, *not being a root*, is उगित् i. e. has as indicatory letter one of the vowels contained in the Pratyāhāra उक्, and of [*the root*] अञ्च्) is superfluous, because (already) in consequence of the restriction 'that, so far as regards roots (that are उगित्), the operation (which by P. VII., 1, 70 would take place, actually takes place) only in the case of अञ्च्' नुम्

can be added to (what is उगित्) *only* when this is *not* a root. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXVI: When (a word can) not (denote) something which actually is (what is expressed by the word, ) it must be understood (to denote) something which formerly was (what is expressed by it).<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā) is established by the maxim that the several words (of a rule cannot be regarded as meaningless, but must be made to) serve a purpose.<sup>2</sup> Because then the (word अभतिः has been employed in P. VII., 1, 70), the meaning (of that rule must be this that जुम् is the augment) also of (an उगित् which actually is a root but) which formerly was not a root, and therefore जुम् is (by it) added *e. g.* in the Nom. Sing. of गोमत् (derived) by means of (the affix) क्त्वि from (the root) गोमत्यति (which again is derived from the noun गोमत्.

1. अभतिः in P. VII., 1, 70 cannot denote an उगित् 'which is not a root', because it would be superfluous if it did convey that meaning; it must consequently denote an उगित् 'which formerly was not a root'; and so it does denote *e. g.* गोमत् which is derived from the root गोमत्य (गोमन्त-मिच्छति) and which therefore, like the latter, is a root, but which formerly, before क्त्वि by P. III., 1, 8 was added to the noun गोमत्, was not a root.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 183; II., pag. 224.—Schol. on P. III., 1, 97.

2. तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्याय °; P. सामर्थ्यरूपो यो न्यायस्तत्सिद्धेयमित्यर्थः.—The Chitprabhā gives the following explanation: लोके यथा देवदत्तियगृहोपरित-नकाकोट्टयने काकवदिति व्यवहारो यथा वा केनचिद्देवदत्तेन स्वीयगृहे विक्रीतेऽन्येन क्रीतेऽपि देवदत्तगृहमिति व्यवहारस्तथा शास्त्रेऽपि तत्त्वाभावे भूतपूर्वगत्या तद्व्यवहार इति लोक्न्याय-सिद्धेयम् । तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यात् तत्तत्तत् प्रवर्तते इति नातिप्रसङ्ग इति भावः ॥

The Paribhāṣhā) is found in the Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 3 and other rules.<sup>1</sup>

1. On P. VII., 1, 70; VII., 3, 83 etc.—See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 4, 3 :

किमर्थममः सनकारस्य ग्रहणं क्रियते नामि दीर्घ इत्येवोच्यते । केनेदानीं सनकारस्य भविष्यति । नुडयमाम्भक्त आम्ग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते । अत उत्तरं पठति । नामि दीर्घ आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुड भवेत् । नामि दीर्घ आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुट स्यात् । अग्नीनाम् । इन्दूनाम् । इदमिह संप्रभार्य दीर्घत्वं क्रियतां नुडिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वानुट नित्यं दीर्घत्वं कृतेऽपि नुटि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । नित्यत्वादिर्घिं कृते ह्रस्वाश्रयो नुट् न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्थाहयं ह्रस्वान्तानुडिति न च ह्रस्वान्तोऽस्ति । तत्र वचनाद्वविष्यति । वचनाद्यत्र तज्जास्ति । नेदं वचनालभ्यम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । यत्र दीर्घत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते । तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । इह तावच्चतसृणामिति षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च [७.१.५५] इत्येवमत्र भविष्यति । तिसृणामिति लिग्रहणमपि प्रकृतमनुवर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् । लेस्त्रयः [७.१.५३] इति । इदं तर्हि । त्वं नृणां नृपते जायसे शुचिः । नैकमुदाहरणं ह्रस्वग्रहणं प्रयोजयति । तत्र वचनाद्वतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञास्यते । ह्रस्वान्तो यो भूतपूर्व इति । उत्तरार्थं तर्हि सनकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । नोपभायाश्च चर्मणाम् । नोपभाया नामि यथा स्यात् । इह मा भूत् । वर्मणां चर्मणाम् ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: तत्र वचनादिनि । भूतपूर्वगत्यैवेति भावः ॥ वचनादिनि । वचनात्स्यादिनि चेद्यत्र दीर्घत्वं नास्ति तत्र वचनस्य चरितार्थत्वात्संप्रतिक्सद्भावे भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणस्यायुक्तत्वादग्नीनामित्यादौ कृते दीर्घे नुट् न स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ तिसृणामित्यादौ नुटोऽन्यथासिद्धत्वाद्वस्त्रलक्षणो नुडनवकाश एवेति दर्शयन्नाह नैतदस्तीति ॥ नैकं अन्यथा नृनद्यापो नुडिति ब्रूयात् । तदेवं वचनसामर्थ्याद्भूतपूर्वगत्या नुटः सिद्धत्वान्नार्थः सनकारकनिर्देशोनेति स्थिते प्रयोजनान्तरोपन्यासः । उत्तरार्थमिति ॥

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ LXXVII.

P. LXXVII: (An operation etc. which affects) a Bahuvrīhi or what is denoted by a Bahuvrīhi, is sometimes allowed (to affect also) the mem-

bers (of that Bahuvrīhi) or what is denoted by them.<sup>1</sup>

(The अपि which has been translated by) 'sometimes' shows that (at other times) it is not allowed (to affect) its members or what is denoted by them. The (word तद्गुणसंविज्ञानम्) means 'the connection of what is denoted by the members (of the Bahuvrīhi) with what is predicated of that which is denoted by the whole Bahuvrīhi.'<sup>2</sup> Where that which is denoted by the

1. A Bahuvrīhi-compound should by P. II., 2, 24 denote something else than what is denoted by its members. Applying this to the Bahuvrīhi सर्वादीनि in P. I., 1, 27, we might doubt whether that word ought to denote also सर्व, because this very सर्व is the first member of the compound सर्वादीनि, and whether therefore सर्व ought to be termed *Sarvanāman* by P. I., 1, 27. To remove doubts of this nature is the object of the present Paribhāṣhā which is established by the practice of ordinary life; as in ordinary life when Long-ear approaches, his long ears approach too, so सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि teaches that the whole group of words denoted by सर्वादीनि are termed *Sarvanāmāni* and that सर्व itself which is denoted by the first member of सर्वादीनि is likewise termed *Sarvanāman*. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 27: सर्वादीनिति कोऽयं समासः । बहुव्रीहिरित्याह । कोऽस्य विग्रहः । सर्व-शब्द आदिर्येषां तानामनिति । यद्येवं सर्वशब्दस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्यपदार्थत्वाद्वहुव्रीहेः । बहुव्रीहिरयमन्यपदार्थे वर्तते । तेन यदन्यत्सर्वशब्दात्तस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तद्यथा चित्तगुरानीयतामित्युक्ते यस्य ता गावो भवन्ति स एवानीयते न गावः । नैष दोषः । भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि तद्यथा चित्तवासमानय लोहितोष्णीषा कृत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति तद्गुण आनीयते तद्गुणाश्च प्रचरन्ति ॥

2. Rāghavendra reads विशोष्यान्वयित्वम्, Pāyagunda विशोष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्वम्; both readings convey the same sense but the latter appears to be the easier one of the two. When we say लम्बकर्णमानय 'bring Long-ear', the long ears are brought as well as Long-ear; consequently we have here विशोष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्वम्; 'Long-ear' is the *vis'eshya*, the 'bringing' *vis'eshyātuvayin*, and 'the long ears,' because they are brought when Long-ear is brought,

whole Bahuvrihi is intimately related<sup>1</sup> (to that which is denoted by its members), there (the operation etc. which affects what is denoted by the Bahuvrihi) will generally<sup>2</sup> (affect also) that which is denoted by its members; elsewhere<sup>3</sup> it is generally<sup>4</sup> otherwise. लम्बकर्ण 'long-ear' and चित्रगु 'one who is possessed of variegated cows' are examples (from ordinary life); and सर्वादि in P. I., 1, 27 and इत्यादि<sup>5</sup> in P. VI., 1, 6 examples (from Pā-

are *vis'eshyānvayinā* (i. e. आनयनेन) *anvayin*. What in Pāyagunda's reading is denoted by विश्लेष्यान्वयिन्, i. e. in the present instance 'the bringing,' is in Rāghavendra's reading denoted by विश्लेष्य; (see Pāyagunda विश्लेष्यान्वयित्वमिति पाठे तु मुख्यविश्लेष्यं वाक्यार्थरूपं ग्राह्यम्; and Rājārāma Shāstrin's S'abdavyutpatti-Kaumudi pag. 35: तत्र वैयाकरणमते सर्वत्र क्रियामुख्यविश्लेष्यक एव वाक्यार्थबोधः । यत्र क्रियापदं न श्रूयते तत्रागि तदध्याहर्तव्यम् । सर्वं हि वाक्यं क्रियायां परिसमाप्यत इत्यभियुक्तोक्तिः ॥)

1. See Tarkasamgraha नित्यसंबन्धः समवायः etc. Such a relation exists *e. g.* between 'Long-ear' and his long ears because they form part of him, but not between the man who possesses variegated cows and his cows; and therefore the long ears are brought when 'Long-ear' is brought, but the variegated cows are not brought when चित्रगु is brought.

2. Not always; *e. g.* when Long-ear feeds, his long ears do not feed.

3. See above note 1.

4. Not always; *e. g.* when रक्तदण्ड 'one who carries a red staff' approaches, his red staff approaches too, although there is no intimate relation between him and his red staff. P. adds therefore: तथा चोभयमपि संबन्धाभिप्रायकं बोध्यम्.

5. P. VI., 1, 6 teaches that the roots जक्ष् and the six इत्यादि i. e. जक्षादि are termed *abhyasta*; from this it appears that इत्यादि i. e. जक्षादि denotes a group of roots to which जक्ष् does not belong.

See Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 6: अथवा सप्तैवेमे भानवः पठ्यन्ते । जक्ष् अभ्यस्तसंज्ञो भवति । इत्यादयश्च षट् ॥ Kaiyaṭa: नायं द्वितम निर्देशः । किं तर्हि । जक्षिनि पृथक्पदम् । इत्यादय इत्यनेतिशब्देन जक्षिनिः परामृश्यत आदिशब्दश्च समीपवाची । तेन तन्समीपाः षडभ्यस्तसंज्ञा इति सप्तानामेवाभ्यस्तसंज्ञा सूत्रेण संगृहीतेत्यर्थः ॥ Nāgajibhāṭa:

ṇini's grammar. The Paribhāṣhā) is found in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 27.

हितयेति । हितपि रुदादिभ्य इष्टे तद्रूपं नेत्यर्थः ॥ समीपवाचीति । एवं चातद्गुणसंविज्ञानव-  
हुव्रीहिणा जक्षेः परे षड् जक्षिक्षेति सप्तानां सिद्धा संज्ञेत्यर्थः ॥

1. See above, and also the Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 1: सिद्धं तु तद्गुण-  
संविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । तद्गुणसंविज्ञानाद्भवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य  
यथा लोके ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तस्यान्यपदार्थस्य गुणो विशेषणं तस्य संविज्ञानं, स वर्तिपदार्थो गुणो वा यस्या-  
न्यस्य पदार्थस्य तस्य संविज्ञानं, संनिहितविशेषणस्यान्यपदार्थस्य विशिष्टसंबन्धाश्रयेण केनचि-  
द्बहुव्रीहिणाभिधानादित्यर्थः ॥ Cf. also the Bhāṣhya on P. II., 2, 24.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXVIII.

One might say that यन् which is attracted (from P. III., 1, 97) by (the particle) च 'and' of P. III., 1, 106, (and the addition of which is therefore taught in P. III., 1, 106 as well as that of स्पृ), ought (just like स्पृ which is valid) in P. III., 1, 107, to be valid also in the latter rule. (The author of the Paribhāṣhās) says therefore:

P. LXXVIII: That which is attracted (from a preceding rule) by (the particle) च 'and' (of a subsequent rule), is not (valid) in (a rule) that follows (upon the latter).<sup>1</sup>

The fact that णमुञ् has again been put down in the rule P. III., 4, 59, while (the same) णमुञ् might have been valid (in that rule from P. III., 4, 26), indicates (the existence of) this

1. The यन् of P. III., 1, 97, being attracted by the च of P. III., 1, 106, can therefore not be valid in P. III., 1, 107,

(Paribhāshā); on the other hand, (if the Paribhāshā did not exist, Pāṇini, instead of saying in III., 4, 59 क्कणमुलौ,) might have said क्क च. णमुल्<sup>1</sup> has namely been repeated (in III., 4, 59) in order to show that both (क्क and णमुल्) are to be supplied in the subsequent (rules P. III., 4, 60 etc.). Examples are obvious.<sup>2</sup>

This is not universally valid,<sup>3</sup> (and) it is for this reason that (the term) द्वितीया, although it is attracted (from P. II., 3, 2) by the च in P. II., 3, 3, is (nevertheless) supplied in (the subsequent rule) P. II., 3, 4.

The (Paribhāshā) is incompatible with the statement (of the author of the Bhāshya) on the rule P. I., 3, 93 according to which all the particles च which are meant to show that (some term or other of a preceding rule) is valid (in the

1. Pāṇini wishes both क्क and णमुल् to be valid in III., 4, 60 etc.; he is therefore obliged to say क्कणमुलौ in III., 4, 59; for if he had said क्क च, the णमुल् of III., 4, 26, being attracted by the च of क्का च in III., 4, 59, would, because of the existence of the present Paribhāshā, not have been valid in the subsequent rules III., 4, 60 etc.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: रङ्गोरमनुष्येऽण् च [४.२.१००] दिक्पूर्वपदादृच् च [४.३.६] संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठच् च [४.३.५०] पितुर्यच्च [४.३.७९] इत्यादि । आने कारिभ्याः षक् [४.२.९९] इति षको बुप्रागभाक् [४.२.१०१] इत्यल द्वितीयेऽर्भाश्रत् [४.३.४] इति यतो ग्रामजनपद [४.३.७] इत्यल तृतीये श्रीष्मावरसम् [४.३.४९] इति बुञो व्याहरति [४.३.५१] इत्यल चतुर्थे ऋतष्ठञ् [४.३.७८] इति ठञो गौलादङ्कवत् [४.३.८०] इत्यलासंबन्धः ॥

3. P : This follows from the fact that ण has been put down in P. VIII., 4, 12; this ण namely is meant to show that the व of P. VIII., 4, 10 is not valid in P. VIII., 4, 12; if the Paribhāshā were universally valid, it would prevent the व of P. VIII., 4, 10 from being valid in P. VIII., 4, 12, because व is attracted by the च in P. VIII., 4, 11, and ण in P. VIII., 4, 12 would be superfluous.



rule which contains the च) can be dispensed with;<sup>1</sup> the import of this (statement) is this that only the explanation (of the learned) should guide us as to whether (a particular term) is valid or not valid (in a rule). It likewise is incompatible with the Bhāṣya<sup>2</sup> on the rule P. V., 1, 55; for there (the words) लुक्खौ च (of that rule) have been rejected as superfluous by (the author of) the Bhāṣya who assumes that षन् is valid (in P. V., 1, 55) from the rule V., 1, 54 and that खौऽन्यतरस्याम् (of P. V., 1, 53) is likewise valid (in P. V., 1, 55), notwithstanding that (खौऽन्यतरस्याम्) is attracted in P. V., 1, 54 by the च (of that rule).

1. See Bhāṣya on P. 1., 3, 93 : लुटि च कृपः । किमर्थश्चकारः । स्यसनोरित्येतदनुकृष्यते । यदि तर्हि नान्तरेण चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति द्युद्वयो लुङि [१.३.९१] इत्यापि चकारः कर्तव्यो विभाषेत्यनुकर्षणार्थः । अथेदानीमन्तरेणापि चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवतीहापि नार्थश्चकारेण । एवं सर्वे चकाराः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते ॥

Kaiyaṭa : स्वरितत्वादनुवृत्त्या चशब्दप्रतिपाद्यस्यार्थस्य सिद्धत्वाद्वाच्यकारः सर्वानेव चशब्दान्प्रत्याचष्ट ॥

2. See Bhāṣya on P. V., 1, 55 : कुलिजाऽलुक्खौ च । कुलिजाच्चेति सिद्धे लुक्खग्रहणानर्थक्यं पूर्वस्मिन्नस्ति कभावात् । कुलिजाच्चेत्येव सिद्धं नार्थो लुक्खग्रहणेन । किं कारणम् । पूर्वस्मिन्नस्ति कभावात् । पूर्वस्मिन्योगे सर्व एष त्रिको निर्दिश्यते । द्वयादकी । द्वयादिकी । द्वयादकीना ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀS LXXIX. AND LXXX.

One might say that whatever (operation) is stated (to take place) after (a word) the beginning of which is *anudatta*, or after (a word) the end of which is *udatta*, can have no concern with (a word) which begins with a consonant or ends with a

consonant (and ought therefore not to take place after such a word. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

**P. LXXIX:** In (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent, a consonant is regarded as not existing.<sup>1</sup>

(स्वरविनो) means 'in (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent.'<sup>2</sup> The fact that the rule P. VI., 2, 142 (which teaches that the members of a Devatā-dvandva have not their original accent when the beginning of the second member is *anudatta*'), contains the restriction, (expressed in the words अग्रथिवीत्तद्वपुनन्त्यिषु, that this rule is not applicable to a Devatā-dvandva ending in) अग्रथिवी etc., indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā). If the Paribhāshā did not exist, that (restriction) would clearly be superfluous, because (if it were not for this Paribhāshā) अग्रथिवी etc. could not be (termed words) 'the begin-

1. E. g. P. IV., 2, 44 teaches that the affix भञ् is added to an *anudāttdi* Prātipadika; as this rule is given with reference to an accent, the term *anudāttdi* in it which shows this reference, is applicable also to Prātipadikas like कजेत् etc. that begin with a consonant provided of course their first vowel be *anudatta*, because by the present Paribhāshā their initial consonant is regarded as not existing. Similarly is the term *antodatta* in P. VI., 1, 169 applicable also to परमवाच् etc. because, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 169 which is given with reference to *antodatta* compounds is concerned, the final consonant of परमवाच् etc. is regarded as not existing.

2. Not 'in respect to a rule that teaches an accent'; the rule P. VI., 1, 169 which was mentioned in the preceding note teaches an accent, but it is also given with reference to an accent, and so far as the latter is the case. the present Paribhāshā does apply to it, i. e. the term *antodatta* which occurs in it, is as has been shown applicable also to compounds that end in a consonant. See below.

ning of which is *anuddatta*', and because therefore (P. VI., 2, 142) would not be at all applicable (to Devatā-dvandvas ending with वृथिवी etc. even if it did not contain the restriction अगृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्त्रिवृ). And this same (restriction) which suggests to us the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhāshā, proves<sup>1</sup> that the (Paribhāshā) concerns (only) rules which (and in so far as they) are given *with reference to an accent*.<sup>2</sup> It is only for this reason that such expressions as अजादि 'commencing with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 173, and अच्: 'ending with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 195 serve a purpose;<sup>3</sup> and for the same reason (is it quite in accordance with the present Paribhāshā when) the Bhāshya etc. state that *e. g.* राजवती does not receive the accent which would result from P.

1. See above pag. 303. note 2.

2. P. VI., 2, 142 teaches something *with reference to anudāttādi* words, and the restriction which it contains shows that the term *anudāttādi* is applicable also to words that begin with a consonant provided their first vowel be *anuddatta*. The restriction therefore indicates the existence of this Paribhāshā; but it shows at the same time that the Paribhāshā must everywhere be applied in the same manner in which it is applied in P. VI., 2, 142, *i. e.* that it is applicable only to rules which, and in so far as they, are given with reference to an accent.

3. The rules P. VI., 1, 173 and 195 are not given with reference to an accent, but they *teach* an accent. Pāṇini employs in them the terms अजादि and अच् in order to exclude from them (terminations) that begin with a consonant, and (roots) that end in a consonant; his doing so would serve no purpose if the Paribhāshā were applicable to the terminations and roots the accent of which is taught in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195, because in that case *all* terminations would have to be regarded as commencing with a vowel, and *all* roots as ending with a vowel, and because therefore nothing could possibly be excluded by the terms अजादि and अच् in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195.

VI., 1, 220, because the elision of the न् (of राजन्, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 220 is concerned) is *asiddha*, and because (राजवती therefore really ends) in अन्वती (and not in अवती),<sup>1</sup> and that in उदशित्वत् (the affix) वत् is not *udātta* by P. VI., 1, 176.<sup>2</sup>

(All) this is found in the Bhāṣhya<sup>3</sup> on the rule P. VI., 1, 223. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 29 however states that this (Paribhāṣhā) is unnecessary, such (terms as *anuddātīdi* or *antodātī*) being applicable (also to words that begin or end with a consonant), because a consonant, by the colouring which it receives from the vowel which is pronounced immediately after or before it, appears likewise *udātta* etc. This is suggested also in the Bhāṣhya on the same rule.<sup>4</sup>

1. If the Paribhāṣhā were applicable in the case of P. VI., 1, 220 which teaches the accent of words that end in अवती, राजवती would notwithstanding the remark of the author of the Bhāṣhya fall under that rule, because the न् of अन्वती would in accordance with this Paribhāṣhā have to be regarded as not existing.—See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 220 : अन्तीऽवत्याः । ईवत्याः । किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न वत्या इत्येवोच्येत । वत्या इतोऽयत्युच्यमाने राजवतीत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत । अथावत्या इत्युच्यमाने कस्मादेवात्र न भवति । अतिदो नली-पस्तस्यातिद्वत्वाज्ज्ञेयोऽतीतिशब्दः । कस्तर्हि । अन्वतीशब्दः ॥

2. See below the Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 223. If the Paribhāṣhā were applicable in P. VI., 1, 176, उदशित्वत् would fall under that rule because the consonant त् which precedes the वत् would in accordance with it have to be regarded as not existing. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 562.

3. See below. Cf. also Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 51 and VIII., 2, 4.

4. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 2, 29 : उच्चैरुदात्तः । नांचेरनुदात्तः ॥ किं षष्ठीनि-  
दिष्टमक्षरहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किं चातः । यद्यनुवर्तते हल्स्वरप्राप्तिं व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवदि-  
त्येषा परिभाषा न प्रकल्पते । कथं हला नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । एवं तर्हि निवृत्तम् । वदुयेत-  
स्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥ अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमक्षरहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किंचार्थोऽ-  
नुवृत्त्या । वादमर्थः । यद्येते व्यञ्जनस्यापि गुणा लभ्यन्ते । ननु च प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यन्ते । इषे-  
तीर्णे तौ । नैते व्यञ्जनस्य गुणाः कित्तु एव तस्मादीप्यान् व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते त-

Now one might say that even (when the last Paribhāshā has) thus (been adopted), it does not follow from it that *e. g.* in राजदृ-षद् the letter भ of the syllable ष (is *uddīta*) by P. VI., 1, 223, for that rule teaches that (of a compound) the *end*<sup>1</sup> is *uddīta*. (The author of the Paribhāshās) propounds therefore (in addition to the preceding the following)

P. LXXX: When an accent would have to be assigned to a consonant, that consonant is regarded as not existing.<sup>2</sup>

यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते वदरपिटके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्गु-  
ण उपलभ्यते । कुतौ नु खल्वेतदच एते गुणाः स्युस्तत्सामोप्यानु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपल-  
भ्यते न पुनर्व्यञ्जनस्यैते गुणास्तत्सामोप्यात्त्वजपि तद्गुण उपलभ्यत इति । अन्नरेणापि व्य-  
ञ्जनमच एवैते गुणा उपलभ्यन्ते न पुनरन्नरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति । अन्वर्थं  
खल्वपि निर्वचनं स्वयं राजन्त इति स्वरा अन्वग्भवति व्यञ्जनम् ॥

Kaiyata: षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमिति । उच्चैर्नौचैरित्येने अव्यये अभिकरणशक्तिप्रधाने । तत्राच  
इत्यनुवृत्तौ सत्यामयमर्थो भवति । उच्चैःस्थान उपलभ्यमान उदात्तसंज्ञः स चाचः स्थान  
इति ॥ ह्रस्वरमाप्ताविति । सत्यामच इत्यस्यानुवृत्तौ समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं राजनुरुष इत्या-  
दावेव स्यान्न च राजदृषदित्यादौ । असत्या त्वनुवृत्तौ समासस्य योऽन्तो दकारस्तरस्य स्वरमा-  
प्ताविविद्यमानवत्त्वादकारस्य स्वरः सिध्यति ॥ ..... अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमिति । ननु  
को विशेषो यावता यत्न स्वरो विधीयते तत् व्यञ्जनस्याविविद्यमानत्वादच एव भविविद्यत्यनुदात्ता-  
दरभिन्यादागनुवादेऽपि न दोषः । खन एव ह्रस्वोऽनुदात्तत्वं भवत्यनुदात्ताजुपरागवशाद्वा तद-  
नुवादेन कार्यविधाने न कश्चिद्विशेषः । एवं तर्हि न्यायव्युत्पादनार्थ एवायं विचारः ॥ ननु  
चेति । वाचकाभावाच्च भ्रान्त्यतिद्विः ॥ नैन इति । अन्यथाप्युपलभोपगच्छेति भावः ॥...  
अन्वग्भवतीति । अनुगच्छतीत्यर्थः । श्रुतसमाचाराच्चैदं निर्वचनमभिहितं न तत्र वर्गता-  
दुक्त्यं किंचिदस्ति । अथवा गगिरपि व्यञ्जेरर्थः । विविधं गच्छत्यजुपरागवशादिति व्यञ्जन-  
मित्ययमर्थः पर्यायान्तरेण भाष्यकारेणामिहितः । उपरागश्च पूर्वपराच्चातिधानेऽपि परेणाच्चा  
ह्रस्वो भवति न पूर्वण ॥

1. The *end* of राजदृषद् is दृ, and not the भ of ष.

2. *Scil.* and the accent is assigned either to the vowel which precedes, or to the vowel which follows upon, the consonant; i. e. when Pāṇini

In the rule VI., 1, 213 (Pāṇini teaches that of a disyllabic word which ends with the affix यत्, the beginning shall be *udātta*; but he at the same time) forbids (the application of this rule when यत् follows) upon नौ (i. e. in the case of नान्य; his prohibition concerning नौ) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāṣhā); it would have no sense (if the present Paribhāṣhā did not exist) because the beginning of नान्य, i. e. the letter न्, is not fit to receive an accent, and the vowel आ which might receive one, is not the beginning (of नान्य).<sup>1</sup> Nor can one say that (in order to make the prohibition concerning नान्य serve a purpose<sup>2</sup>) it should be (assumed that without it P. VI., 1, 213 would teach) that the letter न् (of नान्य) which really is its initial letter, should be changed to the vowel nearest to it<sup>3</sup> uttered with the *udātta* accent; for if this were (adopted, नान्य) would (in accordance with the maxim that 'no operation is allowed) to destroy that on which it is dependent'<sup>4</sup> (even without the prohibition concerning नौ) not be *ādyudātta* (by P. VI., 1, 213), viz. because (by the substitution of ऋ for न् it) would cease to be

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e. g. teaches that the end is *udātta*, the *udātta* is assigned to the vowel which precedes the last consonant or consonants, but when he teaches that the beginning is *udātta*, the *udātta* is assigned to the vowel which follows upon the initial consonant or consonants.

1. If the Paribhāṣhā did not exist, P. VI., 1, 213 would (even without अनवरः) not be applicable to नान्य, because the *beginning* of this word, i. e. the consonant न्, cannot take an accent. As soon as the Paribhāṣhā is adopted, अनवरः in VI., 1, 213 becomes necessary, because without it the *udātta* would by VI., 1, 213 have to be assigned to the अ of नान्य.

2. I. e. a purpose other than that of merely indicating the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā.

3. I. e. ऋ.

4. See Par. LXXXV.

dissyllabic, while the very circumstance of its being dissyllabic would have caused (the application to it of P. VI., 1, 218); more hereof elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> This (Paribhāshā), like (the last), is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 223.

1. अन्यत्र i. e. भाष्यशब्दे. P.

Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 1, 223 :

समासान्तोदात्तत्वे व्यञ्जनान्तेषूपसंख्यानम् । समासान्तोदात्तत्वे व्यञ्जनान्तेषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । राजदृष्टत् ब्राह्मणसमित् । हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् । हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न हल्स्वरप्राप्तावित्येवोच्येत स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति वा । द्विर्बद्धं सुबद्धं भवति । यदि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यते । दधि । उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इतः स्वरितत्वं न प्राप्नोति । उदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ॥ कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं लिदाद्युदात्तान्तोदात्तविधयः । लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवतीतीहैव स्यात् । भौरिकिविधं भौलिकिविधम् । चिकार्षको जिह्वीर्षक इत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ ञित्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात् ।

1. Kaiyata: व्यञ्जनान्तेभिति । उच्चैरुदात्त इत्यत्राच्च इत्यनुवर्तनादजन्तस्य समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वविधानाद्वलन्तस्य न प्राप्नोतीति वचनम् ॥ हल्स्वरप्राप्तिरिति । हल एव प्रकृतत्वादविद्यमानवत्त्वं विज्ञास्यते ॥ स्वरप्राप्तिरिति । प्रकृतत्वाद्द्व्यञ्जनस्यैव प्राप्तिः प्रत्येक्यते ॥ द्विर्बद्धमिति । उभयोपादाने स्पष्टावगतिर्भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ स्वरितत्वं न प्राप्नोतीति । हल्स्वरप्राप्त्यभावाद्भकारस्य व्यवधायकत्वात् ॥ भौरिकिविधमिति । भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः । भौरि० [५.२.५४] इति विभक्त्यस्य ॥ चिकार्षिक इति । रेफकाराभ्यामीकारस्य व्यवधानात् ॥

अहिचुम्बकायनिः आग्निवेश्यः । गार्ग्यः कृतिरित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ धा-  
 तोरन्त उदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात् । ऊर्णोति । पचतीत्यत्र न स्या-  
 त् ॥ इदं तावदयुक्तं यदुच्यते हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति ।  
 कथं हि हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । तच्चापि ब्रुवतोदात्ताच्च स्वरित-  
 विधाविति वक्तव्यम् । तथानुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादे-  
 र्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोति । यदि पुनः स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमान-  
 वद्भवतीत्युच्येत । अथ स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यमानेऽनु-  
 दात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तर्हि सिद्धं भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ता-  
 च्च । वाढं सिद्धम् । कथम् । स्वरविधिरिति सर्वत्रिभक्त्यन्तः समासः ।  
 स्वरेण विधिः स्वरविधिः स्वरस्य विधिः स्वरतो विधिः स्वरविधिरिति । नैवं  
 शक्यम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । उदधित्वान्वघोषः विद्युत्वान्वलाहक इति ।  
 इस्वनुङ्भ्यां मतुवित्येष स्वरः प्रसज्येत ॥ अस्तु तर्हि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्य-  
 ञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति । ननु चोक्तं कथं हि हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः  
 स्यादिति । उच्चैरुदात्तो नीचैरनुदात्त इत्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमग्रहणं निवृत्तं  
 तस्मिन्निवृत्ते हलोऽपि स्वरप्राप्तिर्भवति ॥ यदप्युच्यत उदात्ताच्च स्वरित-  
 विधाविति वक्तव्यमिति न वक्तव्यम् । नेदं पारिभाषिकानुदात्तस्य ग्रह-  
 णम् । किं तर्हि । अन्वर्थग्रहणम् । अविद्यमानोदात्तमनुदात्तं भवति ।  
 उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इति ॥ यदप्युच्यतेऽनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदु-  
 च्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोतीत्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति तत्र सि-  
 द्धं तद्भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्चेति यदयं नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावित्यु-  
 क्तापृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिष्विति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । सा तर्द्धेषा परिभाषा क-

अहिचुम्बकायनिरिति । प्राचामवृद्धात्किन्बहुलम् [४.१.१६०] इति किन् ॥ आग्निवेश्य इति ।  
 गर्गादित्याद्यञ् ॥ गार्ग्य इति । हलादित्यादच आदित्याभावात् ॥ कथं हेति । अङ्गभर्मतादु-  
 दात्तादीनाम् ॥ सर्वविभक्त्यन्त इति । सर्वविभक्त्यन्तावयवत्वात्सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः । सर्वग्रहणमने-  
 कोपलक्षणार्थं सप्तानां विभक्त्यानामिहानुपयोगात् ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्तामेति । भञ्जन्समुदा-  
 योऽनुदात्त उदात्तात्तर इति दधिशब्दे स्वरितः सिद्धः ॥



र्त्तव्या । न कर्त्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्प्रेषा परिभाषेति यदयं  
यतोऽनावः[६.१.२१३] इति नावः प्रतिषेधं शास्त्रि ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀS LXXXI. AND LXXXII.

(According to P. II., 2, 11 a noun in the Genitive case is not compounded with a base ending in तस्य; by P. VII., 1, 84 औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before the termination सु of the Nom. Sing.; P. VI., 1, 213 teaches that dissyllabic bases in यन् are *adyulldita*; and P. VII., 4, 18, that भ is substituted for the इ of शि before the Vikaraṇa भङ्, the latter being valid from P. VII., 4, 16). Now one might say that (if तस्य were to denote also तस्यन्, दिव् also दिवु, यन् also ययन्, and भङ् also चङ्) P. II., 2, 11 would forbid also (the composition of a noun in the Genitive case with a base) in तस्यन्<sup>1</sup>; P. VII., 1, 84 would teach the substitution of औ also when क्तिप् is added to दिवु;<sup>2</sup> that similarly the accent taught in P. VI., 1, 213 would have to be (assigned) also (to dissyllabic bases) in ययन्, (and) that (the operation which takes place before the भङ् that occurs) in P. VII., 4, 16 (and is valid in P. VII., 4, 18), would have to take place also before (the Vikaraṇa) चङ्.<sup>3</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

1. *I. e.* it would forbid *e. g.* the formation of the compound स्वकृतस्य;  
See Si. Kau. I., pag. 345.

2. *E. g.* in भक्षयू from भक्ष-दिवु+क्तिप्. See the Bhāṣya on P. VII., 1, 84 below.

3. *I. e.* we should have to substitute भ for the इ of शि also in the Redupl. Aor. (which really is भक्षिषियन्), just as it is substituted in the second form of the Aor. भक्षत्.—See Rāghavendra : नन्वदृशिभ्यां चङ् दुर्लभ इति चेत् । न । नदृश इत्यतोऽङ्गत्वनुवर्तमाने श्रयतेरः [७.४.१८] इति चङ्कारेण व्यस्ये-  
त्यर्थः ॥

**P. LXXXI:** When a term void of Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which has an Anubandha attached to it.<sup>1</sup>

**P. LXXXII:** When a term with one or more Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which in addition to those (one or more Anubandhas) has another Anubandha attached to it.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that उद्य and उद्यत् in the rule P. IV., 2, 9 have (received) the Anubandha ड्, indicates (the existence of) these two (Paribhāshās); for (उद्य and उद्यत् have been distinguished by the Anubandha ड्) in order that these (affixes, the addition of which to वामदेव is taught in P. IV., 2, 9,) may not be denoted (by य and यत्) in P. VI., 2, 156. The latter (rule) conveys the meaning that 'of the second member of a compound which ends in य or यत् and follows upon the negative अ (which forms the first member of the compound), the last syllable is *udātta*;' (as it) according to the above (has no concern with अवामदेव्य, the second member of which according to P. IV., 2, 9 ends in उद्य or उद्यत्), अवामदेव्य (cannot be *antodātta* by P. VI., 2, 156, but) can only receive the accent which is taught in P. VI., 2, 2 (i. e. the *udātta* on the indeclinable negative अ.)<sup>3</sup>

1. तव्य in P. II., 2, 11 and दिव् in P. VII., 1, 84 do therefore not denote तव्यत् and दिव्.—See Par. CVI.

2. यत् in P. VI., 1, 213 and अङ् in P. VII., 4, 16 do therefore not denote ण्यत् and चङ्.

3. If the Paribhāshās did not exist, the Anubandha ड् of उद्य and उद्यत् would be superfluous; for in that case य and यत् in P. VI., 2, 156 would denote also उद्य and उद्यत् of P. IV., 2, 9, and अवामदेव्य would notwith-

The meaning of the second (Paribhāshā) is this that, when a term is employed which has one or more Anubandhas, it does not denote that which has the same and in addition to them some other Anubandha.—Both (Paribhāshās) are applicable both to affixes and to (terms which are) not affixes, for they have been made use of (in the case of दिव् etc.) in P. VII., 1, 84 etc.<sup>1</sup>

standing the addition of the Anubandha ड् in डग् and ड्यत् fall under the rule P. VI., 2, 156.

See Bhāshya on P. IV., 2, 9: वामदेवाड् डग् ड्यौ । किमर्थो उकारः । डित्ति लोपो यथा स्यात् [६.४.१४३] । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनं यथेति लोपेनाप्येतत्सिद्धम् [६.४.१४८] । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे यद्ययौ डितौ करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत एते परिभाषे अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । अवामदेव्यमित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

सिद्धे यथेति लोपेन किमर्थं ययौ डितौ ।

ग्रहणं मातदर्थं भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

Kaiyata: अवामदेव्यमिति । अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणागुदात्तत्वमित्यर्थः । अन्यथा ययौश्चातदर्थं इत्यनेनान्तोदात्तत्वं स्यात् ॥ ग्रहणमिति । अतदर्थग्रहणेन सूत्रं लभ्यते ॥ नञ्स्वर इति । नञाश्रयेऽन्तोदात्तत्वे विधीयमान इत्यर्थः ॥

The addition of ड् to य indicates the first, that of ड् to यत् the second Paribhāshā.

1. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 84: दिव औत् । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधः । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अक्षग्रूरिति । अभात्वधिकारात्सिद्धम् । अभातोरिति वर्तते । क प्रकृतम् । उगिदच्चा सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः [७.१.७०] इति । अभात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषः । अभात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषो भवति । काष्ठत्वात् कूटात् । नपुंसकस्य झलचः [७.१.७२] अभातोरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । उक्तं च । किमक्तम् । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे हि न सानुबन्धकस्येति । अथवा संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते ॥

Kaiyata: दिव औत् इति । विशेषानुपादानाद्धातोरपि प्राप्नोति ॥ अक्षग्रूरिति । उडि कृत एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वादौत्त्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ अननुबन्धकग्रहण इति । अव्ययज्ञं दिविति प्रातिपदिकमननुबन्धकम् । व्यत्यतिपक्षेऽप्यवयवानां प्रत्ययदीनां सानुबन्धकत्वं न प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ संबन्धमिति । उगिदच्चास्यनेन । दिव औदित्यल्लभातोरिति वर्तते उगिदच्चाभिति निवृत्तम् ॥

They are, it appears from the Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 18, not applicable in the case of a letter<sup>1</sup> that may be employed (in grammar.—(The Jnāpaka) which informs us of the existence of two such maxims (as are contained in the two Paribhāshās) proves that they apply only, (the first) to a term<sup>2</sup> void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of that Anubandha, and (the second) to a term<sup>3</sup> void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of two or more Anubandhas. Accordingly the first (Pari-

To show that the above remark refers both to the first and to the second Paribhāshā, P. adds : अत एवोहाकः कित्त्वं सकलमिति प्राञ्चः । एतेनाद्ये तथा सत्त्वेऽपि द्वितीये न मूलमित्यपास्तम्.— हा, जिहति is ओहाङ्; हा, जहाति is ओहाक्; if the latter were ओहा, then ओहा would not denote ओहाङ् i. e. जिहति; but as it is made ओहाक्, ओहा denotes both जहाति and जिहति.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 306.

1. If Pāṇini in VII., 1, 18 had said औ instead of saying औङ्, औ would have denoted also औङ्, because, औ being a letter, the first Paribhāshā would not have been applicable to it. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 1, 18 : अथवा वर्णग्रहणमिदं भवति न चैतद्वर्णग्रहणेषु भवत्यननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति ॥

Kaiyata : अथवेति । औङ् इति वर्णमात्रं निर्दिश्यते ऊकारस्वसंदेहार्थो नानुबन्धार्थं ऋदोरप् [3. 3. ५७] इति यथा दकारः । भङ्गाक्षिप्तश्च प्रत्यय औकारेण विशेष्यत इत्यौकारान्तस्य शोभावी विधायमानोऽन्तवद्वावाक्केवलस्यार्थोऽकारस्य प्रवर्तते । प्रत्ययस्य चानुबन्धभावाभावाभ्यां निरनुबन्धकपरिभाषा व्यवस्थां करोति न वर्णस्य ॥

2. E. g. य (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become उग्र possessed of the Anubandha ङ्.

3. E. g. यत् (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term उग्रत् possessed of two Anubandhas; or मनुप् (in P. VI., 1, 176) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term व्रनुप् possessed of three Anubandhas.

bhāshā) is not (applicable to ञस्)<sup>1</sup> in P. VII., 1, 20, and it can therefore not be objected that (ञस् in VII., 1, 20) would have to denote (in accordance with it) the Taddhita-affix ञस्, because this has no Anubandha. So<sup>2</sup> is the second (Paribhāshā) applicable only to terms which actually have one out of two (or two out of three possible) Anubandhas attached to them<sup>3</sup>, (and it is) therefore not contrary (to this Paribhāshā) when *e. g.* in P. IV., 1, 7 (वन् which is put down without any Anubandha) denotes (also) क्वनिप् and कनिप्.<sup>4</sup> The meaning,<sup>5</sup> however, (which by some has been assigned to the second Paribhāshā, *viz.* that) when it is possible for a term to denote something which has one Anubandha, (it should not be taken to denote that which has two Anubandhas), is not approved of by (the author of) the Bhāshya etc., as (has been shown) fully elsewhere.

1. There are two terms ञस्; one denotes the Taddhita-affix ञस् (in बहुञः, भव्यञः etc.), the other, in which ञ् is Anubandha, denotes the termination भस् of the Accus. Plur.

2. एवम् *i. e.* धर्मिग्राहकमानादेव. P.

3. *E. g.* to यत् (in P. VI., 2, 156) which has one of the two Anubandhas (ङ् and त्) that may be attached to य; or मनुप् (in P. VI., 1, 176) which has two of the three Anubandhas (ङ्, उ, and ण्) which may be attached to मन्.

4. See also the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 3, 1: मनुवसो रदिञो वन उपसंख्या. नं कर्तव्यम् । यस्तायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वाः [ऋग्वे ० १.१२५.२] ॥

Kaiyata: वन इति । कनिवनिपोः सामान्यग्रहणमनुबन्धस्यानिर्देशात्तदनुबन्धकपरिभाषानुपस्थानात्कनिपोऽपि ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रातरित्वा इति । प्रातरेतीत्यन्येभ्योऽपि दुह्यत इति कनिप् ॥.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 534.

5. Chitprabhā: तदनुबन्धकग्रहण इत्यस्यैकानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणे संभवति न द्वयनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमित्येवार्थ इति कौक्षिद्वयाख्यातः । तत्त्वण्डयितुमाह । एकैति ॥ अन्यैवेति । बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखरादावित्यर्थः ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXIII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in कुटीर 'a small hut' (the affix र, which by P. V., 3, 88 has been added to the feminine कुटी, does not convey any particular meaning of its own, but leaves to कुटीर) the same meaning that would be denoted by the (original base कुटी,<sup>1</sup> कुटीर) ought not to be *masculine*, because (derivative bases formed by means of) affixes that do not convey any particular meaning of their own, should in accordance with the practice of ordinary life<sup>2</sup> receive their gender and number from the original bases (from which they are derived) ; and that (for the same reason) अक्ल 'almost water' (which in accordance with P. V., 3, 67 is derived from the feminine Plural अक्, आवः by means of the affix क्लप् ) ought not to be *neuter* and *singular*. (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

P. LXXXIII : Sometimes (it happens that bases which are derived by means of affixes) that (do not convey any particular meaning of their own, but) leave the meaning which is conveyed by the original base (to which they are added, un-

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1 The affixes taught in P. V., 3, 1 etc. convey no meaning of their own, but merely indicate that the base to which they are added must be understood in some particular sense or other ; the new bases therefore which are formed by them convey the same meaning as the original bases to which they are added, and they might accordingly be expected to receive their gender and number from the latter. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 690, note 2 : स्वार्थिका इति । प्रायेणेति शेषः । स्वकीयप्रकृतेरर्थे भवा इत्यर्थः । तसिद्धाद्यर्थ-निर्देशाभावादतिशायन इत्यादीनां प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वादिति भावः ॥ See P. V., 3, 7 and 55). See also Par. CXIII.

2. न्यायेति । यो यत्र स तद्धर्मभागेति लौकिकन्यायेत्यर्थः । P.

changed), do not take their gender and number from those original bases (from which they are derived)<sup>1</sup>.

The fact that (Pāṇini) has stated in the rule V., 4, 14 (that भञ् shall be added to bases in णच्) स्त्रियाम् i. e. 'in the feminine,' indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; if) on the other hand (the Paribhāshā did not exist), that (स्त्रियाम् in P. V., 4, 14) would serve no purpose, because (णच्) by P. III., 3, 43 can be added only in the feminine, (and because new bases, derived from such bases in णच् by means of भञ्, could accordingly likewise be nothing but feminine). This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on (the rule P. V., 3, 68) which teaches (the addition of) बहुच्.

1. *Sci.* but take a different gender and number.—P. takes प्रकृतिः as a Genitive case (भाषादिनात्; see Vārttika on P. V., 4, 44; Si. Kau. I., pag. 727).

2. See also the Bhāshya on P. V., 4, 14; also on P. V., 3, 67 आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति यदयं णच्ः स्त्रियामञ् [५.४.१४] इति स्त्रीग्रहणं करोति ॥ यद्येतद्भाष्यते बहुगुडो द्राक्षा बहुतेलं प्रसन्ना बहुपयो यवागूरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नाप्यतिवर्तन्ते ॥ ; on P. V., 3, 68 स्वार्थिकोऽयं स्वार्थिकाश्च प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यनुवर्तन्ते । एवं तदिह सिद्धे सति यत्तुग्रहणं करोति तद्भाष्यत्याचार्यः स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गुडकल्या द्राक्षा तैलकल्या प्रसन्ना पयस्कल्या यवागूरित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXIV.

One might say that (in the Feminine of सुपथिन् which occurs) in सुपथौ नगरी, and is quoted in the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on the rule P. VII., 1, 1, (the Samāsānta-affix) क्त् should have been added by P. V., 4, 152. (The author of the Paribhāṣhā) says therefore :

P. LXXXIV : A rule which teaches the addition of a *Samāsānta*-affix<sup>2</sup> is not universally valid.

The fact that the word राजन् is enumerated amongst (the words) भञ्ज् etc. (on P. VI., 2, 193), to the end that (a Tatpurusha compound which begins with प्रति and ends with राजन्)<sup>3</sup> may be antodātta by P. VI., 2, 193, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāṣhā. If) on the other hand (the Paribhāṣhā did not exist), the (enumeration of राजन् amongst the words भञ्ज् etc.) would serve no purpose, because (a Tatpurusha ending in राजन्) would be antodātta already because it would end in (the affix) टच्, (which in that case would invariably have to be added by P. V., 4, 91).<sup>4</sup> This (Paribhāṣhā) is found in the Bhāṣhya on the accent-rule P. VI., 2, 197.

1. See the Extract from the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 1 on Par. LXXII., (above pag. 374) and the following remarks of Nāgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyaṭa's comment: नन्वृकूर [५.४.७४] इति समासान्ते सति टाणि सुपथेति भाष्यमत आह । न पूजनादिति ॥ वस्तुतः षचः (See P. V., 4, 113) प्राचिनेभ्येव स (i.e. P. V., 4, 69) इति सिद्धान्तादिनः स्त्रियाम् [५. ४. १५२] इति कयो दुर्वोरनादिवं चिन्त्यम् । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात्तदभाव इत्युचितम् ॥

2. See P. V., 4, 68 etc.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 645.

3. I. e. प्रतिराजन्, Si. Kau. II., pag. 609.

4. I. e. we should be obliged to form प्रतिराजन्+टच् = प्रतिराज and this would be antodātta by P. VI., 1, 163. The enumeration of राजन् amongst the words भञ्ज् etc. shows that टच् is sometimes not added to प्रतिराजन् and indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhāṣhā.



Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 2, 197:

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद<sup>०</sup> । किमिदं मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणमाहोस्विन्नकारान्त-  
ग्रहणम् । कश्चात् विशेषः । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारा-  
न्तस्योपसंख्यानम् । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारान्तस्योप-  
संख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्विमूर्धा त्रिमूर्धा । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् ।  
नकारान्तेऽकारान्तस्य । नकारान्ते सत्यकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।  
द्विमूर्धः त्रिमूर्धः । उदात्तलोपात्तिद्वम् । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् ।  
अन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते लोपः । उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् ॥ इदमिह संप्रधा-  
र्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं कियतां लोप इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्लोपः ।  
एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं कियतां समासान्त इति किम-  
त्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वम् । नित्यः समासान्तः कृतेऽप्यन्तोदा-  
त्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अन्तोदात्तत्वमपि नित्यं कृतेऽपि समासा-  
न्ते प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्यमन्तोदात्तत्वम् । न हि कृते समा-  
सान्ते प्राप्नोति परत्वाल्लोपेन भवितव्यम् । भवत्येव लोपः । यस्य च  
लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्त्यते न तदनित्यं न च समासान्त एवान्तो-  
दात्तत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्ति । अवश्यं लक्षणान्तरं लोपः प्रतीक्ष्यः । उभ-  
योर्नित्ययोः परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वमन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तः । टिलोपः ।

1. Kaiyaṣa: किमिदमिति । ननु चाकारान्तनिर्देशो मूर्धेष्विति भाग्यमिति द्वैतानुपप-  
त्तिः । उच्यते । न शब्दाश्रयं द्वैतं किंतु कार्यभेदाश्रयम् । यदा समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयते  
नित्यश्च समासान्त इति पक्षस्तदाकारान्तग्रहणमेव सामर्थ्याद्वति । यदा तूत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्त-  
त्वमिति पक्षस्तदा कृतेऽपि समासान्ते तस्योत्तरपदेऽनन्तर्भावान्नकारान्तस्य स्वरविधिरिति पक्षोऽ-  
वतिष्ठते ॥ नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानमिति । समासश्चेत्कार्यं नित्यश्च समासान्तस्तदा नकारा-  
न्तस्य साधुत्वं स्वरक्षोपसंख्येय इत्यर्थः ॥ द्विमूर्ध इति । यदोत्तरपदस्य कार्यित्वं तदा कृते स-  
मासान्त उत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयमानं प्रत्ययस्य न प्राप्नोति ॥ उदात्तलोपादिति । उ-  
त्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वे सति शेषनिघातेन प्रत्ययांऽनुदात्तस्तनानुदात्तस्य च यतोदात्तलोपः  
[६.१.२६१] इति प्रत्ययस्थोदात्तत्वं सिद्धमित्यर्थः ॥ परत्वाल्लोप इति । तत्त्वोदात्तलोपो  
न भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ एवं तर्हीदमिहोति । यदा कृते समासे समासान्तः कियत इति पक्षस्तदेयं

टिलोपे कृत उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् । युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम् । नन्वेनासंदिग्धेन नकारान्तग्रहणेन भवितव्यं यावता मूर्धस्वित्युच्यते यद्यकारान्तग्रहणं स्यान्मूर्धेष्विति ब्रूयात् । सैषा समासान्तार्था विचारणा । एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो विभाषा समासान्तो भवतीति ॥

संप्रधारणा । यदा तु समासार्थादुत्तरपदात्समासान्तः क्रियत इति पक्षस्तदा संप्रधारणैवान्न नास्ति ॥ युक्तं पुनरिति । ननु कृतेऽपि समासान्ते नकारान्त एव मूर्धशब्द उत्तरपदं संभवतीति किमत्रायुक्तम् । एवं मन्यते । यथा ग्राह्यद्वितीयादिना समासान्तनिर्देश एव मूर्धेष्विति समासान्तनिर्देश एव न्यायः । एवं ह्यसदिग्धं समासस्य कार्यत्वं विज्ञायते । न च कृतं तस्मादुत्तरपदस्यैव कार्यत्वेन भाव्यम् ॥ सैषा समासान्तार्थेति । यदि नित्यः समासान्तः स्यात्तदा कार्यविशेषसंदेहव्यावृत्तये प्रक्रमाभेदाय वा समासान्त एवोच्चार्येत । तदनुच्चारणानु समासान्तस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञाप्यते । तत्र यदा समासान्तो नास्ति तदा समासस्योत्तरपदस्य वा कार्यत्वे विशेषाभावो यदा तु समासान्तः क्रियते तदा समासस्य कार्यत्वे सिद्धं समासान्तस्योदात्तत्वं यदाप्युत्तरपदस्य कार्यत्वं तदा परन्नादन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तस्तत्र टिलोप इत्युदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेणापि सिद्धम् । ननु प्रत्ययस्वरेण समासान्तस्य भाव्यम् । नैतदस्ति बहुव्रीहिस्वरेण तस्य बाधनाद्बहुव्रीहिस्वरेण व्याप्यनेन ॥

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ LXXXV.

One might say that, when *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. of शत, (from शत+इ, the augment) नुम् has (by P. VII., I, 72) been added (to शत, *i. e.* when शत+इ has been changed to शतन्+इ, शतन्) ought (by P. I., 1, 24) to be termed *Shash*, and that then (the termination इ) would have to be dropped (by P. VII., 1, 22); similarly, (one might say that,) when in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Aor. Âtm. of उप-दीङ् (from उप-अदी+स्त) आ has (by P. VI., 1, 50) been substituted (for the ई of दी, *i. e.* when अदी+स्त has been changed to अदा+स्त,) इ ought by P. I., 2, 17 to be substituted (for that आ,<sup>1</sup> and that

1. *Viz.* because दा would be termed घृ.

then the स् of स्त would have to be elided by P. VIII., 2, 27. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXXV : (That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).

संनिपात 'a combination' is the junction of two (things ; that which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is caused by such (a combination), does not cause (the application of) another (rule) which would destroy that combination.<sup>1</sup> This<sup>2</sup> (Paribhāshā) is founded on the maxim that one must not be hostile to that to which one owes one's existence ; (and because

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1. Accordingly the addition of the augment नुम् to ज्ञत्, which is caused by the combination ज्ञत्+इ, does not cause the application of P. I., 1, 24 by which ज्ञत्न् would be termed *shash*, because, if ज्ञत्न् were termed *shash*, the termination इ would have to be elided by P. VII., 1, 22, and because by that elision the combination ज्ञत्+इ would be destroyed. (See Mahābhāshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 503 ; Si. Kau. I., pag. 162, and Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 24).—Similarly, the substitution of आ for the ई of दी, which is caused by the combination दी+स्, does not cause the application of P. I., 2, 17 by which इ would be substituted for आ, because this substitution would necessitate the application of P. VIII., 2, 27 which would destroy the combination दी+स्. If however a Vārttika on P. I., 1, 20 be adopted by which दीङ्, so far as regards the rule P. I., 2, 17, is not to be termed घृ, then the present Paribhāshā is not necessary for the formation of उपादास्त. (Mahābh. pag. 502.) See also Bhāshya on P. I., 1. 20.

2. Pag. 85, l. 17—87, l. 2 Nāgojibhaṭṭa discusses the meaning of the term संनिपात, and that of the whole Paribhāshā ; pag. 87, l. 3—14 he refutes certain objections by stating that the Paribhāshā is not universally valid ; pag. 87, l. 15—88, l. 12 he guards against too narrow a

it is founded on this maxim),<sup>1</sup> therefore the word संनिपात 'a combination' denotes here not merely the junction of something preceding and something following,<sup>2</sup> but also the combination of something qualified with something that qualifies it.<sup>3</sup> It is because the latter (is really the case),<sup>4</sup> that even<sup>5</sup> when (by P. I., 2, 47) a short vowel has been substituted in the neuter (for the final) *e. g.* (of ग्रामणी) in ग्रामणि कुलम्, (the augment) तुक्, (the addition of) which is taught in P. VI., 1, 71, is not (added to ग्रामणि, *viz.*) because the short (vowel इ), as it owes its origin to the fact that to the term प्रातिपदिक (in P. I., 2, 47) is joined the (qualifying) circumstance 'ending in a vowel,'<sup>6</sup> cannot cause (the application of P. VI., 1, 71) by which (ग्रामणि) would cease to be (a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.) If तुक् were added (to ग्रामणि, the

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sense being assigned to the Paribhâshâ and makes so its meaning still clearer; and from pag, 88, l. 13 he enumerates in accordance with the Bhâshya all cases in which the Paribhâshâ ought not to be applied.

1. Others have maintained that the existence of the Paribhâshâ is indicated by a *Jnâpaka*; if such were really the case, संनिपात would not denote a विशेष्यविशेषणसंनिपात because such a संनिपात does not exist in the rule or rules which have been supposed to be *Jnâpaka*.

2. *E. g.* शत+इ above.

3. *E. g.* भदन्तं प्रातिपदिकम् 'a Prâtipadika+ending in अ' in P. IV., 1, 95. See below.

4. अत एव *i. e.* विशेष्यविशेषणभावसंबन्धस्यापि ग्रहणादेव. P.

5. In compounds like ग्रामणिकुल, which will be mentioned below, the substitution of a short vowel for the इ of ग्रामणी is caused by the second member कुल etc., or, in other words, by 'the junction of something preceding and something following;' but in the neuter ग्रामणि it is caused by the *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha* 'a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.'

6.. प्रातिपदिकाजन्तत्वंसंनिपातेन *i. e.* प्रातिपदिकस्याजन्तत्वरूपविशेषणेन यः संबन्धस्तेन. P.

latter) would evidently cease to end in a vowel.—Nor (can one maintain that) the short (vowel which is substituted for the final of ग्रामणी), is *bahiranga* because (its substitution) depends on the meaning (of ग्रामणी),<sup>1</sup> and on that account *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of the augment तुक्);<sup>2</sup> for it has been stated that (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;<sup>3</sup> moreover, in consequence of the (तुक् in the) rule P. VI., 1, 86, and because (Pāṇini) has employed the words कृति तुक् (in VIII., 2, 2)<sup>4</sup> Par. L. has no concern (with an operation which would by it be *asiddha*) in regard to the addition of (the augment) तुक्.<sup>5</sup>

It is just because (the word संनिपात of this Paribhāshā) denotes any combination whatsoever,<sup>6</sup> that the author of the Vārttikas,<sup>7</sup> when pointing out the faults (which would arise from an unrestricted application) of the present Paribhāshā, has stated that '(if the Paribhāshā were universally valid), an affix depending on a letter would not cause the disappearance of that

1. I. e. on the circumstance that ग्रामणी is neuter.

2. *Scil.* and that we therefore do not want the present Paribhāshā for the sake of ग्रामणि, and that the word संनिपात in it need accordingly not denote a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*.

3. See above pag. 224.

4. See above pag. 268 ; 276 ; 232.

5. See Kaiyaṣa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa in Mahābhāshya pag. 500.

6. सर्वविध° i. e. उभयविध° P.

7. वार्तिककृतोक्तमिति । सिद्धान्तितेति शेषः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.—See Mahābhāshya pag. 504 : तस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात् । क । अत इच्च [४.१.२५] । दाक्षिः । न प्रत्ययः संनिपातलक्षणः । भङ्गसंज्ञा तर्कानिमित्तं स्यात् ॥

letter'.<sup>1</sup> When subsequently, on the ground that (the addition of) the affix (in the case of दाक्षि) is certainly not caused by the combination of something preceding and something following, while such (a combination) only is supposed to be denoted by the word संनिपात, it is suggested that '(the addition of) the affix is not caused by a संनिपात,' and when, this having been actually admitted, (the preceding statement is put differently in this form *viz.*) that '(if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid) the term *Anga* would not become the cause (of the disappearance of a letter that forms part of the *Anga*),<sup>2</sup>—all this does not speak against the correctness of the preceding (statement of the) Bhâshya (वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.), because it is brought forward by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case. Moreover, if (the words वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.) were really (equivalent to भङ्गसंज्ञा वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात्), the word वर्णाश्रयः 'depending on a letter' would be superfluous, because (in that case) the term *Anga* ought (in the same manner) not to become the cause of the elision (of a letter of the *Anga*) also in (the formation of)

1. In दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि, इञ् is by P. IV., 1, 95 added to दक्ष because दक्ष is 'a Prâtipadika ending in अ.' Now it has been stated in the Bhâshya that, if the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the affix इ would not cause the application of P. VI., 4, 148, because the Prâtipadika to which इ has been added would by that rule cease to end in अ. This shows that संनिपात has in the Bhâshya been considered to denote also a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*, for otherwise the Paribhâshâ would not in the manner stated have been applicable in the case of दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि.

2. I. e. when दक्ष is combined with the affix इञ्, दक्ष is termed *Anga* by P. I., 4, 13; this term *Anga* can by the present Paribhâshâ not cause the elision of the final अ of दक्ष by P. VI., 4, 148, because the combination दक्ष+इञ् would be destroyed thereby.

औव, गार्ग्य, वेनतेय etc. (the affixes of which are not dependent on a letter).<sup>1</sup>

Some maintain that in the case of ग्रामणिकुञ्ज, ग्रामणियुञ्ज etc. (from ग्रामणी+कुञ्ज, ग्रामणी+युञ्ज etc.), where the substitution (by P. VI., 3, 61) of a short vowel (for the ई of ग्रामणी) is caused by the second member (कुञ्ज etc. of the compound), it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 39 and on the rule<sup>2</sup> P. VI., 1, 71 has accounted for the non-addition of तुक् (to ग्रामणि) by means of Par. L., assuming (while doing so) that it somehow<sup>3</sup> is possible to account for the absence of तुक् also by that Paribhāshā; and that for this very reason (*viz.* because it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who has made use here of Par. L.) it has been stated by the author of the Vārttikas on P. I., 1, 39 that the (non-addition of तुक् in ग्रामणिकुञ्ज etc.) results (not from Par. L. but) from the (present) Paribhāshā.<sup>4</sup>

It is characteristic of the present (Paribhāshā, that it is applicable) wherever (the application of) a rule may be occasioned by the combination (of two things.—The meaning which) results from it, is this that (a rule or operation the application or taking effect of which is occasioned by the combination of two things) does not become the cause of (the application of) another rule (the taking effect of) which would destroy that combination which, (existing) be-

1. See P. IV., 1, 112; 105; and 120.

2. See Mahābhāshya pag. 499, and above pag. 275.

3. *Viz.* when Par. LI. is rejected.

4. Really the statement in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 39 and VI., 1, 71 need not be *Ekades'yukti*, because the non-addition of तुक् may well be accounted for in two ways.

fore the taking effect of the former (rule), was the cause of its (application).

Now<sup>1</sup> one might say: '(If) then (this Paribhāshā did really exist, the final of) *e. g.* (राम) ought not to have been lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102 in the Dat. Sing. रामाय (from राम+ङे = राम+य); for (here) the substitute य (for ङे) ought, as it owes its substitution to the combination of the base (राम) ending in short अ with (the termination) ङे, not (to have caused the application of the rule P. VII., 3, 102, because the latter by destroying the final अ of राम) destroys that (combination). Nor<sup>2</sup> can one object "that the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of राम), because it depends on the circumstance that (the termination) should commence with (one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra) यञ्, is *bahiranga*, and therefore

1. The sentence commencing with नन्वेवं ends with इति चेत् in l. 13. The objection that, if the Paribhāshā did really exist, it ought to have prevented the lengthening of the final of राम in the Dat. Sing., is refuted by the statement that the Paribhāshā is not universally valid.

2. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: संनिपातलक्षणविधित्वस्य लिङ्गत्वे तादृशविबिनिमित्तमे-  
वैतत्परिभाषायामपि निमित्तमिति ङेसंनिपातनिमित्तकृतयदेशस्यान्तरङ्गस्य दृष्ट्याधिकारेक्षदी-  
र्घस्यासिद्धत्वाच्च परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरित्याशयेन शङ्कते । न च यत्रादित्वेति ॥ बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा-  
याः प्रवृत्तिमभ्युपेक्ष्यापि समाभत्ते । आरोपितेति ॥ वस्तुतस्तु बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाया विषय एव  
नैत्याशयेनाह । किंचेति ॥

The objection which is refuted in the following is this :

'In राम+ङे the *yādes'a* and this Paribhāshā are *antaranga*;

In राम+य the *Dirgha* is *bahiranga*.

The object of the Par. is to prevent the destruction of a *Samnipāta*; if now the Par. is *antaranga*, and the *Dirgha* *bahiranga*, the latter does, so far as regards the Par., not exist; consequently there is (in रामाय) no destruction of a *Samnipāta* which the Par. could have prevented, and the Par. cannot be applicable at all in the formation of रामाय.'



*asiddha*, and that consequently there is here no destruction of a combination (which the present Paribhāshā could prevent).” For though (the substitution of long आ when it once has taken place) might be looked upon as *asiddha*, as a matter of fact the present (Paribhāshā) has to be applied when a combination is about to be destroyed (i. e. at a time when the *Dirgha*, which was supposed to be *asiddha* in regard to it, does not exist yet). Besides, although something *bahiranga* is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* is (still) to take effect, there is nothing to prove that it is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* has taken effect (already).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, if the present (Paribhāshā) were not applicable whenever the (actual) destruction of a combination might be regarded as not having taken place, (then it would not be applicable) e. g. in (the formation of the Voc. Sing.) गौरि (from गौरि+सु = गौरि+सु)<sup>2</sup> because, the elision of the Vocative (termination सु) being regarded as *sthānivat* (i. e. सु

1. The substitution of long आ in रामाय can accordingly not be *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhāshā, and the latter, if it did really exist, ought to have prevented it.

2. In गौरि+सु इ is by P. VII., 3, 107 substituted for the ई of गौरि before the Voc. termination सु; we obtain thus गौरि+सु; subsequently सु is elided by P. VI., 1, 69 because it is preceded by a short vowel. According to the Bhāshya the present Par. is applicable in this case and ought to have prevented the elision of सु; but it has not been applied because it is not universally valid. If however the elision of सु could have been regarded as *sthānivat* i. e. सु as still present so far as regards the Par., the latter would not have been applicable at all in this case because there would have existed no destruction of a *Samnipāta* which it could have prevented, and the Bhāshya, according to which it ought to have been applied, would be incorrect.

as still present), the combination (गौरि+सु) which has caused (the substitution of) the short (इ), might have been (regarded as) not destroyed; in that case however the Bhāṣya on the rule P. I., 1, 39 which maintains that (although the Paribhāṣhā is really applicable in the formation of गौरि etc.) it ought (nevertheless) not to be applied there (because it is not universally valid), would be incorrect.<sup>1</sup> Should one object that (an operation) cannot be *sthānivat* in regard to a *Samnipāta* because the latter is not taught in grammar,<sup>2</sup> then one must show also how (an operation)<sup>3</sup> can be *asiddha* in regard to it, especially as it has been clearly stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11, that (an operation) cannot be *asiddha* in regard to something that is not taught in grammar, (a statement) which moreover proves that the present Paribhāṣhā can certainly prevent the taking effect even of such operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar (*viz.* because according to it such operations cannot be *asiddha* in regard to this Paribhāṣhā).

(This objection concerning रामाय) would be untenable, because the fact that (Pāṇini) has put down कष्टाय in III., 1, 14, shows that the present (Paribhāṣhā) is not universally valid.<sup>4</sup>

1. If the elision of the सु after गौरि cannot be regarded as *sthānivat*, the substitution of long आ in रामाय can also not be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Par., and the latter ought to have prevented it.

2. *Sci.* and that the statement of the Bhāṣya concerning गौरि need therefore not be incorrect even when the lengthening of the अ in रामाय is regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhāṣhā.

3. Such as the substitution of long आ in रामाय.

4. *I. e.* Though the Paribhāṣhā is applicable in the formation of रामाय, it has nevertheless not prevented the substitution of आ, because it is not universally valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 33.

It<sup>1</sup> is however not necessary that the two things the combination of which the (taking effect of a) rule would destroy (if its application were not prevented by the present Paribhāshā) should both be specially put down<sup>2</sup> in the rule (the application of) which is occasioned by their combination.<sup>3</sup> When it is suggested in the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39, that in (the formation of) दक्षि (from दक्ष+इञ्) the term *Anga*, which is applicable (to दक्ष) because a base ending with the letter अ is here combined with (the affix) इञ्, ought in consequence of this Paribhāshā not to cause the elision of the अ (of दक्ष),<sup>4</sup> this suggestion is accordingly disposed of by (the remark that this Paribhāshā is) not universally valid. (If on the other hand what we maintain here were incorrect, then the Paribhāshā would not be applicable at all in the formation of दक्षि), because it has not been stated in P. I., 4, 13 that the term *Anga* is assigned to (a base) ending in short अ (before the affix इञ्).

To say, 'that (the author of) the Bhāshya is wrong when he states that in the case of कुम्भकारिभ्यः, आधये (from आधे+ए) etc. (कुम्भकारे, आधे etc.) ought in consequence of (the existence of)

1. See Bhairavamis'ra : भल कश्चित् । ययोः संनिपातस्य विघातकं ज्ञास्त्वं तयोर्न संनिपातनिमित्तकविधावुपादानं तन्नैवैतस्याः प्रवृत्तिः । यथाधये चिकीर्षेव इत्यलानया परिभाषया लुगभावः । अस्ति च संनिपातलक्षणविधौ घेर्ङिति [७.३.१११] इत्यत्र तथेति रामायेत्यत्र न संनिपातपरिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरिति । तन्न । एनामाश्रित्य कुम्भकारिभ्य इत्यत्र दोषाभावप्रतिपादकमाश्रयविरोधात् । तदाह । ययोरित्यादि ॥

2. उपादानम् i. e. विशिष्योपादानम्. P.

3. As is the case e. g. in P. VII., 3, 111 where षि and ङित् are actually put down, and where, when P. VII., 3, 111 has taken effect (i. e. when e. g. चिकीर्षे + ए has been changed to चिकीर्षे + ए), the Par. prevents the application of P. I., 1, 39 which would cause the elision of the termination ए.

4. See above pag. 413.

this Paribhāṣhā not to be termed *avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 39); that in consequence of this Paribhāṣhā लुक् ought not to be (substituted for the terminations भ्यः, ए etc.),<sup>1</sup> but that (कुम्भकारे, आधे etc.) might certainly be termed *avyaya*, because the combinations (कुम्भकार+भ्यः, आधि+ए etc.) would be destroyed by the substitution of लुक् (for भ्यः, ए etc.), but *not* by (the assignment to कुम्भकारे, आधे etc. of) the term *avyaya*; that the result however of (कुम्भकारे etc.) being termed (*avyaya*) would be (the possibility of inserting in them) भकच् (by P. V., 3, 71),<sup>2</sup>—would not be correct. For no fault (can be found with the above statement that कुम्भकारे etc. in consequence of the existence of this Paribhāṣhā cannot be termed *avyaya*), because on the authority of the Bhāṣhya when it gives those examples<sup>3</sup> (कुम्भकारेभ्यः etc.), the meaning (of the Paribhāṣhā is this) that (a rule or operation) does not cause (the application of another rule or operation) which would *directly* or *indirectly* destroy that combination by which its own (application) was occasioned; hereby the opinion that भकच् may be (inserted in कुम्भकारेभ्यः, आधये etc.)<sup>4</sup> is refuted.—Nor can one say that (when) on the Kāryakālapakṣha<sup>4</sup> (the *Avyaya-samjñā*-rule P. I., 1, 39 has united itself both with the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc., and with P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of भकच्,) the term *avyaya*, so far as it would be united with (the rule P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of) भकच्, might be (assigned to कुम्भकारे, आधे etc.), although it could (in consequence of this

1. *Viz.* because it is the addition of भ्यः and ए to कुम्भकार and आधि which has caused the substitution of ए for the final vowels of the latter. (P. VII., 3, 103; and 111).

2. एतदुदाहरणं ° i. e. भकञ्जहितोक्तोदाहरणं ° P.

3. *Viz.* because कुम्भकारे etc. are termed *avyaya* by P. I., 1, 39.

4. See Par. III.

Paribhāshā) not be (assigned to them) so far as it would be united with (the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of) लुक्;<sup>1</sup> for the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आधे etc.), being *bahiranga* in regard to the *antaranga* term (*avyaya*) united with भक्च्, would be *asiddha* in regard (to the latter);<sup>2</sup> on the other hand<sup>3</sup> (the term *avyaya*) united with लुक् is not *antaranga* in regard to the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आधे etc.) because both are dependent on the same formal cause *viz.* the case-terminations (ए, भ्यः etc.).

Owing to the fact that (Pāṇini) has put down (not only कटाव

1. *I. e.* As लुक् would destroy the *Samnipāta* कुम्भकार्+भ्यः, the rule which teaches लुक् cannot take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, cannot be assigned to कुम्भकारे. But as the insertion of भक्च् would not destroy the *Samnipāta*, the rule which teaches it might take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, might be assigned to कुम्भकारे.

2. The rule which teaches भक्च् cannot take effect (and the term *avyaya* which is united with it can consequently not be assigned to कुम्भकारे etc.) because the ए of कुम्भकारे etc., on which its taking effect would depend, is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* in regard to it:

$$\text{कुम्भकार्} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{भ} \\ \text{ए} \end{array} \right\} + \text{भ्यः}.$$

भक्च् is caused by ए; ए is caused by भ्यः; the former is therefore *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*.

3. The rule which teaches the substitution of ए and that which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc. (together with the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc.) have both the same causes, and as we therefore cannot prevent here the substitution of लुक् and the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc. by means of Par. L., we must have recourse to the present Paribhāshā, and must make the latter convey the meaning assigned to it above (साक्षात्परया वा etc.) To show this, Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'on the other hand etc.'

in III., 1, 14, but) also (य and स)<sup>1</sup> in VII., 3, 45, this (Pa-ribhāṣhā) is not universally valid, and it is therefore not applied whenever an incorrect form would result from its application; it is found in the Bhāṣhya on the rule P. I., 1, 39. (The faults) which would arise (from it, if it were applied indiscriminately everywhere, and to avoid which) it must be regarded as not universally valid, have all been enumerated in the Bhāṣhya as follows : (If it were universally valid),

- (a). an affix depending on a letter would not have caused the disappearance of that letter (e. g. in) दाशि ;<sup>2</sup>
- (b). the आ which (by P. VI., 1, 48) is substituted (for the ई of की etc. before the causal-affix णिच्, would not have caused) the addition of the augment कृ (to का etc. by P. VII., 3, 36 e. g. in) कापयति ;
- (c). the augment कृ (which by P. VII., 3, 36 is added to दा etc., would not have caused) the shortening (of the आ of दाप् etc. by P. VII., 4, 1 e. g. in) अदीदपत् ;
- (d). the letter अ (which is substituted by P. VII., 2, 102 for the final) of त्यद् etc. (before the case-affix सु etc. would not have caused) the addition of (the feminine affix) टा<sup>3</sup> (by P. IV., 1, 4 e. g. in) या, सा ;
- (e). the augment इट् which (by P. VII., 2, 67) is prefixed (to the affix वस् after roots ending in आ, would not have caused) the elision of this letter आ (by P. VI., 4, 64 e. g. in) पपिबस् ;
- (f). the *udatta* accent which by P. VI., 1, 176 is assigned to मत्तुप् and by P. VI., 1, 169 to a case-termination (after an *antodatta* base, would not have caused) the latter to lose its

1. See below.

2. See above pag. 412, note 7.

3. *Viz.* because the case-affix सु disappears after टाप्.

*udātta* accent (by P. VI., 1, 158, *e. g.* in) अग्निमत्, परमवाचा;  
 (g.) the short vowel which (by P. VII., 3, 107) is substituted  
 (for the final) of a base termed *nadī* (before the Voc.-  
 termination सु, would not have caused) the elision of the  
 Voc.-termination (सु by P. VI., 1, 69 *e. g.* in) नदि, कुमारि etc.;  
 (h.) the य which (by P. VII., 1, 13) is substituted (for the  
 termination के after a base in short अ, would not have caused)  
 the lengthening (of that अ by P. VII., 3, 102, *e. g.* in)  
 कष्टाय.

Except in these<sup>1</sup> cases (the Paribhāshā) must be applied everywhere, for it has been stated in the Bhāshya (on P. I., 1, 39) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhāshā) have been enumerated in the above. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. Pāyagunda: इतो नवभ्यः । यद्यपीदानीतिनभाष्यपुस्तकेषु चरमवार्त्तिकं (*i. e.* शदेशो दीर्घत्वस्य) न दृश्यते तथापि तद्भ्रष्टमिति बोध्यम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उह्योतादौ. P.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 94; 142; II., pag. 45; 220; 360. Bhāshya on P. II., 4, 81; III., 1, 36; VII., 2, 101; VII., 3, 116; VIII., 2, 2 (see above pag. 233).

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXVI.

One might say that, when *e. g.* the affix अण् has by P. IV., 2, 24 been added to पञ्चैन्द्राणी, and when subsequently this अण् (of पञ्चैन्द्राणी+अण्) has been elided by P. IV., 1, 88, and when (in consequence of this elision) the feminine affix (कीप् of इन्द्राणी) has likewise been elided by P. I., 2, 49, the augment भान् (which by P. IV., 1, 49 had been added to इन्द्र to form इन्द्राणी) ought to remain audible (in the adjective formed in this manner. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXXVI : When of two things which are taught together one disappears,<sup>1</sup> then the other disappears likewise.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that (Pāṇini) has put down *उस्य* in the rule VI., 4, 153, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā) ; for the object of *उस्य* is, by teaching us that *उ* alone shall be elided, to show that (the augment) *कुक्* (which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to *वित्त्व* etc. when *उ* is affixed to them) shall not disappear (by P. VI., 4, 153).<sup>3</sup> The expression 'वित्त्वक etc.' in P. VI., 4, 153 can only denote the words *वित्त्व* etc. in (the Gaṇa) *नडादि*, after they have received the augment *कुक्*.<sup>4</sup>

Nor can one object that, 'even (if the existence of the Paribhāshā were indicated) in this manner, the word *उस्य* (in P.

1. अन्यतरावाये *scil.* शास्त्रतः प्राप्ते सति. P.

2. *E. g.* when the feminine affix *ऊष्* of *इन्द्राणी* disappears, the augment *आन्* must disappear likewise, because both have been taught together in P. IV., 1, 49.

3. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, *उस्य* would be superfluous, because even without it *कुक्* could by P. VI., 4, 153 have been substituted only for *उ*, because only the latter, but not the augment *कुक्*, follows upon *वित्त्वक* etc.—Now one might say that *उस्य* cannot be *Jñāpaka* because it may serve a purpose even if the Paribhāshā does not exist; as *वित्त्वक* etc. in P. VI., 4, 153 might be bases derived from *वित्त्व* etc. by means of the affix *क*, *उ* may have been put down in that rule in order to prevent the substitution of *कुक्* for some other affix that might be added to those bases *वित्त्वक* etc. Nāgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'The expression.....'

4. *Viz.* because these words present themselves to us immediately when we hear the expression *वित्त्वकादि*. P. VI., 4, 153 would therefore not teach the elision of any other affix than *उ*, even if it did not contain the word *उस्य*.



VI., 4, 153) would still serve no purpose, because the fact that (विल्व etc.) have been put down (in that rule) *with* the augment कुक्, proves by itself sufficiently that that (augment) does not disappear (by it; for) if it were otherwise,<sup>1</sup> (Pāṇini) would have said simply विल्वादिभ्यः,<sup>2</sup> (a rule) which would not have been too widely applicable because it would in accordance with Par. CV. have enjoined (the substitution of) लुक् only for that affix (the addition of which to विल्व is taught in a rule) in which विल्व etc. are expressly mentioned (as receiving it, i. e. for the affix छ which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to the words of the Gaṇa नडादि in which विल्व etc. are actually enumerated)';—for the fact that (विल्वक etc.) have been put down (in P. VI., 4, 153) *with* (the augment) कुक् would serve a purpose (even if the present Paribhāshā did not exist and if कुक् did really disappear), because they would have been put down (*with* कुक्) to prevent (the substitution of) लुक् for (the affix) भण् which by P. IV., 3, 136 is added to विल्व etc. in the sense of 'made of' etc., (a substitution which the supposed rule विल्वादिभ्यः would have enjoined) because (in P. IV., 3, 136 विल्व etc.) are still *more* distinctly mentioned than they are in P. IV., 2, 91 (which teaches the addition of छ to नड etc. to which विल्व etc. belong).<sup>3</sup>

1. अन्यथा i. e. नदनुवादस्य तदनिवर्तकत्वाभावे. P.

2. The sense of which rule would be: विल्वादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुक्.

3. If Pāṇini had said विल्वादिभ्यः in VI., 4, 153, we should have taken these विल्वादि to be the विल्वादि in P. IV., 3, 136, and P. VI., 4, 153 would have taught us the elision of the affix भण् of P. IV., 3, 136. Pāṇini was obliged to say विल्वकादिभ्यः in order to show, that he meant the विल्वादि of P. IV., 2, 91, and he adds छस्य, because otherwise the क् of विल्वक would by the present Paribhāshā have disappeared together with छ. (The affix छ of P. IV., 2, 91 is *pratipadoktu* because the विल्वादि actually stand

Where however (the things which are taught together) are joined by the particle च 'and,' denoting community of reference, there this (Paribhāshā) is established also by a maxim of ordinary life, because (in accordance with the practice of ordinary life) two things enjoined (in this manner) can exist only at one and the same time and in one and the same place.

When Kaiyaṭa<sup>1</sup> however on the rule P. VI., 4, 155 states : 'The fact<sup>2</sup> that (the Varttika) णाविष्ठत् (प्रातिपदिकस्य) is made to enjoin that (a Prātipadika before णि) takes its masculine form, is meant to indicate that the present (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid; otherwise to enjoin this would have been clearly superfluous; as soon namely as in the formation of a nominal

among the नडादि to which छ is added by that rule; but the affix भण् of IV., 3, 136 is even *more pratipadokta* because the very word विल्वादि is actually put down in the latter rule).—The correct interpretation of P. VI., 4 153 is according to Pāyagunda this : भाविकुगागमकविल्वादिशब्दपु-  
रस्कारेण विहितस्य च्छस्य लृक्.

See for the above the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 153 where this Paribhāshā is read thus : संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराभाव उभयोरप्यभावः.—Bhāshya on P. IV., 1, 36 संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराप्राय उभयोरप्यप्रायः । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्ताभ्यामिदं कार्यं कर्तव्यं देवदत्ताप्राये यज्ञदत्तोऽपि न करोति । (Kaiyaṭa : लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः । एकैकस्मिन्प्रयोजने येषां सहाधिकारस्तत्रान्यनरनिवृत्तावितरनिवृत्तिः); similarly on P. V., 1, 64.

1. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 155 : णाविष्ठत्प्रातिपदिकस्य । णौ प्रातिपदिकस्येष्वद्वावो वक्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्वावरभावटिलोप्यणादियरार्थम् । पुंवद्वावार्थम् । एनीमाचष्ट एतयति ॥

Kaiyaṭa : एतयतीति । तसिल्लादिनादिष्ठे पुंवद्वावो विहित इति णावपि भवति । टिलोपेनैव संनियोगशिष्टानाजकारनिवृत्तौ सिद्धायां पुंवद्वचनं संनियोगशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेन इत्येतेन इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

2. P. IV., 1, 39 teaches that *c. g.* एत receives in the feminine the affix ङीप्, and that at the same time न् is substituted for त्. Kaiyaṭa

verb *e. g.* from एनी (the feminine affix) ङीप् of the latter would disappear by the elision of the final vowel, the न् (of एनी which has been taught together with ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 39) would likewise disappear again by the present Paribhāshā (if it were universally valid), and we should thus arrive at the correct form एतयति (even if the above Vārttika did not enjoin that a Prātipadika before णि takes its masculine form);—this is incorrect. For it is necessary that the above Vārttika should enjoin that a Prātipadika before णि takes its masculine form (even when the present Paribhāshā is universally valid) because we can only thus account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडविडयति<sup>1</sup> 'he names Idabid' (from इडविड् 'a female descendant of Idabid.') The forms ऐनेय, इयेनेय etc. (derived from एनी, इयेनी etc.) however are accounted for by the circumstance that (the elision of the feminine affix

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maintains now, that, if the present Paribhāshā were universally valid, it would only have been necessary to teach that the ई of एनी disappears before णि, because by the Paribhāshā the न् of एनी would have to disappear again together with ई; and that, when it has been stated besides on P. VI., 4, 155, that एनी before णि must take its mascul. form एत, this proves that the Paribhāshā cannot be universally valid. He further states that by adopting this view concerning the Paribhāshā we can account for the formation of *e. g.* इयेनेय (from इयेनी), in which न् has not disappeared together with ई.

1. It would be impossible to account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडविडयति (from इडविड्, the Fem. of ऐडविड) if it had not been stated on P. VI., 4, 155, that before णि a Prātipadika must take its mascul. form.

See Ohitprabhā: तत्तेडविडोऽस्यमित्यर्थे जनपदशब्दात्त्रियादञ् [४.१.१६८] इत्युपपत्तश्च [४.१.१७७] इति स्त्रियां लुकीडविडशब्दो हलन्तो निष्पन्नः । तस्मात्प्रातिपदिकादिति णिञि पुंनङ्गादेन लुमिन्नुत्तविडविडयतीति प्रयोगो भवति । अन्यथेडविडयतीति प्रयोगापत्तिः ॥

ङीप् of the latter) is *sthānivat*; <sup>1</sup> more hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. If the elision of the ई of एनी is regarded as *sthānivat*, i. e. ई as still present, there is no reason why न् should disappear by the present Paribhāshā.

2. अन्यत्तु i. e. स्थानिवत्सूत्रे विवरणे श्रेयरे च. Chitprabhā.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXVII.

One might say that, when (the affix) ण has by P. IV., 4, 61 and 62 been added e. g. to चुरा (and when in this manner चौर) 'one whose habit is to steal' (has been formed), there exists no rule by which to account for (the addition of the affix) ङीप् (to चौर) in the Feminine. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. LXXXVII : (The same operations) which are occasioned by (the addition of the affix) भण्, take place whenever (the affix) ण is added in the sense of 'one whose habit is that' (or related to that which is denoted by the base to which ण is added).<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the word कामे (derived from कर्मन् by the addition of ण) has been put down (by Pāṇini) in (the rule) VI., 4, 172,

1. I. e. when ण is added to छल्ल etc. by P. IV., 4, 62.— चौर, derived by the addition of the ण of P. IV., 4, 62 from चुरा, takes therefore by P. IV., 1, 15 ङीप् in the Feminine, just as if it had been formed by means of the affix भण्.

Of. Bhairavamis'ra : ननु ज्ञापय च्छल्लादिभ्योऽणित्येव कुतो न सूत्रितमिति चेत् । न । ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र [१०११६] इत्येतद्विषयलसूचनात् । तेन चास्तेत्यपि सिध्यति ॥

in order to show that (the अन् of कर्मन् before ण) does contrary to P. VI., 4, 167 not remain unchanged, indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup> Modern<sup>2</sup> (grammarians) say that one reason for (adopting) the present (Paribhāshā) is this that we can account by it also for (the addition of the affix) क्त्वं of P. IV., 1, 156, to a base ending in ण added in the sense of 'whose habit is that.'<sup>3</sup> As it has been stated (in the Paribhāshā that ण must have been added in the sense of) 'whose habit is that,' (the Paribhāshā does not apply) when ण is added by P. IV., 2, 57, (and the Fem. of दाण्ड can therefore) only be दाण्डा.<sup>4</sup> (The Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 172.

1. कर्मन् receives ण by P. IV., 4, 62. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would not apply to कर्मन् + ण and कर्म would be formed regularly by P. VI., 4, 144, i. e. the rule P. VI., 4, 172 would be entirely superfluous. But as the Par. does exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would have been applied also in the case of कर्मन् + ण, if Pāṇini had not put down कर्म in VI., 4, 172.—See the Bhāshya on this rule.

2. नञ्वाः i. e. दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. According to Nāgajibhaṭṭa this is incorrect, because the अण् of P. IV., 1, 156 is not (like अण् in P. IV., 1, 15 or VI., 4, 167) अण् generally, but is the particular अण् which denotes 'a descendant,' and because by Par. Ol. operations that may be occasioned by such a particular अण्, cannot be assigned to ण. P.

4. The ण in this Paribhāshā is only the ण of P. IV., 4, 62, not the ण of e. g. P. IV., 1, 147; 150; IV., 2, 57 etc.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXVIII.

One might say that there can be no reason why e. g. in the Instr. Dat. Abl. Du. of कंसपरिमृज्, Vṛiddhi should not be substi-

tuted (for the ऋ) of मृज् (by P. VII., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

**P. LXXXVIII:** When an operation (dependent on an affix) is taught concerning a root, it takes place (only when the root) is followed by such an affix<sup>1</sup> (as can be added to roots).<sup>2</sup>

The fact that (Pāṇini in VI., 4, 174) has put down औणहन् (in order to show that when व्यञ् by V., 1, 124 is added to भूणहन्) न् is (irregularly) substituted (for the final of the latter), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>3</sup> The reading<sup>4</sup> भातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानम् ('when some individual<sup>5</sup> root is put down in a rule, the operation which concerning that root is taught in the rule, is understood to take place only whenever the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots') however (of this Paribhāshā) has been censured in the Bhāshya (on

1. तत्प्रत्यये i. e. तत्प्रकृतिकप्रत्यये. P.

2. E. g. Vṛiddhi is by P. VII., 2, 114 substituted for the ऋ of मृज् in the Infin. माष्टुम्, but not in the Instr. Du. of कंसपरिमृज् because मृज् is here followed by a case-affix which cannot be added to roots.

3. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, it would have been useless to put down औणहन् in P. VI., 4, 174 because in that case न् would have been substituted for the final न् of भूणहन् before व्यञ् by P. VII., 3, 32 (which would have superseded P. VI., 4, 144).—P. When the author of the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 174 says that the putting down of औणहन् indicates 'तद्धिते परे तत् न भवति' he states thereby merely what results from this Paribhāshā, and Kaiyata's remark 'भातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानमित्यनपेक्ष्य ज्ञापकमुक्तं तदपेक्षायां तत्प्रत्ययसङ्गतत्वं' is therefore incorrect.

4. पाठः scil. वार्तिककृदुक्तः. P.

5. स्वरूप° i. e. विशेष°. P.

P. VII., 2, 114), on the ground that (in accordance with it the augment) अम् might (by P. VI., 1, 59) be inserted (after the radical vowel) *e. g.* in the Instr. Plur. of मृज् (*viz.* because no individual root has been put down in that rule).<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā) decides (the taking place or not taking place only of) those operations which are dependent on affixes,<sup>2</sup> (and the optional) substitution of क् (for the final of नश् which is taught) in P. VIII., 2, 63 does therefore take place *e. g.* in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश्,<sup>3</sup> because it depends (not on an affix but) on the circumstance that (नश्) is the end of a *Pada*. With the rules that teach (the substitution of) इयङ् etc.<sup>4</sup>, however, it has no concern, because the prohibition P. VI., 4, 85 (regarding सुधी shows) that it is not universally valid.<sup>5</sup> It is found in the Bhāshya<sup>6</sup> on P. VII., 2, 114.

1. *SciL.* and because the Paribhāshā would accordingly not be applicable in P. VI., 1, 59.

2. P. The meaning of the Paribhāshā is consequently: प्रत्यये परतो यद्भातोः कार्यमुच्यते तद्भातुसंशब्दनेन विहितप्रत्यये परतो बोध्यम्.

3. प्रनङ्भ्याम् or प्रणभ्याम्.—But the augment नुम् of P. VII., 1, 60 cannot be inserted in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश्; see Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 114: नुमागमस्तु प्रत्ययापेक्षत्वाद्भातुप्रत्यये न भवति.

4. P. VI., 4, 77; the 'etc.' includes यण् (P. VI., 4, 82).

5. If it were universally valid, सुधी would not fall under P. VI., 4, 82 and the prohibition concerning सुधी in VI., 4, 85 would be superfluous.

6. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 2, 114: मृजेवृद्धिः । मृजेवृद्धिविधौ किप्रतिषेधः । मृजेवृद्धिविधौ क्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कंसपरिमृडभ्यां कंसपरिमृडभिः । भातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे वा तत्प्रत्ययविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् । अथवा भातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धं भातुप्रत्यये कार्यं भवतांत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं सृजिदृशिर्मस्तिजनिशिक्षित्तिगिरत्यर्थम् । सृजि । रञ्जुसृडभ्यां रञ्जुसृडभिः (P. VI., 1, 58) । दृशि । देवदृग्भ्यां देवदृग्भिः (VI., 1, 58) । मस्तिज । उदकमग्भ्यामुद-

कमग्भिः (VII., 1, 60) | नशि | प्रनङ्भ्यां प्रनङ्भिः (VII., 1, 60) | हन्ति | वतैर्गो-  
 भ्रौणमः (VII., 3, 32) | गिरि | देवगिरौ देवगिरः (VIII., 2, 21) || यदि स्वरूप-  
 ग्रहण इत्युच्यते प्रसृङ्भ्यां प्रसृङ्भिरनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् [६.१.५९] इत्यग्राप्नो-  
 ति | एवं तर्हीयं परिभाषा कर्तव्या | धातोः कार्यमुच्यमानं तत्प्रत्यये भवतीति | सा तर्हीया  
 परिभाषा कर्तव्या | न कर्तव्या | आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा यदयं भ्रौणहस्ये  
 तत्वं शास्ति ||

Of. also the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 58, VII., 3, 32 and VIII., 2, 22,  
 where we find the reading धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे; also Si. Kau. II., pag. 186.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ LXXXIX.

One might say that, (when अकच् has by P. V., 3, 71 been in-  
 serted) *e. g.* (in सर्व and उच्चैः), सर्वक and उच्चकैः ought not to be term-  
 ed *Sarvanāman* and *Avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 27 and I., 1, 37 respec-  
 tively, because these rules teach only that सर्व and उच्चैः are termed  
*Sarvanāman* and *Avyaya* respectively, and that *e. g.* the Nom.  
 Plur. Masc. of सर्वक ought therefore not to be सर्वकै by P. VII., 1,  
 17. The author of the Paribhāṣhās) says therefore :

P. LXXXIX : (Any term) that may be employed  
 (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is ac-  
 tually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever  
 word-form may result when) something (is) insert-  
 ed in that (which is actually denoted by it).<sup>1</sup>

(P. VII., 1, 11 teaches that in the Instr. Plur. of इदम् and अदस्  
 ऐः shall not be substituted for the termination भिः; when he) in

1. सर्व and उच्चैः in the Ganas on P. I., 1, 27 and 37 denote therefore  
 not only सर्व and उच्चैः, but they denote also सर्वक and उच्चकैः, and the  
 latter are therefore termed *Sarvanāman* and *Avyaya* respectively as well  
 as the former.



the same rule (adds) the prohibition 'अकोः' (meaning, that the rule shall not be applied when इदम् and अदस् have क inserted in them, i. e. in the Instr. Plur. of इदकम् and अदकस्, his doing so) indicates (the existence) of the present (Paribhāshā).<sup>1</sup> In the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 72<sup>2</sup> (the Paribhāshā) is read thus : तदेकदेशभूतं नद्विहणेन गृह्यते ' (any term) that may be employed (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something else has become part of (what is actually denoted by) it.'

1. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, the prohibition अकोः would have no sense, because in that case इदम् and अदस् would not denote also इदकम् and अदकस् and because the latter would consequently not fall under P. VII., 1, 11, even if that rule did not contain the word अकोः.— See Mahābhāshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 787, and the Bhāshya on P. I., 4, 13.—P. adds: If one objects that by adopting the restrictive rule इदमदसोः कात् the अकोः of P. VII., 1, 11 is rejected in the Bhāshya, then the prohibition अकोः in P. VI., 1, 132 may be taken to indicate the existence of this Paribhāshā. See the Bhāshya in the Calcutta Ed. of Pāṇini on P. VII., 1, 11.

2. *Scil.* and on P. I., 4, 13.—In the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 27 and VII., 1, 52 we find तन्मध्यपतितत्वात्.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XC.

One might say that by P. II., 4, 77<sup>1</sup> सिच् ought to be elided (not only in the Aor. Par. of ण, पिबति 'to drink,' but) also in the Aor. Par. of ण, पाति 'to protect,' (and that the latter root

1. *Scil.* which rule teaches that सिच् is elided after ण in the Par.

ought therefore not to form) अयासीत् etc. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. XC : (When there is any doubt) as to (whether a term that may be employed in grammar, should denote a root) that has लृक् for its Vikarāṇa (i. e. a root of the second class), or (a root) which has a Vikarāṇa other than लृक् (i. e. a root of some other class, or both, then that term should be taken to denote only) such a (root) as has a Vikarāṇa other than लृक् (or, in other words, a root which belongs to any but the second class).<sup>1</sup>

The fact that (Pāṇini) in the rule VII., 2, 44 (where he says सूतिसूयति) has put down सू of the second class and सू of the fourth class separately, while (to denote both) he might have said (simply) सूक् (instead of सूतिसूयति), indicates according to Kaiyaṭa (the existence) of this (Paribhāshā.<sup>2</sup> But) this is in-

1. पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes therefore only पा, पितति, but not पा, पाति.—See Par. OVI.

2. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, सूक् would, according to Kaiyaṭa, denote both सू, सूते and सू, सूयते; but as it does exist, सूक् would (so Kaiyaṭa says) in accordance with it have denoted only सूयते, and Pāṇini was therefore obliged to say सूतिसूयति.

See Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 2, 44: अथ किमर्थं सूतिसूयत्योः पृथग्ग्रहणं क्रियते । सुवतेर्मा भूत् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अथ किमर्थमिति । सूग्रहणमेव क्रियतामिति भावः ॥ सुवतेरिति । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति सुवतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । सूङ्ग्रहणेऽपि क्रियमाणे लुग्विकरणालुग्विकरणयोरलुग्विकरणस्यैव ग्रहणमिति सूयतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । अस्याश्च परिभाषायाः सूङ्ग्रहणे कर्तव्ये सूतिसूयतीति भेदेनोपादानमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥

correct; for as (सूक्), because it would have been accompanied (in P. VII., 2, 44 by roots that have Vikaraṇas other than लुक्),<sup>1</sup> would (likewise) have denoted<sup>2</sup> only that (सू) which has a Vikaraṇa other than लुक् (i. e. only सू of the fourth class), the separate mention (in P. VII., 2, 44 of both सू) cannot indicate (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā).<sup>3</sup>

The (existence of the) Paribhāshā is suggested however in the Bhāshya on P. VII., 2, 15. For when it is suggested on P. VII., 2, 15, that (that rule, if it were not restricted,) would forbid (the augment इट्) in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know,'<sup>4</sup> (the author of the Bhāshya) states, that (P. VII., 2, 15) forbids (the addition of इट् to the affix of the Past Pass. Ptc.) after exactly the same (roots) after which (इट् is prefixed) optionally (to some other affix, and that it therefore cannot forbid इट् in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know; for, he says, 'विद्' in P. VII., 2, 68 denotes (the root विद्) which has ञ for its Vikaraṇa'<sup>5</sup> (i. e. विद्, विन्दति 'to find'), and (विद्, वेत्ति) has लुक् for its Vikaraṇa. च 'and' introduces here the reason, (and) the meaning of the (statement of the author of the Bhāshya is therefore) this that, as (विद्, वेत्ति) has the Vikaraṇa लुक्, (विद् in P. VII., 2, 68) denotes, because it stands near विञ्, (that विद्) which has the Vikaraṇa ञ, but does not, because it stands (also) near इन्, denote also विद्, वेत्ति, for

1. Viz. by स्, स्वरति etc.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. Viz. because it would be absolutely necessary even if the Paribhāshā did not exist.

4. Viz. because after विद् इट् is optionally prefixed to क्त्सु by P. VII., 2, 68.

5. My Ms. and the lithographed Edition of the Mahābhāshya read शनिकरणस्य; the right reading शनिकरणस्य is found in the Calcutta Ed. of Pāṇini on VII., 2, 15.

the latter would be contrary to the present Paribhāshā.<sup>1</sup> And it is because (the existence of the Paribhāshā has thus been suggested in the Bhāshya, and is *not* indicated by सूतिसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44) that we read in the Paribhāshā (भलुग्विकरणस्य, and) not लुग्विकरणस्य.<sup>2</sup> *Verbatim* however this (Paribhāshā) is read in the Bhāshya nowhere. On P. II., 4, 77 the author of the Vārttikas says 'that it ought to have been stated that ण (in II., 4, 77) denotes ण, पिबति,' and the author of the Bhāshya, 'that ण wherever it is employed (in Pāṇini's grammar) denotes that (ण) which has not the Vikarāṇa लुक्.'—By Kaiyaṭa (the Paribhāshā) has been distinctly quoted on the rule P. VII., 2, 44.<sup>3</sup>

1. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, विद् in P. VII., 2, 68 would denote both विद् विन्दति, and विद्, वेत्ति, because it stands near a root (*viz.* विञ् ) which has ञ as Vikarāṇa, and also near a root (*viz.* हन् ) which has लुक् as Vikarāṇa; but as the Paribhāshā does exist, विद् denotes in accordance with it only विद्, विन्दति the Vikarāṇa of which is not लुक्, and does not denote विद्, वेत्ति which has the Vikarāṇa लुक्.

2. If सूतिसूयति were really *Jñāpaka*, it might indicate the very reverse of what is taught in the present Paribhāshā, *viz.* that such a term 'should be taken to denote only such a root as has the Vikarāṇa लुक्'.—See Rāghavendrāchārya: भत एवेति । ज्ञापकासिद्धताभावादिवेत्यर्थः । तन्निष्ठत्वे च लुग्विकरणस्यैवेति ज्ञापनेऽपि सूतिसूयत्योः पृथङ्निर्देशस्य सार्थक्यसंभवात्तथापि ज्ञाप्यत इति भावः ॥

3. See above pag. 433, note 2.—Si. Kan. II., pag. 84.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XCI.

One might say that the substitution of a guttural (for the ह् of हि) which is taught in P. VII., 3, 56, ought not to take place (by that rule) *e. g.* in the Desid. of the Causal of हि (for the ह्

of the Causal base हापि, and that forms like प्रजिषायपिषति are consequently incorrect. The author of the Paribhāshā says therefore :

**P. XCI :** A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also whatever (base) may result from the addition to it of (the derivative affix) णि.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that (the substitution by P. VII., 3, 56 of a guttural for the ह् of हि) has by (the term) अचङि 'not before चङ्' in the same rule been (expressly) forbidden (for the Aor. of the Causal of हि), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā);<sup>2</sup> the latter is applicable however only wherever the substitution of a guttural (may be taught in a rule). It is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VII., 3, 56.<sup>3</sup>

1. हि in P. VII., 3, 56 denotes therefore not only the root हि, but also the Causal base हापि derived from हि.

2. *Viz.* because P. VII., 3, 56, even did it not contain अचङि, would not be applicable in the Causal of हि, if the present Paribhāshā did not exist.

3. The Paribhāshā itself is found nowhere in the Bhāshya. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 3, 56 : हेरचङि । अचङीति किमर्थम् । प्राज्ञहियद्वुतम् । हेक्षङि प्रतिषेधानर्थक्यमङ्गान्यत्वात् । हेक्षङि प्रतिषेधो अनर्थकः । किं कारणम् । अङ्गान्यत्वात् । प्यन्तमेतत् । अङ्गमन्यद्ववति । लोपे कृते नाङ्गान्यत्वम् । स्थानिवद्वावादङ्गान्यत्वम् । ज्ञापकं तन्यत् प्यधिकस्य कुतविज्ञानात् । एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत् प्यधिकस्य कुतं भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । प्रजिषायपिषतीत्यत्र कुतं सिद्धं भवति ॥

Kaiyata: अचङीति किमर्थमिति । यस्मिन्हिनोतिरङ्गं तस्मिन्नग्यासे विज्ञायमाने णी हिनीतिरङ्गं चङ्गभ्यास इति कुतं न भविष्यतीति मत्वा प्रश्नः ॥ अन्यत्वेन । सनादावित्यर्थः ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XCII.

One might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Dat. Plur. of युष्मद् (from युष्मद्+भ्यस्), when the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is taken to be भ्यम् and when accordingly भ्यम् has been substituted for भ्यस्, and when further the final (of युष्मद्) has been elided (by P. VII., 2, 90, *i. e.* when युष्मद्+भ्यः has been changed to युष्म+भ्यम्), ए ought to be substituted (for the अ of युष्म by P. VII., 3. 103. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

**P. XCII :** When (an operation which is) taught in the Angādhikāra (P. VI., 4—VII., 4) has taken place and another (operation of the Angādhikāra) is subsequently applicable, (this latter operation) is not allowed to take place.<sup>1</sup>

Besides (being indicated by the fact that Pāṇini in VII., 3, 79 teaches the substitution of जा for ज्ञा and जन्,<sup>2</sup> the existence of) this (Paribhāshā) is indicated by the circumstance that (Pāṇini) in VI., 4, 160 teaches (the substitution of) आ (for the initial of ईयस् after ङ्य; for) otherwise (to teach) this would have been clearly superfluous, because (the right form ङ्यायस्) would

1. *E. g.* When in युष्मद्+भ्यम् the द् of युष्मद् has been elided by P. VII., 2, 90, the final अ of युष्म is not allowed to be changed to ए by P. VII., 3. 103, because the latter rule stands likewise in the Angādhikāra.

2 See Bhāṣya on P. VII., 3, 79 : दीर्घोच्चारणं (in जा) किमर्थं न ज्ञानो-  
जं इत्येवोच्येत । का रूपसिद्धिः । जानाति जायते । अतो दीर्घो यञि [७.३.१०१] इति  
दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदीर्घोच्चारणं करोति तद्व्यापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा  
परिभाषाङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावधिभिरिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापनं प्रयोजनम् । विवर्तेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः  
स न वक्तव्यो भवति ॥

have resulted from (the substitution of) लोप<sup>1</sup> for the letter ई (of ईयस्,) and the (subsequent) lengthening (of the अ of व्य) by P. VII., 4, 25.<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this very (*Jñāpaka*) the (*Paribhāshā*) concerns also such operations of the *Angādhikāra* as would affect different portions (of a word-form).<sup>3</sup> That it is not universally valid, is proved by (the form) द्वयोः<sup>4</sup> which (*Pāṇini*) has put down (in the rules I., 2, 59 and V., 3, 92; and when) in the *Bhāṣya*<sup>5</sup> on the rule P. VII., 1, 30<sup>6</sup> (the *Paribhāshā*) is made to end with the word निष्ठितस्य (meaning, that the second operation is not allowed to take place 'provided the right forms of the language are accomplished' without it), it is made to end so only because (the author of the *Bhāṣya* in

1. लोपः being valid from P. VI., 4, 158.

2. As the *Paribhāshā* does exist, आत् in P. VI., 4, 160 is necessary, because in accordance with it P. VII., 4, 25 could not have taken effect after the substitution of लोप by P. VI., 4, 160.

See *Bhāṣya* on P. VI., 4, 160: किमर्थं व्यात्यरस्येयस आत्त्वमुच्यते न लोपः प्रकृतः सोऽनुवर्तते । का रूपसिद्धिः । व्यायान् । अकृद्यकार इति दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यङ् व्यात्यरस्येयस आत्त्वं ज्ञास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा-  
ज्जवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्ताविविधिरिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । पितृतेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः स न वक्तव्यो भवति ॥

3. *Viz.* because the लोप of P. VI., 4, 160 would have affected the ई of ईयस् and the lengthening by P. VII., 4, 25 the अ of व्य.

4. *Viz.* because in the formation of द्वयोः P. VII., 3, 104 has taken effect after the taking effect of P. VII., 2, 102.

5. See *Bhāṣya* on P. VII., 1, 30: भ्यसोभ्यम् । किमयं भ्यम्शब्द आदेश-  
स्तिदभ्यम्शब्दः । कुतः संदेहः । समानो निर्देशः । किं चातः । यदि तावद्वचमशब्दः शेषे  
लोपश्चान्यस्यैत्वं प्राप्नोति । अथाभ्यम्शब्दः शेषे लोपश्च टिलोप उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोति ।  
यथेच्छसि तथास्तु । अस्तु तावद्वचमशब्दः शेषे लोपश्चान्यस्य । ननु चोक्तमेत्वं प्राप्नोति ।  
नैष दोषः । अज्जवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्ताविविधिरिति सिद्धिरस्येति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्त्वभ्यम्शब्दः शेषे लोपटि-  
लोपः । ननु चोक्तमुदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोतीति । नैष दोषः । उक्तमेतदादौ सिद्धमिति ॥

6. *Scil.* and on P. VII., 3, 78,

that passage) has included (in his statement) whatever may result from the fact that the Paribhāshā is not universally valid.<sup>1</sup>

Some however say : 'The present Paribhāshā (if it were really adopted) would not assist in the formation of any form whatsoever (that could not be formed without it; and) it is for this reason that, when on P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160 the question is raised, as to what would be the object (of the Paribhāshā) in case (its existence were really) indicated (by ञ् and ञ्त् in P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160), the object of it has been stated to be merely, "that it would enable us to dispense with the special rule forbidding the substitution (by P. VII., 3, 86) of Guṇa (for the ळ) of विवृत्ति,<sup>2</sup> the adoption of which had been suggested (on P. VII., 3, 78)," but not (that it would assist in) the formation of certain forms (of the language which could not be formed without it. In view of) this<sup>3</sup> (it) has been stated, that, as has elsewhere been shown, the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is (really) अयम्; that the elision taught in P. VII., 2, 90 must be the elision of the *final* (of युष्मद् etc.); and that, (when युष्मद्+अयस् has accordingly been changed to युष्म+अयम्,)

1. *I. e.* If the correct forms of the language cannot be formed without the second operation, then the latter is, contrary to the present Paribhāshā, allowed to take place; but where it is otherwise, there the Paribhāshā is applied.

2. *Viz.* because by the Paribhāshā P. VII., 3, 86 would not be allowed to take effect after the substitution of विवृत्ति for ञ्त् by P. VII., 3, 78.—If the substitute for ञ्त् is made to end in अ, the Paribhāshā is even here unnecessary, because in that case P. VII., 3, 86 does not apply after the substitution of विवृत्ति by P. VII., 3, 78.

3. *I. e.* In order to show that forms like युष्मद्वयम्, for the formation of which the Paribhāshā was supposed to be necessary, can be formed without it.



the form युष्मभ्यम् results from the substitution by P. VI., 1, 97 of the second अ, (i. e. the initial अ of अभ्यम्, for both the अ of युष्म and the initial अ of अभ्यम्). And such being the case, the Bhāshya on both rules (VI., 4, 160 and VII., 3, 79 according to which भात् and जा in these rules) should indicate (the existence of) this Paribhāshā, and the Bhāshya on the rule P. VII., 1, 30, must be (regarded to contain) the statements of one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter.<sup>1</sup>

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1. According to Pāyagunda some say that Nāgojibhaṭṭa has said केचित् (in केचित् . . भाट्टः) in order to show that he does not approve of this view; but others maintain that केचित् means भाट्टतत्त्वविदः. (See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 170; 171; II., pag. 234; 235.)

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### PARIBHĀSHĀS XCIII., 1-10.

(Some grammarians have said) :

'The circumstance that (Pāṇini) in VI., 4, 146 (ओर्गुणः) has employed (the term) गुण, while he should have said ओरोत्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhāshā) :

P. XCIII., 1 : A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term.

This (Paribhāshā applies) only where the technical term which occurs (in the rule) denotes that which is taught in the latter.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Because such is the case in the *Jñāpaka*-rule P. VI., 4, 146. P. adds that the technical term must be one which has a meaning also in ordinary life.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of Guṇa in) स्वायंभू.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pāṇini in VIII., 4, 16 आनि लोट्) has employed (the term) आनि,<sup>2</sup> while he would have attained his object by saying merely नि लोट्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhāshā):

P. XCIII., 2: A rule which teaches (the addition of) an augment is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of the augment इट्<sup>3</sup> in तर्तुकाम, which occurs in) सागरं तर्तुकामस्य.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pāṇini) in the rule III., 1, 79 (तनादिकृञ्भ्य षः) has put down कृञ्, while (the addition to this root of ष) would have resulted already from the fact that कृञ् is enumerated among the तनादि, indicates (the existence of the Paribhāshā):

P. XCIII., 3: An operation which should affect a (whole) Gana (or class of words) need not necessarily take place.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the presence of the Vikarapa शाप्<sup>4</sup> in विश्वसेत्, which we have in) न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते.

1. Where Guṇa should have been substituted for the ऊ of स्वायंभू by P. VI., 4, 146.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 412; II., pag. 161 (क्षिणु च | उपत्यय-निमित्तो लघूपधगुणः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति न भवतीत्यत्रेयादयः | भवत्येवैत्यन्ये | क्षिणोति क्षेणोति |); pag. 236.

2. In which आ is the augment आट् prefixed to नि by P. III., 4, 92.

3. Which should have been added by P. VII., 2, 35.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 356 (क्षुब्धो राज्ञेति त्वागमशास्त्रस्यानित्यत्वात्).—P. quotes besides अपि शाकं पचानस्य (for पचमानस्य).

4. For which लुक् should have been substituted by P. II., 4, 72.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 121.

Similarly, the circumstance that चक्षिङ्<sup>1</sup> has been distinguished by an indicatory ङ्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhāshā):<sup>2</sup>

P. XCIII., 4: (The rule P. I., 3, 12, so far as it teaches that a root is followed by the) Âtmanepada-(terminations) when it is distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel, is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account e. g. for (the Parasmaipada form स्फायन्,<sup>3</sup> which we have in) स्फायन्निर्गोक्तः.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pāṇini in VI., 1, 158 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्) has employed वर्जम्, while he would have attained his object if, having compounded (एक with) the privative नञ् (changed to अन्), he had simply said अनुदात्तं पदमनेकम्,—indicates (the existence of the Paribhāshā):

P. XCIII., 5: (A rule) which contains (the negative) नञ् is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account for the Vocative सुभू,<sup>4</sup> viz. because (by this Paribhāshā) P. I., 4, 4 is not universally valid.'

But all this is incorrect, because (these Paribhāshās) are not

1. *Scil.* which is *anudāttet* and which would already on that account by P. I., 3, 12 take the Âtmanepada-terminations.

2. *I. e.* If the final ङ् of चक्षिङ् had not been intended to indicate this Paribhāshā, it would have sufficed to put down the root चक्ष् as चक्ष इ. e. with a final *anudātta* अ.

3. From स्फायी which, being *anudāttet*, should have been followed by the Âtmanepada-terminations.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 65; 112; 137.

4. From सुभू which notwithstanding the rule P. I., 4, 4 may be termed *nadī*. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 137.

found in the Bhāshya; because we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jnāpaka*, when (that rule) is not given in the Bhāshya; (and) because the proper manner (to account for the presence) in a rule of grammar of certain letters the purport of which has not been discussed in the Bhāshya, can only be to assume (that they have been placed there for no other reason except in order) that he who may study them should acquire religious merit by doing so.<sup>1</sup>—Moreover, even if (the existence of Par. XCIII., 2) were indicated (by आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16), that आनि would still serve no purpose, because we know of no (Imperative) form which does not contain the augment आ, (and which for the absence of it might have been excluded from P. VIII., 4, 16 by the term आनि of that rule);<sup>2</sup> the presence of the augment आ (in आनि) however should be regarded in the same light as the presence of the term लोट् (in the same rule).<sup>3</sup> This very circumstance (that there is no such Paribhāshā as आगमशास्त्रमनित्यम्) has enabled (the author of the Bhāshya) on P. VII., 3, 70 to state that the word वा 'optionally' of that rule can be dispensed with; even when (the आ of वा etc.) is (always) elided (by P. VII., 3, 70), we shall (still, instead of that radical आ,) have the augment आ, viz., on the alternative that (by P. III, 4, 94) आ is prefixed (to the personal terminations,

1. Cf. herewith above pag. 341.

2. The आ of आनि would serve no purpose even if the existence of Par. XCIII., 2 were indicated by it and if that Paribhāshā were adopted, and it can accordingly not be *Jnāpaka*. See above pag. 2, note 3.

3. I. e. The आ of आनि is as superfluous as लोट् in the same rule; nevertheless both have been put down by Pāṇini in order that he who may read both may acquire religious merit by doing so. See Bhāshya, on P. VIII., 4, 16.

and shall thus arrive at) दधात्; (and when by P. III., 4, 94) अ is prefixed (to the personal terminations, we shall have) दधत्. But, if the rule (P. III., 4, 94) which teaches the addition of the augments (अद् and आद्) were (by the above Paribhāshā) *not* universally valid, and if the augment आद् accordingly were *not* added, we should not be able to account for the formation of दधात् (provided P. VII., 3, 70 did not teach the *optional* elision of the अ of धा etc.); the word वा 'optionally' (in P. VII., 3, 70) would consequently be absolutely necessary, and the statement according to which it may be dispensed with, would clearly be incorrect.<sup>1</sup> The above shows that the statement of some (grammarians) which is recorded by Kaiyaṭa, according to which 'the word वा in P. VII., 3, 70 indicates that a rule which teaches the addition of an augment is not universally valid,' must likewise be received with caution, *viz.* because it is opposed to the Bhāshya in which (वा) has been rejected (as superfluous).—Moreover (कृष् in P. III., 1, 79 cannot indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 3, nor can the इ of चक्षिद् indicate that of Par. XCIII., 4), because according to the Bhāshya (on P. III., 1, 79) कृष् ought to be removed out of the rule III., 1, 79, and because the letter इ in चक्षिद्, by making चक्ष् (a root) that does not end with the indicative letter इ,<sup>2</sup> does serve a purpose (even when it does not indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 4.)

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1. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 3, 70: वेति शक्यमवकुम् । कस्मान्न भवति तद-  
ग्निरग्नये ददात् । अस्त्वत् लोपः । आटः श्रवणं भविष्यति । तेनोभयं भविष्यति । दधद्र-  
ज्ञानि दाशुषे । दधात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: भाष्यकारेण वेति प्रत्याख्यातम् । केचित्त्वनित्यमागमशासनमित्यस्य ज्ञापकं  
वाग्रहणं वर्णयन्ति । अनित्यत्वाच्चस्याट्यसति ददादिति न स्यादिति तत्सिद्धये वाग्रहणं क्रिय-  
माणमेनां परिभाषां ज्ञापयति ॥

2. See P. VII., 1, 58.

The same opinion<sup>1</sup> should be held in regard to such (Paribhāshās) as the following (three which are likewise) not mentioned in the Bhāshya :

P. XCIII, 6 : Whatever (by a rule of grammar) is transferred (from one element to another) need not necessarily come to pass.<sup>2</sup>

P. XCIII, 7 and 8 : A rule which teaches (the substitution of) *Lopa*,<sup>3</sup> and a rule which teaches the (addition of the augment) इट्,<sup>4</sup> possess greater

1. *Viz.* this that they really are no Paribhāshās at all.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: स्थानिवत्सूत्रेण सिद्धे प्रत्ययलोपे [१.१.६२] इति सूत्रारम्भादिति भावः । एतत्फलमुभय इति । अत्र स्थानिवद्भावेन सर्वनामसंज्ञाविकल्पो न । अन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थमेतत् ॥

उभ by P. V., 2, 42 उभ+तयप्; this by P. V., 2, 44 उभ+अयच्=उभय. If here the substitute अयच् were equal to तयप्, उभय would in the Nom. Plur. by P. I., 1, 33 be *optionally* Sarvanāman; the fact that it is necessarily Sarvanāman, is accounted for by the above Paribhāshā. In reality उभय is necessarily Sarvanāman because it is enumerated among the सर्वानि on P. I., 1, 27. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 98.

3. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलोपसूत्रमेव । अन्यत्र तत्रतत्र तत्कार्यं कृत्वा लोप एतत्सूत्रवैयर्थ्यं स्यात् । कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्र यणादेशात्पूर्वमन्त्रोपः फलम् (*i. e.* if the अ of अस् had not been elided first, the इ of कानि would have had to be changed to य्) । एतदप्यन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थम् ॥

4. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र च ज्ञापकं सति ग्रहगुहोक्ष [७.२.१२] इत्यलोकोऽनु-  
कर्षणाय चकारकरणम् । अन्यथा बुभूषणीत्यादौ पूर्वमिको झल् [१.२.९] इति किञ्चे श्र्युकः  
किति [७.२.११] इति सिद्धे तद्वैयर्थ्यं स्पष्टमेव ॥ फलमस्याः श्रयित्वेति । परिभाषाभावे  
पूर्वं संप्रसारणे रूपासिद्धिः । इडागमस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तौ तु न त्त्वा सेट् [१.२.१८] इति किञ्च-  
प्रतिषेधान्न संप्रसारणमिति ॥ एतदप्यन्यथा सिद्धं श्रयित्वेत्यत्र नित्यत्वादिति, किञ्चननिषेधान्न  
च पूर्वं संप्रसारणे श्र्युकः कितितीणिनिषेधः ॥

force than all other rules (which may be applicable simultaneously with the former).

(To employ forms such as) स्तप्यम्बु etc. in the ordinary language, is decidedly incorrect ; more hereof elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

(Other grammarians have) further (said) :

'One might maintain that in the Benedictive of the Parasmai. Frequent. (of हन्) वभ ought not (by P. II., 4, 42) to be substituted for (the Parasmai. Frequent. base जह्वन् of) हन्.<sup>2</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

P. XCIII, 9 : A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also the Parasmai. Frequentative base derived from it.<sup>3</sup>

The established fact that the reduplication which is taught in the sixth (book of Pāṇini's grammar) consists in the two-fold employment (of the original which is reduplicated), tells us that the whole form which results from such reduplication has the nature of the original (which is reduplicated), and thereby (the statement contained in) this (Paribhāshā) is naturally established (as correct.) The above shows<sup>4</sup> why *e. g.* in (the formation of) the 2. Sing. Pres. Imperat. Par. of ह्, धि is rightly substituted (by P. VI., 4, 101 for the termination हि), when (the root ह्) has been reduplicated (by P. VI., 1, 10).—

But this is likewise incorrect because it is not found in the

1. अन्यत् *i. e.* उद्द्योतशेखरादी. P.

2. *Scil.* because जह्वन् is not हन्.

3. *E. g.* हन् in P. II., 4, 42 denotes not only हन्, but also जह्वन्.

4. अत एव *i. e.* सिद्धान्तेन समुदाये प्रकृतिरूपनबोधनादेव. P.

Bhāshya. Moreover, although the above-mentioned fact may teach us that both (the original and the reduplicative syllable) partake either by itself of the nature of the (original), there is no authority for its teaching us that the whole (reduplicated form likewise) partakes of the nature of the (original which is reduplicated). It is for this very reason<sup>1</sup> that, when on P. VII., 4, 9 the objection is raised<sup>2</sup> that 'when (in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् 'to be,' from अस्+लिट्, where two rules are applicable, viz. P. II., 4, 52 which teaches the substitution of भू for अस्, 'आर्धधातुके', and P. VI., 1, 8 which teaches the reduplication of अस्, 'लिटि परे'), अस् is (first) reduplicated because (the rule which teaches the reduplication) follows (upon P. II., 4, 52, and) when the (radical) अस्<sup>3</sup> is then changed to भू, the first (reduplicative अस्) ought to remain audible,' this objection is refuted in the Bhāshya by the statement that the Locative (आर्धधातुके of P. II., 4, 52 does not mean आर्धधातुके परे 'when an Ārdhadhātuka [such as लिट् ] follows upon अस्, but) means आर्धधातुकविषये 'wherever an Ārdhadhātuka may have to be added to अस् at some time or other.'<sup>4</sup> If, on the other hand, a reduplicated form did in the above-mentioned fashion possess the nature of the original which is reduplicated, then (भू) would (by P. II.,

1. अत एव i. e. तेन तच्चबोधनस्य मानाभावेनासत्तादेव. P.

2. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 4, 9: अथ द्विःप्रयोगो द्विवचनं परस्य भूभावे कृते पूर्वस्य श्रवणं प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आर्धधातुकीयाः सामान्येन भवन्त्यनवस्थितेषु प्रत्ययेषु । तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्ये भूभावे कृते यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: .....तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्य इति । द्विवचननिमित्तस्य लिटोऽनुपजातत्वादसति विप्रतिषेधे पूर्व भूभावः पश्चाल्लिटि परतो द्विवचनमित्यदोषः ।.....

3. *Sci.* of अस्+अस्.

4. अस् is first changed to भू; subsequently लिट् is added to भू, and the latter is then reduplicated.



4, 52) have had to be substituted for the *whole* (अस्+अस्) and the (above Bhāshya on P. VII., 4, 9) would evidently be incorrect. Accordingly, the various operations, as (concerning a radical) they may be taught in a rule, must be understood to take place (after the root has been reduplicated) only in so far as (they are caused by or affect) the latter (*i. e.* radical) portion (of the reduplicated form).<sup>1</sup> The statement<sup>2</sup> that the substitution of Guṇa (for the ऊ of the Parasmai. Frequent. base बभू before the personal termination तु) is forbidden already (by P. VII., 3, 88, and that when Pāṇini nevertheless puts down) बभूतु (in VII., 4, 65, his doing so can have no other object than) to restrict (the absence of Guṇa to the Veda), is not contrary to the above, because P. VII., 3, 88 conveys the meaning (that Guṇa shall not be substituted for the ऊ) of a base that *ends* with भू, (and because the substitution of Guṇa for the ऊ of बभू is therefore really forbidden by that rule).<sup>3</sup> As then (the above Paribhāshā does not exist) Frequentative forms such as वध्यात् of हन् which have been given by Mādhava and others,<sup>4</sup> should certainly be regarded with suspicion. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> (Other grammarians have) further (said):

1. *E. g.* If in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् this root were first reduplicated, भू would by P. II., 4, 52 have to be substituted only for the second *i. e.* radical अस् of अस्+अस्, not for the whole अस्+अस्.

2. Bhairavamisra: ननूत्तरकाण्डादेरङ्गत्वाभावे भूसुवोस्तिङोति बोध्यगुणाभावस्य बोभूत्वित्यत्राप्तौ दाधर्वाति सूत्रे बोभूत्विति निपातनं विध्यर्थमेव भविष्यतीति तस्य नियामकत्वकथनासंगतिरत आह । भूसुवोरित्यस्येति ॥

3. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 212.

4. Si. Kau. II., pag. 214.

5. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

'One might maintain that, if the Paribhāshā<sup>1</sup> P. I., 1, 3 (इको गुणवृद्धी) were to unite (with the term वृद्धिः) in P. I., 1, 73, (such words as शाळा would not be termed *vriddha* by that rule, and in that case) it would be impossible to form शालीय (from शाळा by P. IV., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore:

P. XCIII, 10: A Paribhāshā unites with what is taught in a rule, not with that (portion of it) which (simply) states (that concerning which something is taught in the rule).<sup>2</sup>

1. The meaning which P. I., 1, 3 is here supposed to convey, is this: गुणवृद्धिशब्दो यत्रोच्चार्यते तत्रैक इति पदमुपतिष्ठते. If this Paribhāshā were to unite with the word वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73, the meaning of that rule would be, यस्याचामादिरिकः स्थाने वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धम्, and as the *Vriddhi* vowel वा of शाळा does not stand in the place of an original इक् *i. e.* इ, उ, ऋ or लृ, शाळा would not be termed *vriddha* by P. I., 1, 73. In reality however the meaning of P. I., 1, 3, is, as will be stated below, गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां गुणवृद्धौ यत्र विधीयते तत्रैक इत्युपतिष्ठते, and according to this interpretation P. I., 1, 3 cannot unite with वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73.

2. Accordingly P. I., 1, 3 unites *e. g.* with P. VII., 2, 114 because वृद्धिः is taught in that rule and we have to explain P. VII., 2, 114, मृजेरिकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिः; but it does not unite with P. I., 1, 73 because there the word वृद्धिः forms part of that portion of the rule which tells us what shall be termed *vriddha* by it, and we cannot explain P. I., 1, 73 by इकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिर्यस्य.... Similarly, we have by P. I., 1, 49 to supply स्थाने *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 36 (हन्तेः स्थाने जः) because that rule teaches the substitution of ज for हन्; but in P. VII., 3, 46 the word स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49 but had actually to be put down in the rule, because P. VII., 3, 46 does not teach the substitution of अत् for भात् but teaches the substitution of इत् for an अत् which stands in the place of an भात् (भातः स्थाने योऽत्तस्य...); see below.

The meaning of the words (ननुवादे) is this, that a Paribhāshā does not unite with whatever qualifies<sup>1</sup> that which is (simply) stated (in a rule, and) regarding which it would give certain directions (if it were to unite with it). This (Paribhāshā) is based on the following reasoning: although Paribhāshās which (by their nature) are auxiliary<sup>2</sup> to the rules (of grammar), cannot unite with that which is taught (in the latter) because this has as yet no existence, they nevertheless serve a purpose when they are made to give directions regarding that which qualifies what (is taught in a rule),<sup>3</sup> and there is accordingly no reason why they should be made to give directions (also) regarding that which (again) qualifies that (which qualifies what is taught in the rule).<sup>4</sup> Besides, the employment of the word स्थाने in the rule P. VII., 3, 46 indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhāshā; for) in case this Paribhāshā did not exist, the (actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46) would evidently be superfluous, because we should supply स्थाने already by the Paribhāshā P. I., 1, 49.<sup>5</sup>

1. E. g. वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73 is a *Vis'eshana* of such a word, as by that rule is termed *vridhha*.

2. भङ्ग = उपकारक. See above pag. 222, note 1.

3. E. g. इन् in P. VI., 4, 36 is a *Vis'eshana* of ज् which is taught in that rule (इन्स्थानिको जः), and accordingly we apply P. I., 1, 49 (इन्तेः स्थाने जः).

4. The अत् which is valid in P. VII., 3, 46 is a *Vis'eshana* of the इत् which is taught in that rule (अत्स्थानिक इत्) and we therefore apply P. I., 1, 49 (अतः स्थान इत्); but to the आत् of the same rule we cannot apply P. I., 1, 49 because आत् is a *Vis'eshana* of the *Vis'eshana* अत् (आत्स्थानिको अत्, and is not a *Vis'eshana* of इत्); Pāṇini was therefore obliged to say स्थाने in VII., 3, 46, आतः स्थानेऽतः [स्थाने] इत्.

5. See above note 4, and pag. 449, note 2.

This is (likewise) incorrect ; for this (Paribhāshā) would have to be abandoned in (the interpretation of rules) such as P. VIII., 2, 4,<sup>1</sup> and also in (the case of) P. VI., 4, 134 etc., as is apparent from the manner in which (that rule) has been explained in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1, 13 ; besides, it is not given in the Bhāshya ; and it is moreover impossible that (the word स्थाने in P. VII, 3, 46) should, as was maintained above, indicate (the existence of this Paribhāshā), because it has been distinctly stated in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 49 that we do not want the Paribhāshā (P. I., 1, 49) to teach us that we must supply स्थाने 'in place of' (for all those Genitives concerning which P. I., 1, 49 has been given);<sup>3</sup> the word स्थाने however in P. VII., 3, 46

1. *Scil.* where by P. I., 1, 49 we have to supply स्थाने for यण्, although the latter is not taught in that rule (उदात्तस्य स्वरितस्य च स्थाने यो यण्...).

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhāshā P. I., 1, 66 has been applied in regard to the अन् of P. VI., 4, 134, although the latter is a *Vis'eshana* of अत्, which again is a *Vis'eshana* of लोपः taught in VI., 4, 134.

See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13 : अन्कारान्तस्यालोपे प्रयोजनम् (*viz.* of Par. XCV.) । तश्च इति । तस्यैवापि प्राप्नोति । अन्त्यस्य विकारेऽन्त्यसद्वैशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अनाकारं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनो योऽकार इति ॥ एवमप्यनसानस इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । अन्कारेणाङ्गं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् । अन्कारान्तस्यानो योऽकार इति ॥ एवमप्यनस्तङ्गानस्तङ्ग इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि कार्यकालं संज्ञारिभाषं यत् कार्यं तलोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् । भवेति तलोपस्थितं भवति यच्च भवति । तत् यजादिपरतयान्कारं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् । यजादिपरस्यानो योऽकार इति ॥ See below Par. XCV.

3. If we do not want Paribhāshā P. I., 1, 49 to teach us that स्थाने has to be supplied, and if that rule (in so far as it would convey that meaning) is accordingly given up, the actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46 can at any rate not indicate the existence of the above Paribhāshā, because स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49.—See above pag. 68, note 1.

has been employed solely for the sake of clearness.<sup>1</sup> And (lastly,) what has been stated in the above Paribhāshā, follows (already) from the fact that the word विधीयते 'is taught' is supplied both in (Paribhāshā)<sup>2</sup> P. I., 1, 3 and in P. I., 2, 28, for in the case of no other (Paribhāshā besides those two) would any result accrue from the above (Paribhāshā if it were really adopted). More hereof elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

P. स्थानेति । स्थानशब्दार्थनिरूपितसंबन्ध इत्यर्थः ॥ परीति । षष्ठी स्थान इत्यर्थः । किंतुन्तरङ्गत्वलभ्यः । तथा सत्यन्यार्थज्ञापनसंभवेऽपि नोक्तार्थज्ञापनसंभव इति भावः ॥

1. *Scil.* and not, to indicate that P. I., 1, 49 or the Antaranga-paribhāshā is *anitya*.

2. See above pag. 449, note 1.

3. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्घोषितादौ. P.

#### PARIBHĀSHĀ XCIV.

One might say that there can be no reason why (when one wishes to say) *e. g.* ('he adores the gods') देव should, after नमस्करोति or नमस्यति, not receive the termination of the Dative case by P. II., 3, 16 (according to which rule नमः governs the Dative.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās says therefore :

P. XCIV: A case-termination, which (if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base) is (instrumental

1. See Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 19: नमसः क्यचि द्वितीयानुपपत्तिः । नमसः क्यचि द्वितीया नोपपद्यते । नमस्यति देवानिति । किं कारणम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थो विधीयते सा प्राप्नोति । प्रकृत्यन्तरत्वात्सिद्धम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थो विधीयते नमस्यतिशब्दश्चायम् । ननु च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽस्ति तेन योगे प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अर्थवतो नमःशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽर्थवान् ॥ अथवोपपदविभक्तौ कारकविभक्तिर्वलीयसीति द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भाविष्यति ॥—*Si. Kau. I., pag. 282.*

in) bringing about the action (denoted by the verb of a sentence), possesses greater force than a case-termination (which might be added to the same base) because of the presence (in the same sentence) of a word (requiring the addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter).<sup>1</sup>

1. Accordingly देव has in नमस्यति देवान् received the termination of the Accusative case by P. II., 3, 2, because the Accusative shows that the gods are the object of the action denoted by नमस्यति ; and it has not received the termination of the Dative which case according to P. II., 3, 16 is governed by the word नमः.

Similarly, in गाः स्वामी व्रजति, गो has for the same reason received the termination of the Accusative, and not the termination of the Genitive or Locative which cases according to P. II., 3, 39 are governed by the word स्वामिन्.

[ See Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 19: सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकमुपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वादन्यत्वापि । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । उपपद-विभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वात् । अन्यत्वाप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथ-मा भवति । एवमन्यत्वाप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथमा भविष्यति । कान्यत्वात् । गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: सहयुक्त इति । अप्रधानवचनं प्रधाननिवृत्त्यर्थं क्रियते प्रधानस्य चान्तरङ्ग-त्वात्कारकविभक्तिर्भविष्यतीति नार्थस्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थेनाप्रधानवचनेनेत्यर्थः । शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्य गौरित्यन्तापि गवा संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्ग इत्याध्यायात्पञ्चमेव भविष्यति न तृतीया ॥ गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति । अन्तापि व्रजिक्रियायां गवा कर्मत्वात्तन्निबन्धना द्वितीया स्वामीश्वरेति प्राप्ते उपपद-विभक्ती षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ वाञ्छित्वा प्रवर्तते ॥ ]

In अन्तरा त्वां मां च कमण्डलुः, कमण्डलु has received the termination of the Nominative which shows that कमण्डलु is the agent of the action 'to be,' (denoted by अस्ति which has to be supplied), not the termination of the Accusative which case according to P. II., 3, 4 is governed by अन्तरा.

.. A<sup>1</sup> *Kāraka*-termination is (here) a case-termination which shows that (the person or thing denoted by the base to which it is added) is (instrumental in) bringing about an action; and as the termination of the Nomin. case likewise does show this, it too is a *Kāraka*-termination (in the sense in which that term is employed in this Paribhāshā). This has been suggested in the Bhāṣhya on the rules P. II., 3, 19 etc.

This (Paribhāshā is not based on any more general maxim<sup>2</sup> but) is quite an independent statement. It is this circumstance<sup>3</sup> which has enabled (the author of the) Bhāṣhya on the rule P. V., 1, 96 to hint, (and) Kaiyaṭa to state distinctly, that by this

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[See Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 4: भन्तरान्तरेणयुक्तानामप्रधानवचनम् (refuted by the present Paribhāshā); and Kaiyaṭa: अस्तीति क्रियानुषङ्गात्ममण्डलोः कर्तृत्वं तच्च तिङ्गभिहितमिति प्रथमा कारकविभक्तिः सा चान्तरङ्गा क्रियाकारकयोः संबन्ध-स्यान्तरङ्गत्वात् । उपपदार्थेन तु क्रियाद्वारकः संबन्ध इति तन्निमित्ता बहिरङ्गा विभक्तिः ॥ ]

Cf. also the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 4, 96 (अपि सर्वेषो विन्दुः स्यात्, where विन्दु stands by the present Par. in the Nom. case, not in the Genitive which would be governed by अपि); and Kaiyaṭa: सर्वत्रैव वाक्येऽवश्यभाष्यं क्रियया ततः सत्तया । तत्र विन्दोः प्रथमं स्यादित्यनेन संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चान्तु तद्द्वारकोऽपिशब्देन ॥. See also Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 9.

1. P.: कारकाधिकारपठितसंज्ञानिमित्तकविभक्तित्वं कारकविभक्तित्वमिति भ्रमनिरासायाह कारकेति ॥ The term *Kāraka* of this Paribhāshā cannot be equivalent to *Kāraka* in P. I., 4, 23 because otherwise the termination of the Nomin. case would not have been treated as a *Kāraka*-termination in the Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 19; 4; etc.; कारक is taken here simply in its etymological sense.— उपपदविभक्ति which Bhairavamis'ra explains by उपपदविभक्तित्वं पदयोगनिमित्तकविभक्तित्वम्, appears to be any case-termination which is not a *Kārakavibhakti*.

2. Such as the *Antaranga-nyāya*; see above Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 4; 19 etc.

3. Viz. that the Paribhāshā is an independent statement and is not based e. g. on the *Antaranga-nyāya*.

maxim the Locative which results from P. II., 3, 36 possesses greater force than the Locative resulting from P. II., 3, 37;<sup>1</sup> thereby the statement,<sup>2</sup> that *Kāraka* is that which is connected with an action, is refuted, viz. because (a person or thing denoted by a base which ends with) the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 37, is likewise connected with an action.<sup>3</sup>

Those<sup>4</sup> however who maintain, that *Kāraka*-terminations possess greater force because their addition (to a base) depends on the connection (of the person or thing denoted by that base) with an action, and because the latter is more important<sup>5</sup> (than

1. I. e. that by this Paribhāshā तत्र in P. IV., 3, 53 is the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36, not of P. II., 3, 37. If the Paribhāshā were based e. g. on the *Antaranga-nyāya*, the Bhāshya and Kaiyaṭa would be wrong because, the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36 not being *antaranga* in regard to the Loc. of P. II., 3, 37, the present Par. could not have been applied.

See Bhāshya on P. V., 1, 96 : किमिदं भवान्कार्यग्रहणमेव प्रत्याचष्टे न पुनर्दीयतेग्रहणमपि । यथैव हि यन्मासे कार्यं तन्मासे भवं भवत्येवं यदपि मासे दीयते तदपि मासे भवं भवति । तत्र तत्र भवः [४.३.५३] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । न तन्मासे दीयते । किं तर्हि । मासे गते । एवं तद्यौषधेयिकमधिकरणं विज्ञास्यते । . . .

Kaiyaṭa : मासे गते ॥ मासे दीयत इति नैषाधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि । यस्य च भावे-नेति । तत्र भव इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तम्याश्रितोऽप्यदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति न्यायादिह त्वतिदेशसामर्थ्याद्वावलक्षणसप्तमीपरिग्रहः ॥ औषधेयिकमिति । मासेऽतिक्रान्ते यदीयते तस्य मास औषधेयिकमधिकरणमिति तत्र भव इत्यनेनैव सिद्धमित्यर्थः । कारकप्रकरणे च गौणस्यापि संज्ञा भवतीत्युक्तम् ॥

2. Of Bhaṭṭojidikshita and others. P.

3. *Sci.*, and would, contrary to the Bhāshya on P. V., 1, 96, likewise be a *Kāraka* if Bhaṭṭojidikshita's statement were correct.

See P. तथा चोभयोरपि कारकविभक्तित्वादुक्तभाष्यासंगतिरेवेति भावः ॥

4. प्रधानन्यायमूलिकेयमिति सारदेवादुक्तिं खण्डयति । ये त्विति । सारदेवादय इत्यर्थः । P.

5. See Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 96, above pag. 454; and Śāhavyutpattikaumudī by Bājāraṇas'āstrin : above pag. 389.



whatever else may be denoted by the words of a sentence), they (too) evidently come in conflict with the above (Bhāṣya on P. V., 1, 96) because both (the addition of the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 36 and that resulting from P. II., 3, 37) are dependent on the connection (of the persons or things denoted by the bases to which they are added) with an action;<sup>1</sup> and they come in conflict also with the Bhāṣya on P. III., 1, 19, where, to prevent the addition of the Dative-termination to देव, after नमस्यति etc., (the present Paribhāṣhā) has been made use of.<sup>2</sup> Hereby (another statement) is refuted (too, viz. this) that,<sup>3</sup> 'because the relation which obtains between an action and that which is instrumental in bringing about that action, is *antaranga*,<sup>4</sup> a case-termination (the addition of which is) caused by such (a relation) is (likewise) *antaranga*; whereas (a case-termination the addition of which would be) caused by a relation (obtaining between that which is denoted by the base to which it is added and) that which is denoted by the word (which would require its addition), is *bahiranga*, because such a relation is always preceded by some relation or other obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';<sup>5</sup> for

1. *Sci.* and because the one could therefore not possess more force than the other.

2. नमःपदार्थेऽत्र देवस्य क्रियाकारकभावेनैवान्वयेन तुल्यत्वादिति भावः । P.

3. See Kaiyaṭa above pag. 453, note 1.

4. अन्तरङ्ग इति । तद्विना पदार्थान्तरानन्वयात् ॥ P.

5. यत्किंचिदिति । सर्वत्र संबन्धस्य किंचित्क्रियाकारकभावमूलकत्वात् । यथा स्वत्वं क्रयादिनिबन्धनमिति भावः ॥ P.— यथा राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यत्र पुरुषनिष्ठस्य राजपदार्थनिरूपितस्वत्वमिभावात्मकसंबन्धस्य क्रयणपोषणादिक्रियाकर्मभावो निमित्तं तद्वत् ॥ Bhāṣya-mis'ra.

in the case of नमस्यति the relation obtaining (between 'the gods' and) what is denoted by the word नमः is likewise no other than 'a relation obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';<sup>1</sup> here namely what is denoted by the word नमः is too of the nature of an action, just as (what is denoted by) मुण्ड is of the nature of an action in मुण्डयति.<sup>2</sup> Besides in the Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 19 etc. the present (Paribhāshā) has been made use of to prove that that to which the main importance attaches takes the termination of the Nominative case.<sup>3</sup> More<sup>4</sup> hereof elsewhere.

1. *I. e.* If the Accus.-termination after देव were *antaranga*, the Dative-termination would be so likewise, and the Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 19 would be incorrect. This is explained in the following: 'here namely'..

2. Bhairavamis'ra: ननु नमःपदस्य नामत्वेन तदर्थस्याक्रियात्वात्तत्र क्रियाकारकभावसंबन्धेनान्वय इत्यनुपपन्नमित्यत आह । अत्र चेति । नमस्यतीत्यन्वेत्यर्थः ॥ मुण्डस्येवेति । यथा तत्र णिजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्धटकमुण्डशब्दार्थस्य क्रियात्वं तथा नमस्यतीत्यत्र क्यजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्धटकनमःपदार्थस्य क्रियात्वमिति भावः ॥

3. Which shows that it is an independent Paribhāshā.

4. न चैवं नमश्चकार देवेभ्यो रावणाय नमस्कुर्वा इति भट्टिप्रयोगासंगतिः । अनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थेन निर्वाहात् । नमःस्यस्ति [२.३.१६] इति चतुर्थीति जयमङ्गलौक्तिस्तु चिन्त्येवां कहेतोः । तदाह । अन्यत्वेति । उद्घोषितादावित्यर्थः ॥ P.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XCV.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (अच् has been added to अदस्, and when subsequently अद्रि has by P. VI., 3, 92 been substituted for the अस् of अदस्), मु ought (by P. VIII., 2., 80) to be substituted (not only for the द्र् of अदद्रि+अच्, but) also for the

preceding (द.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore:

P. XCV: When a change (which is taught in a rule) does not concern a final (letter), then (it must be understood to concern) that which immediately precedes the final.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of (अन्यसदेशस्य) is this that, whenever (a change taught in a rule of grammar) would in one and the same form have to affect both something which immediately precedes the final letter and also something which is separated from the final (by another letter or other letters,<sup>3</sup> it is allowed to affect) only that which immediately precedes the final. If such were not (the meaning of अन्यसदेशस्य), न् and स् which (by P. VI., 1, 65 and 64) are substituted for initial (ण् and ष्) of a root, would (by the present Paribhāshā) have to be substituted only *e. g.* in णा, पु etc., (where ण् and ष् immediately precede the final), but not in णम्, षच् etc. (because the ण् and ष् of these latter roots are sepa-

1 I. *e.* अदद्दि+अच् ought to be changed to अमुमुयच्, whereas अदमुयच् is supposed to be the correct form.

2. Accordingly मु can by P. VIII., 2, 80 be substituted only for the द् of अदाद्, and not also for the द preceding it.—Others however say that मु is substituted both for द् and for द, and others, that it is not substituted at all. See Kārikā on P. VIII., 2, 80:

अदसोऽद्रेः पृथङ्कुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।

केचिदन्यसदेशस्य न्त्यकेऽसौहं दृश्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: य न सिः असिरिति सकारान्तप्रतिषेधमाश्रयन्ति नान्यसदेशपरिभाषा ते अमुमुयङ्कुतोच्छन्ति यथा चलीकृप्यत इति रेफद्वयस्य लत्वम् । अन्यसदेशपरिभाषाश्रये त्वदमुयङ्कुति ॥ ये तु त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव मुत्वमिच्छन्ति तेऽदद्याङ्कुति मन्यन्ते । असेहीति । अः सेर्यस्य सोऽसस्तस्येत्यर्थः ॥.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 180.

3. In अदद्दि+अच् मु would have to be substituted by P. VIII., 2, 80 both for द् and for द; but by the present Paribhāshā it is allowed to be substituted only for द्.

rated from the final by another letter.) The (Locative) अनन्यविकारे shows (where the Paribhāshā is applicable, viz. that it is applicable wherever the change taught in a rule does not concern a final letter.<sup>1</sup> A letter is) अन्यसदेश when it stands in the same place<sup>2</sup> where the final stands;<sup>3</sup> and such must be understood to be the case when it is not separated from the final by another letter. For this very reason (the present Paribhāshā cannot teach us that the Samprasāraṇa which by P. VI., 1, 16 is substituted in व्यञ्, is substituted only for the य् of that root, for, य् being separated from the final by the letter अ, the Paribhāshā cannot be applied here; and accordingly, in enabling us) to account for forms like विद्ध etc., the rule P. VI., 1, 37 does serve a purpose.<sup>4</sup>

Facts such as these that e. g. in the Instr. Sing. of अनस्तश्चन् the first, (second, and third) अ are not elided by P. VI., 4, 134, result likewise from this (Paribhāshā. If the latter were not applied in the case of अनस्तश्चन्, the first, second and third अ of this base would certainly have to be elided by P. VI., 4, 134;) for, as an affix postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which

1. P. The meaning of the Paribhāshā is therefore : यत्नानन्यविकारस्त-  
नान्यसदेशस्येत्युपपत्तिरने.

2. The स in सदेश is equivalent to समान, not to सह.

3. Or, in other words, when it is uttered at the same time at which the final is uttered.

4. In the Past Pass. Ptc. Samprasāraṇa has by P. VI., 1, 16 to be substituted in व्यञ्; and as व्यञ् contains two letters for which Samprasāraṇa can be substituted, viz. व् and य्, Samprasāraṇa ought to be substituted for व् as well as for य्. Now one might say that by the present Par. Samprasāraṇa ought to be substituted only for य् because it is nearest to the final; but this would be incorrect. As य् does not precede the final immediately, the Par. cannot be applied here, and we want the rule P. VI., 1, 37 to teach us that Samprasāraṇa is substituted only for य्, not for व्.

is called) 'the base,' the true meaning (of P. VI., 4, 134) can only be this that 'Lopa (is substituted) for the letter अ of a base ending in अन् provided (that base) be followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvāṇmāsthāna*.' And that e. g. the non-elision of the first, second, and third अ of अनस्तथा is rightly regarded as one of the results accruing from this Paribhāshā,) follows from the circumstance that it is simpler to employ the (Paribhāshā) than to have repeatedly recourse to such forced interpretations as that is (according to which P. VI., 4, 134 is made to convey the meaning that 'Lopa is substituted for the अ) of an अन् which forms part of a base and is immediately followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvāṇmāsthāna*).<sup>1</sup>

And one ought not to err so far as to believe that this (Paribhāshā) has been rejected in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1, 13; for although (the author of the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13) has shown that those forms (the correct formation of which had by the author) of the Vārttikas been stated to result (from this Paribhāshā) can be formed without it, if namely certain forced interpretations (of some of Pāṇini's rules) are resorted to, he nevertheless winds up with the statement that the Paribhāshā should be adopted for the sake of those (forms which cannot be formed without it and) for which therefore it is necessary, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would result (from its application); and that, to show where it should not be applied, an Udātta should be assigned (in the rules where it is appli-

1. See above pag.-451, note 2.

2. See extract from the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 13 below.

able.)<sup>1</sup> Moreover (the Paribhāshā must be adopted) for (the correct formation of) मिमार्जिषति (the Desid. of मृज्); when namely (मृज्) has here been reduplicated [and this must be done before Vṛiddhi is substituted (for ऋ by P. VII., 2, 114), because (the reduplication is) *antaranga*<sup>2</sup> (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi)], and when then the various operations that concern the reduplicative syllable have taken place, (and they likewise must take place before the substitution of Vṛiddhi by P. VII., 2, 114) because (the rules VII., 4 59 etc. that teach them) follow upon (P. VII., 2, 114,—the Paribhāshā) is necessary to prevent (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the letter इ of the reduplicative syllable (which would have to take place if the Paribhāshā were not applied). Nor can one account for the formation (of मिमार्जिषति) by saying that, when Vṛiddhi has been substituted (for the इ of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 59 which teaches) the substitution of a short vowel for the vowel of a reduplicative syllable takes effect a second time; for by the maxim<sup>3</sup> 'that in the formation of one and the same form a rule can be applied only once' (P. VII., 4, 59) cannot be applied a second time.

The words नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि, however, which we read

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1. P. यथा स्वरितेनाभिकारस्तथा प्रतिज्ञाप्राप्तिनोदात्तेनैतत्परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिः । तथा चानन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पाठश्चम् । तथा च न तदुक्तसकलकलानामन्यथासिद्धिः किन्तु केषांचिदेवेति तदर्थमप्यावश्यकीयमिति भावः ॥

Bhairavamis'ra : यथा यथासंख्येति सूत्रे स्वरितेनेत्यस्य संबन्धाद्यत यथासंख्यमभिप्रेतं तत्र स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञातमिति कल्पना तथेहाप्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पठनीयमिति । अनन्त्यविकारबोधकशब्दश्च तत्रततोदात्तगुणकः पठनीय इति भावः ॥

2. *Viz.* अपरनिमित्तकत्वात्, सन्यक्तैः in P. VI., 1, 9 being a Genitive. See above pag. 52.

3. See Par. CXI.

in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 1, 37, have this meaning : 'The objects for which this rule (P. VI., 1, 37) has been given, are not the objects of this Paribhāshā, because the semivowels य् etc. in व्यप् etc. do not immediately precede the final.' In some books we find the different reading नैतान्येतस्याः प्रयोजनानि (which admit of no other interpretation but the one just given).

This (Paribhāshā is established neither by a Jnāpaka nor by a Nyāya but) is an independent statement ; and it is found in the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 13,<sup>2</sup> and on the rule P. VIII., 2, 80 (in which latter passage it is quoted in the words of the Kārikā)<sup>3</sup> केचिदन्यसदेशस्य. More elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

1. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 37 : एवं तर्ह्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति । भन्त्यसदेशो यो यन् तस्य कार्यं भविष्यति । नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥

2. Also on P. I., 1, 3.

3. See above pag 458, note 2.

4. अन्यत्र i. e. भाष्यादौ. P.

Extract from the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 1, 13 :

व्यङ्ग्यन्ते यावन्तो यणस्तेषां सर्वेषां संप्रसारणं प्राप्नोति । वाराहीपुत्रः । तार्णकर्णीपुत्रः । तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधः । तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । यथागृहीतस्यादेशवचनादप्रत्ययस्थे सिद्धम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येवमप्रत्ययस्थस्य न भविष्यति ॥ अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य वा । अथवानन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कः पुनरत्र विशेष एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियेताप्रत्ययस्थस्य वा प्रतिषेध उच्येत । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । कानि । प्रयोजनं न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । न संप्रसारणे

1. Kaiyata : हंसशिरासीनि । अनुस्वारस्यासिद्धतादकाराकारस्य दीर्घप्रसङ्गः ॥

संप्रसारणम् [ ६.१.३७ ] इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति । कथं व्यधेर्विद्ध  
 इति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ।  
 नैतदास्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ सान्तमहतो दीर्घत्वे प्रयो-  
 जनम् । पयांसि यशांसि । प य इत्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारे  
 ऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदापि नास्ति प्रयो-  
 जनम् । नोपधायाः [ ६.४.७ ] इति तत्र वर्तते । एवमप्यनांसि मनां-  
 सीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां विशेषयिष्यामः । सान्तसं-  
 योगस्य नोपधाया इति । एवमपि हंसशिरांसि ध्वंसशिरांसि अत्रापि  
 प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । हम्मतेर्हंसः । कः पुनराह हम्मतेर्हंस इति ।  
 किं तर्हि । हन्तेर्हंसो हन्त्यध्वानमिति । एवं तर्हि सर्वनामस्थान इति वर्तते ।  
 सर्वनामस्थानपरतया सान्तसंयोगं विशेषयिष्यामः सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां  
 विशेषयिष्यामः । सर्वनामस्थानपरस्य सान्तसंयोगस्य नोपधाया इति ॥  
 अन्कारान्तस्याल्लोपे प्रयोजनम् । See above pag. 451, note 2.  
 योऽकार इति ॥ मृजेर्वृद्धिविधौ प्रयोजनम् । न्यमार्ट् । अटोऽपि वृद्धिः  
 प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ।  
 एतदापि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । यथापरिभाषितमिको गुणवृद्धी इतीक एव  
 वृद्धिर्भविष्यति । एवमपि भिमार्जिषतीत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अस्तु । अभ्यासनि-  
 र्ज्ञप्तेन इत्सो भविष्यति ॥ वसोः संप्रसारणे । वसोः संप्रसारणे च प्रयोजनम् ।  
 विदुषः पश्य । विदिवकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति  
 न दोषो भवति । एतदापि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति  
 प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति । इद्कारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि निर्दि-  
 श्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न भविष्यति ॥ युवादीनां च संप्रसारणे  
 प्रयोजनम् । यूनः पश्य यूना यूने । यकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्य-

हन्तेरिति । वृनुवदिहनि [उण० ३.६२] इति लक्षणसद्भावात् ॥ हन्तीति । गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥  
 यथापरिभाषितमिति । परिभाषितानतिक्रमेणेत्यर्थः ॥ भविभरिति । दुभृजो लङ्तिष्ठिगोर-



विकारेऽन्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदापि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति न भविष्यति । उकारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एकादेशे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । एकादेशः पूर्वविधौ स्या-  
निवद्भवतीति स्थानिवद्भावाद्यवधानमेव । एवं तर्हि समानाङ्गग्रहणं तत्र  
चोदायिष्यति ॥ वोरूपधाग्रहणं च । वोरूपधाग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति ।  
वोरूपधाया दीर्घ इकः [ ८.२.७६ ] इति । इह कस्मान्न भवति । अबिभर्भ-  
वान् । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदापि नास्ति  
प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ आदित्यदादिविधिसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वढत्व-  
भग्भावषत्वणत्वेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः । आदिविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । धात्वादेः  
षः सः [ ६.२.६४ ] णो नः [ ६.५ ] । इहैव स्यात् । नेता सोता ।  
इह न स्यात् । नमति सिञ्चतीति ॥ त्यदादिविधिः । इहैव स्यात् । तद्  
सः । त्यद् स्य इत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ संयोगादिलोपः । इहैव स्यात् । मङ्गा ।  
मङ्गव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ कुत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । पक्ता । पक्तव्यमित्यत्र  
न स्यात् ॥ ढत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । लेढा । लेढव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥  
भग्भावः । इहैव स्यात् । अभुत्ति । अभुत्तातामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ षत्वम् ।  
इहैव स्यात् । द्रष्टा । द्रष्टव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ णत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् ।  
माषवापेण । माषवापाणामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा ।  
तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न  
वक्तव्या लक्षणं वा न प्रणेत्यं न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधि-  
श्रीयन्ते न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन  
परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् । न हि दोषाणां  
लक्षणमस्ति । तस्माद्यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेवा

न्यतरः शपधुः द्विवचनम् । भृजामित् [ ७.४.७६ ] इतीत्वम् ॥ सोतेति । धात्वन्त्यसदे-  
शस्यैव सत्वनन्त्यप्रसङ्गः ॥ स्य इत्येति । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः [ ७.२.१०६ ] इति सत्वं  
तकारस्यान्यसदेशत्वाभावात् प्राप्नोति ॥ मङ्गव्यमिति । पदान्यसदेशत्वाभावासंयोगादिलो-  
पाप्रसङ्गः ॥ माषवापाणामिति । विभक्तिस्थस्य नकारस्य पदान्यसदेशत्वाभावाण्णत्वाप्रसङ्गः ॥

परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥ इदं प्रतिविधीयत उदात्तनिर्देशा-  
स्तिद्धम् । यत्रैषा परिभाषेयते तत्रोदात्तनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्य-  
मनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवत्युदात्तनिर्देश इति । स तर्ह्युदात्त-  
निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । न कर्तव्यः । यत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च  
युगपत्समवस्थितौ तत्रैषा परिभाषा भवति दोषेषु चान्यत्रान्त्यसदेशो  
ऽन्यत्रानन्त्यसदेशः प्रयोजनेषु पुनस्तत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च ।  
तथाजातीयकानि खल्वप्याचार्येण प्रयोजनानि पठितानि यान्युभयवन्ति  
भवन्ति । इदमेकं यथा दोषास्तथा वोरुपधाग्रहणमिति अविभर्भवान्  
तच्चापि क्रियते न्यास एव ॥

उदात्तनिर्देशादिति । यथा स्वरितेनाधिकार एवमुदात्तेनैषा परिभाषेत्यर्थः ॥ न कर्तव्य  
इति । सर्वत्रापि परिभाषोपस्थाने दोषाभावात् ॥ यत्नेवेति । विधिनिषेधयोरेकविषयत्वाश्रयणात् ॥  
इदमेकमिति । अविभरित्यत्रान्त्यसदेशस्येकोऽसंभवादनन्त्यसदेशस्येकः प्राप्नोति दीर्घ उपधा-  
ग्रहणेन निवर्त्यते ॥

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XCVI.

P. VI., 1, 98 teaches that when the imitative name of an in-  
articulate sound ending in भत् is followed by इति, the initial इ of  
इति is substituted for भत् and the इ by which it is followed. Now  
one might say that, when this rule is applied *c. g.* in the case of  
पट्+इति, (इ would) by P. I., 1, 52 have to be substituted for the  
*final* (of पट् and the initial इ of इति, in other words, that the re-  
sult of the combination ought to be पट्टेति and not) पटिते. (The  
author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. XCVI: The rule P. I., 1, 52, by which a substitute  
should take the place of only the final letter (of

that which is exhibited in the Genitive case), is not (valid) where (what is exhibited in the Genitive) is meaningless, provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable.<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the expression अभ्यासविकारे 'provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable,' the ई e. g. (the substitution of which is taught) in P. VII., 4, 76, has in विभक्ति etc. (taken the place) of only the final (of and not of the whole of the reduplicative syllable of मृ etc.). Elsewhere<sup>2</sup> it has been shown that a reduplicative syllable is meaningless because the meaning (of the root) is not repeated (when the latter is reduplicated), and that only that portion (of a reduplicated form) which follows (the reduplicative syllable, i. e. the radical portion of it,) conveys a meaning. This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on P. I., 1, 65, and has there been rejected too, on the ground that whatever is supposed to result from it, can be accounted for otherwise; this may be ascertained from the (Bhāshya) itself.

1. अभ्यासविषयभिन्नानर्थके स न. P.—Accordingly, पठत्+इति becomes पाठेति. Similarly, the Lopa taught in P. VI., 4, 119 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 2, 113 is substituted for the *whole* इद्; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 4, 58 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 153.

2. अन्यत् i. e. शेखरादौ. P.

3. Ed. Ballantyne pag. 732. See also Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 123: अनर्थके उलोऽन्यविभिन्नैस्त्येवं न प्राप्नोति । नैतस्याः सन्ति परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ XCVII.

One might maintain that in (stead of) *e. g.* ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणी-वत्सश्च one ought (to be allowed) to employ by P. I., 2, 67 simply the one (masculine form ब्राह्मणवत्सौ),<sup>1</sup> because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणी-वत्स) differ in nothing except this that one is feminine and the other masculine. To refute this (the author of the Paribhāshās) says :

P. XCVII: When of two things one is more important than the other, an operation (which is applicable to both) is understood to have reference only to that which is more important.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly (we are) not (by P. I., 2, 67) allowed (to say ब्राह्मणवत्सौ instead of ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च), because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणीवत्स) differ not only in this that the more important (word वत्स) is feminine in the one and masculine in the other, but differ besides also in this that the less important (word ब्राह्मण) is (likewise) feminine in the one and masculine in the other.<sup>3</sup> This (Paribhāshā is made use of) in the Bhāshya on P. I., 2,

1. Just as one by P. I., 2, 67 may say ब्राह्मणश्च ब्राह्मणी च = ब्राह्मणौ, or वत्सश्च वत्सा च = वत्सौ.

2. This Paribhāshā is *Lokanyāya-siddhā*; see Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 69 below; and especially the Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 1 which is not quoted by Nāgojibhaṭṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाद्वा सिद्धम्...तद्यथा बहुषु यास्तु कश्चि-त्कंचित्पृच्छति को यातीति स आह राजेति राजेत्युक्ते प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययादः पृच्छति यश्च कथयत्युभयोः संप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. See Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 67:.... एवं च कृतेहापि प्राप्तिः । ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्चेति । एवं तर्हीदमिह व्यपदेश्य सदाचार्यो न व्यपदिशति । किम् । तदित्यनुवर्तते । तदित्यनेन प्रकृतौ स्त्रीपुंसौ प्रतिनिर्दिश्येते । को च प्रकृतौ । प्रधाने । प्रधानं या शब्दस्त्री प्रधानं यार्यस्त्रीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: एवं तर्हीति । विस्पष्टं न व्यपदिशतीत्यर्थः ॥ सूत्रोपात्त एवायमर्थो येनाह न

67 and on<sup>1</sup> P. I., 2, 69. From the Bhāṣhya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. III., 1, 26 it appears that that which is more important possesses greater force even than something else which is *antaranga* (in regard to it), or something else on which its own existence is dependent.<sup>2</sup>

भवत्येकशेष इत्याह तदित्यनेनेति ॥ स्त्रीपुंसयोः सहविवक्षायामेकशेषः स च प्रधानयोरेव भवतीति यत् प्रधानस्त्रीपुंसकृतो विशेषस्तलैकशेषः । इहाप्रधानकृतोऽन्येकशेषाभावः ॥

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 2, 69: अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । कथं शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं ते इमे शुक्ले शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्ला च बृहतिका शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं तानीमानि शुक्लानि । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषः । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषो भविष्यति । किं च प्रधानम् । नपुंसकम् । कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते नपुंसकं प्रधानमिति । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके । अनिर्ज्ञातेऽर्थे गुणसंदेहे च नपुंसकलिङ्गं प्रयुज्यते । किं जातमित्युच्यते द्वयं चैव हि जायते स्त्री वा पुमान्वा । तथा विदूरेऽव्यक्तरूपं दृष्ट्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति महि-  
षीरूपमिव ब्राह्मणीरूपमिव । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययान्नपुंसकस्य शेषो भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । एकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्यामिति वक्ष्यामिति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आकृति-  
वाचित्वादेकवचनम् । आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनं भविष्यति । यदा द्वयाभिधानं तदा द्विवच-  
नबहुवचने भविष्यतः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययादिति । शब्देनार्थस्याभिधानमिह का-  
र्यम् । तच्च नपुंसकानपुंसकसंनिधौ नपुंसकस्यैव भविष्यतीति नार्थः सूत्रेणेत्यर्थः ॥ कथमि-  
ति । यथा लोके बहुषु गच्छन्सु राजा गच्छतीति प्रधानं राजा व्यपदिश्यते । राज्ञश्च प्राधा-  
न्यं तदधीनप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिस्वादन्वेषाम् । इह तु नपुंसकस्य किंकृतं प्राधान्यमिति प्रश्नः ॥

2. In the case of a Causal like पाचि 'to cause to cook' the action of 'cooking' is *antaranga* in regard to the 'causing to cook' and it is also *upajīvyā* because the 'causing to cook' cannot exist independently of the 'cooking'; but as the 'causing' is here *pradhāna* i. e. of more importance than the cooking, only he who *causes* to cook should be termed कर्तृ, whereas he who cooks, being less important, would, in reference to him who causes to cook, have to be termed कर्मन्, had Pāṇini not given the restrictive rule I., 4, 52.

See Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 26:.... अस्तु तर्हि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणम् । यदि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणं पाचयत्येवमनं देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तेनेति प्रयोग्ये कर्तारि कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । भवति हि तस्य तेस्मिन्नीप्सा ॥ ..... नैष दोषः । यत्तावदुच्यते पाचयति.. प्राप्नोतीति

गतिबुद्धि [१.४.५२] इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतेषामेवाप्यन्तानां यः कर्ता स णौ कर्मसंज्ञो भवति नान्येषामिति ॥

Kaiyata: भवति हीति । प्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तद्व्यापारेणैस्तितमत्वात्प्रयोज्यस्येत्यर्थः । प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वे तु द्वयोरपि प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकव्यापारयोरेकभातुवाच्यत्वाद्वातुवाच्यव्यापारपेक्षया द्वयोरपि कर्तृत्वान्नेनाभिधानं प्राप्नोतीति दोष उक्तः ॥ ... एतेषामेवेति । प्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तेनेस्तितमस्य प्रयोज्यस्य सिद्धा कर्मसंज्ञा । न च स्वव्यापारापेक्षया स्वातन्त्र्यात्परन्वात्कर्तृसंज्ञा प्राप्नोतीति वक्तुं युक्तम् । प्रयोज्यव्यापारस्याप्राधान्यात्प्रधानाप्रधानव्यापारसंनिधौ च प्रधाननिमित्तस्य कार्यस्य युक्तत्वात् । नियमेन तु प्रधानप्रयुक्तकार्यव्यावृत्तौ गुणनिमित्तकार्यसिद्धावात्कर्तृत्वं भवत्येव । तदुक्तं हरिणा ।

गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात्प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः ।

नियमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वातन्त्र्येणाभिधीयते ॥ इति ।

Cf. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 256, note 40.

## PARIBHĀṢHĀ XCVIII.

One might say that the prohibition (of the addition) to the word मातृ of (the feminine affix) ङीप् which results from the fact that (मातृ) is one of (the words) स्वसृ etc. (in P. IV., 1, 10), ought to extend also to the word मातृ denoting 'a measurer'. (The author of the Paribhāṣhās) says therefore :

P. XCVIII : The (conventional) meaning which a word conveys when taken as a whole, is stronger than the (etymological) meaning derived from (a division of the word into) its parts.

Accordingly the word (मातृ referred to in P. IV., 1, 10) can only be the purely conventional (term मातृ) denoting 'a mother', not (the word मातृ) denoting 'a measurer.' The purely conventional meaning (of a word), which has no connection with the

etymological meaning<sup>1</sup> (of the latter), prevents, because it presents itself (first to our minds), our taking (that word) in its etymological sense ;<sup>2</sup> (and) such being the case, it is solely the (circumstance that the one meaning is, and that the other meaning is not, derived from) etymology, which gives rise to the present (Paribhāshā). What<sup>3</sup> we have stated here, is established by the maxim according to which in the chapter treating of the *Rathakāra* (this word does not denote 'a chariot-maker,' but denotes a member of a particular mixed caste viz. the son of a Karaṇi by a Māhishya).<sup>4</sup>

1. P. शुद्धेत्यस्य व्याख्या तदनेति | योगामिश्रितेत्यर्थः | यद्वा यतस्तदनाल्लिखितमतः शुद्धत्वमित्यर्थः | तथा च योगिकरूढस्थलेऽयं प्रतिबन्धप्रतिबन्धकभावो न योगरूढस्थले इति बोध्यम् ॥

Words are divided into four classes; *yaugika*, e. g. पाचक 'cooking'; *rūḍha*, e. g. गो 'a cow'; *yogarūḍha*, e. g. पद्मज 'a lotus' so called because 'it grows in pools'; and *yaugikarūḍha* i. e. words which convey both an etymological and a conventional meaning, both being however independent of each other; e. g. उद्भिद् which means 'sprouting' and denotes also a particular sacrifice. (See *Muktāvali*, Ed. Roer, pag. 83). This Paribhāshā has reference only to words of the last class.

2. Viz. unless there are particular reasons to the contrary.

3. भयमर्थः i. e. भयं प्रतिबन्धप्रतिबन्धकभावः. P.

4. *Chitprabhā*: रथकाराधिकरणेति | तत्र हि षष्ठस्य प्रथमे द्वादशाधिकरण आधानप्रकरणे वर्षासु रथकार आदर्शेति श्रुतं वाक्यं विषयकृत्य तत्र रथकारो रथं करोतीति व्युत्पत्त्या कश्चित्त्वर्णिको ग्राह्य उत कश्चित्संकीर्णजातिविशेष इति विचारे प्रसक्ते तत्र प्रथमस्यैव ग्रहणं त्रैवर्णिकस्योपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकारादाधानेऽप्यधिकारसंभवात्संकीर्णजातिविशेषस्य तनुपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकाराभावादाधानासंभवः | न च तस्य संकीर्णजातिविशेषे रूढौ मानाभावः | माहिष्येण करण्यां तु रथकारः प्रजायत इति याज्ञवल्क्येतिस्तत्र प्रमाणत्वात् ॥ तथा हि वैश्यायां क्षत्रियादुत्पन्नो माहिष्यः शूद्रायां वैश्यादुत्पन्ना करणी तस्यां करण्यां माहिष्यादुत्पन्नो रथकारः | तस्मान्नास्ति रथकारस्याधनेऽधिकार इति प्राप्ते | योगादूद्देवैलीयस्यात्संकीर्णजातिविशेष एव रथकारो ग्राह्यः | न च तस्यानुपनीतत्वेन विद्यासद्भावात्कथमा-

One (scholar)<sup>1</sup> however maintains that by the present Paribhāshā (दीर्घवेदी) in P. I., 1, 6 denotes only (two roots, viz.) दीर्घ and वेदी, not (the four roots) दी, धी, वे, and वी; others<sup>2</sup> say, that (for) this (the Paribhāshā) would not have been (necessary because), had (Pāṇini) intended (to denote) those (four roots दी, धी etc.), he would (to prevent all doubts) have said दीर्घधीवीटाम् (instead of saying, as he does, दीर्घवेदीटाम्).<sup>3</sup>

आनमिति वाच्यम् । तथा सत्येनद्विभिसामर्थ्यदेव वषर्तुषु तस्याभानकल्पनादिति सिद्धान्तः ।  
तथा चैतदधिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थोऽवयवप्रसिद्धेरिति सिद्धम् ॥

1. Viz. Siradeva who, as appears from the manner in which he applies the Paribhāshā, ascribes to it a different meaning.

2. अन्ये, i. e. न्यासकृदादयः. P.

3. Others say that the Paribhāshā is unnecessary so far as regards मातृ in P. IV., 1, 10, because that term can, on account of its proximity to स्वसृ, already by Par. CIII. denote only the word मातृ 'mother.' (See note 37 on Si. Kau. I., pag. 138). Pāyagunda, referring to this, states that in such a case पाण्डुकर्मल in P. IV., 2, 11 would offer an instance for the present Paribhāshā.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ XCIX.

One might say that as (the substitution of) भव (for the धी of गो which has taken place) in गवाक्ष, meaning 'a window,' is (by P. VI., 1, 123) optional, one should (be allowed to) form also गोक्ष etc.<sup>1</sup> (in the same sense). (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. XCIX : Occasionally operations which are stated to be optional, are not optional in the formation

1. The आदि 'etc.' includes गोभक्ष.



of one and the same form, but must in particular instances necessarily take place, while in others they are not allowed to take place.<sup>1</sup>

(An optional operation) must be regarded to be (always optional) or (optional only in particular instances), according as the various forms (which have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pāṇini's grammar,) require (either one or the other. The Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on the rule P. VII., 4, 41 and on P.

1. व्यवेति । विशिष्टविषयेऽस्थितया विभाषया विकल्पेनेत्यर्थः । भविः सार्वत्रिकाव्यवस्थितविभाषासमुच्चायकः । क्रियन्त इति क्वचिदिति शेषः ॥. P.—In गो+अक्ष भव is accordingly by P. VI., 1, 123 necessarily substituted for the ओ of गो.

See Chitprabhā: तेन गवाक्ष इत्यत्र वातायने नित्यमवङ् । प्राण्यङ्के तु गोक्षीग्यत्र न भवति । अन्यत्र तु सर्वत्र विकल्पः ॥ For other examples see below.

2. See Bhāshya on P. VII., 4, 41: इत्येतिरित् व्रते नित्यम् । इत्येतिरित् व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । संशितं व्रतम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् ।

देवतातो गलो ग्राह इतियोगे च सद्भिधिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इत्येतिरिति । व्रत इति विषयो निर्दिश्यते न तूत्तरपदं तेन संशितो ब्राह्मण इत्यत्रापि नित्यमित्त्वं भवति । यद्येवमित्त्वेन व्रतस्य द्योतितत्वात्संशितव्रत इति व्रतशब्दस्य प्रयोगो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अन्यत्रापि विधानात्संशितशब्दः सामान्यशब्द इति विशेषप्रतिपादनायाविरुद्धो व्रतशब्दप्रयोगः । व्रते तु नित्यमित्त्वं विधीयते ॥ न वक्तव्यमिति । साधारणेन न्यायेन सिद्धत्वात् । अत एव तुल्यधर्मणः शब्दानुपन्यस्यति ॥ देवतात इति । नुदविदोन्द्रता [८.२.५६] इति नत्वं संज्ञायाम् न भवति । देवग्रहणं संज्ञाविषयोऽलक्षणार्थं तेन भवतात इत्यादावपि संज्ञात्वान्नत्वाभावः । यदा तु क्रियाशब्दस्त्वाणं तात इति तदा नत्त्वविकल्पः ॥ गल इति । अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१.] इति ल्त्वं प्राण्यङ्के नित्यं भवति विषे तु गर इति ल्त्वाभावः क्रियाशब्दे तूभयं भवति गरो गल इति ॥ ग्राह इति । विभाषा ग्राहः [३.१.१४३] इति णप्रत्ययो जलचरे निभ्यं भवति ऋयोतिषि पचाद्यच् । ग्राह इति ॥ इतियोग इति । लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः [३.२.१२६] इति शनृशानञिभिर्हन्तीति

III., 2, 124 etc.<sup>1</sup>

पलायने वर्षेतीति भावतीत्यादावितिप्रयोगे न भवति ॥ मिथ इति । एकस्मिन्विषये न विकल्प-  
न्ते किंतु विषयभेदेन । एतच्चाकृतिपक्ष उपपद्यते । तत्र हि सर्वे लक्ष्यमैकध्यामापाद्योभयमु-  
पदिश्यते ततश्चोभयं भवतीत्येतावनैव लक्षणस्य व्यापारः । असंकीर्णत्वं तु प्रयोगवशात्प्रतीयते ॥  
गवाक्ष इति । अवङ् स्तोत्रायनस्य [६.१.१२३] इति नित्यमवङ् भवति प्राण्यङ्के तु गोर-  
क्षि गोक्षीति भवत्यन्यत्र तु विकल्पेन ॥ एतच्चोदाहरणं न तु व्यवस्थितविभाषाणां परिगणन-  
मन्यासामपि संभवात् ॥

1. Chitprabhā : अत्रादिशब्दादजेर्व्यञ्जयोः [२.४.५६] इत्यादिसूत्रस्थं भाष्यं ग्राह्यम् ॥  
—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 273 ; 348 ; 367 etc.

1. सर्वे लक्ष्यमैकध्यामापाद्य in the above is the reading of my own MS. which  
is supported by Nāgojibhaṭṭa's gloss on Kaiyata's words: ऐकध्याम् ।  
एकरूपत्वम् । बुद्ध्या युगपदभिसमीक्ष्येत्यर्थः । The lithographed Edition of the Ma-  
hābhāshya reads सर्वे लक्ष्यमैकविध्यमापाद्य.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ C.

P. C : When (there arises the question as to whether)  
a rule enjoins something (new), or contains  
(merely) a restriction (regarding something  
which is enjoined in another rule), either being  
possible, (such a rule should be considered) to  
enjoin something (new) in preference to (being  
regarded a restrictive rule).<sup>1</sup>

1. E. g. When य in P. VI., 4, 49 is taken to denote  $y + a$ , the question  
arises whether P. VI., 4, 49 enjoins the elision of  $y + a$  which has not  
been taught before, or restricts, so far as य is concerned, the elision of  $a$   
taught already in P. VI., 4, 48 to instances in which य is preceded by a  
consonant ; by the present Paribhāshā this question has to be answered  
in favour of the former alternative. See below.

Such<sup>1</sup> should be understood to be the case because (a rule which enjoins something new) is less cumbrous (than a restrictive rule); for, as regards a restrictive rule, its very nature obliges us to assume, although this is not actually stated, that what is taught in it, does beyond (the particular cases to which it is restricted) *not* take place; and besides (a restrictive rule is liable to) the objection that it states something which has already been stated (elsewhere).<sup>2</sup> This (Paribhāshā) is found (applied) in the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on P. VI., 4, 49.

1. नियमे इति । यतस्तत्त्वर्थः ॥ परिसंख्यापन्न शास्त्रे नियमपदेन गृह्यत इति न न्यूनता ॥ नियमशास्त्राणां विधिमुखेनैव प्रवृत्तेः सिद्धान्तितत्वादाह सामर्थ्यादिति ॥ चेन प्राप्तवाचसमुच्चयः । तथा च दोषत्रयम् ॥. P.

2. *E. g.* P. VII., 1, 67 which is a restrictive rule teaches that लम् before खल् and घञ् receives नुम् only then when it is preceded by a preposition; from this it follows that before खल् and घञ् it does *not* receive नुम् when it is *not* preceded by a preposition; and moreover the addition of नुम् which is taught in VII., 1, 67, has been taught already in P. VII., 1, 64.

3. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 49: अस्तु तर्हि संपातग्रहणम् (i. e. य = य् + भ) । यदि संपातग्रहणमन्यस्य लोपः प्राप्नोति । सिद्धोऽन्यस्य पूर्वणैव तत्प्राग्भसामर्थ्यात्सर्वस्य भविष्यति । एवमपि तेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा नियमो विज्ञास्यते यस्य हल एव नान्यतः । क मा भूत् । लोलूयिता पोषयिता । कैमर्थक्यान्नियमो भवति । विधेयं नास्तीति कृत्वा । इह चास्ति विधेयम् । किम् । अन्यस्य लोपः प्राप्तः सर्वस्य विधेयः । तत्रापूर्वो विधिरस्तु नियमो वेति । अपूर्वं एव विधिर्भविष्यति न नियमः ॥

Similarly in the Bhāshya on P. VIII., 4, 32, where Kaiyaṭa remarks: नियमे प्राप्तवाचः सिद्धस्य पुनरुपादानादनुवाददोषश्च । विधौ तु न प्राप्तवाचो नाप्यनुवाददोष इति विधिनियमसंभवे विधिरेव व्यायानिति भावः ॥

#### PARIBHĀSHĀ CI.

P. III., 3, 132 (teaches that to denote a wish the same affixes may be added to a root which would be added to it to denote

past time); now one might say that, as by that (rule the affix) लृङ् (of P. III., 2, 110) may be added (to a root to denote a wish) just as (it would be added to denote past time), so should also (the affixes) लङ् and लिट् (of P. III., 2, 111 and 115) be added by it (for the same purpose, because they likewise denote past time).<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāṣhâs) says therefore :

P. CI: When (operations dependent on the) general properties (of one thing) are transferred (to something else, operations dependent on) special properties (of the former) are not (thereby) transferred (to the latter).<sup>2</sup>

What gives rise to this (Paribhāṣhâ) is the fact that at the time when a thing presents itself to us with its general properties, the various limiting circumstances which would make us aware of its special properties have as yet no existence (for us). Accordingly लृङ् and लिट् cannot (by P. III., 3, 132) be added (to a root to denote a wish) because they are according to (Pāṇini's) teaching added (to a root, not to denote past time generally, but) to denote that particular past time which precedes the current day.<sup>3</sup> (The fact that Pāṇini has given the

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1. I. e. That one should be allowed to say e. g. not only देवक्षेदवर्षात्, but also देवक्षेदवर्षत् or देवक्षेदवर्ष.

2. See Bhairavamis'ra: अनिदिश्यत इत्यतिदेशः । सामान्यस्यातिदेशः सामान्यातिदेशः । सामान्यपदं सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्नपरम् । तन्निमित्तकत्वं षष्ठ्यर्थः । एवं च सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्येऽतिदिश्यमाने सति विशेषधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्यातिदेशो नैति कलितम् ॥

3. When Pāṇini in III., 3, 132 says भूतवत्, he means therefore that those affixes shall be added which would be added भूते, i. e. लृङ्, but not those which would be added भूतानयनने, i. e. लङ् and लिट्.—See also

rule) VI., 4, 69 shows that the present (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid ;<sup>1</sup> in consequence thereof (operations dependent on) special properties (of one thing) may likewise by P. I., 1, 56 be transferred (to something else). All this is found in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on P. I., 1, 56.

above pag. 373, note, Extract from Kaiyaṭa; and pag. 428, note 3-

1. The addition of व्यप् *e. g.* to ण would cause the substitution (by P. VI., 4, 66) of ई for the आ of ण only, if व्यप्, like क्त for which it is substituted, could be regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्. Now, if the Paribhāshā were universally valid, the latter would not be allowable, because क्त्वं is a *special* property of क्त; there could accordingly be no reason for the substitution of ई before व्यप्, and P. VI., 4, 69, which forbids that substitution, would be superfluous. Nevertheless P. VI., 4, 69 does serve a purpose because व्यप्, contrary to the present Paribhāshā, has by Pāṇini been regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्.—See Pūyagunda: अन्यथा न क्तं सेट् [१.२.१८] इति निषेधेन सेट्सदभावत्किञ्चित्स्य क्तविशेषधर्मेत्वादनतिदेशेनेत्वाप्राप्त्या निषेधवैफल्यं स्पष्टमेवेति भावः ॥

2. See Mahābhāshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 616 etc. ; also Bhāshya on P. VI., 3, 68 ; and Si. Kau. II., pag. 285.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CII.

P. VI., 1, 185 (teaches that that which is distinguished by an indicatory त्, is *svarita*). Now one might say that accordingly a *svarita* accent ought to be assigned *e. g.* also (to the first इ) in किरति, (because that इ, which has been substituted for the ऋ of कृ by P. VII., 1, 100, is distinguished in the latter rule by an indicatory त्. The author of the Paribhāshā) says therefore :

P. CII: (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both an affix and also

something else, it should be taken to denote an affix (only).<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā) is given (as an independent rule) in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 1; that it (however) does not concern (terms denoting) a single letter which may be employed (in grammar), is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on the same (rule).<sup>2</sup> In consequence of (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā the terms सन् ) in P. III., 2, 168 and (बल) in P. VI., 3, 118 denote (only) the *affixes* सन् and बल.

Others however, (and they are right), say, that according to the statement of Kaiyaṭa on the rule<sup>3</sup> P. VI., 1, 185, this Paribhāshā is nowhere in the Bhāshya had recourse to (to account) for the formation of any form whatsoever; that in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 1 it has been quoted by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter, for the purpose of showing that that (rule) may be dispensed with; that,

1. As therefore the term तित् in P. VI., 1, 185 denotes only affixes distinguished by an indicatory त् (such as यत् etc.) and cannot denote इत् in P. VII., 1, 100, no *svarita* accent can by the former rule be assigned to the first इ of किरति etc.

2. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 4, 1: नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि । कथम् । अर्थ-वद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यां सिद्धम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यामेवैतानि सिद्धानि । क्वचिदर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येत्येवं भविष्यति । क्वचित्प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोर्ग्रहणे प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa:.... इयङ्कुवङ्गेऽस्तु नायं परिहारो वर्णग्रहणेषु परिभाषाद्वयस्यानुपस्थानात् । यथेको यण्णचि [६.१.७७] इति दध्याज्ञायतीत्यादावप्रत्ययेऽप्यनर्थकेऽप्यचि यणादेशो भवति...॥

See above pag. 83, note 2.

3. See the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 185, above pag. 110, note 2.—

Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोः प्रत्यये संप्रत्यय इति परिभाषा भाष्यवार्तिककाराभ्यां न क्वचिदाश्रिता ॥

in accordance herewith,<sup>1</sup> the author of the Vārttikas has given it as his opinion (on P. VI., 1, 185) that the term प्रत्यये ought to have been employed (in P. VI., 1, 185 to show that the *svarita* accent is by that rule assigned only to *affixes* distinguished by an indicatory त्); and that it is the interpretation (of the learned) which tells us that (सन् and वल्) in the above-mentioned rules (III., 2, 168 and VI., 3, 118) denote only the affixes (सन् and वल्).<sup>2</sup>

1. अत एव i. e. परिभाषाया अनावश्यकत्वेन. If the Paribhāshā did exist, it would be superfluous to employ the word प्रत्यये in P. VI., 1, 185.

2. The Paribhāshā is accordingly rejected.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CIII.

One might say (that, as P. I., 3, 19 teaches that) the *Ātmanepada*-terminations (are added to जि after वि and परा, those terminations) should by that rule have been added (to जि also) in परा जयति सेना 'the superior army conquers.' (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore:

P. CIII : (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both<sup>1</sup> (something resembling) that in company with which it is (mentioned), and also something else (which would) not (resemble that) in company with which it is (mentioned), it should be taken to denote only the former.

1. E. g. परा in P. I., 3, 19 might denote the preposition परा and it might also denote the feminine of the pronominal adjective पर.

Accordingly the word परा (in P. I., 3; 19) denotes, as appears from the Bhāṣhya on that (rule),<sup>1</sup> only the preposition परा, because (only) this resembles the वि together with which परा is put down (in P. I., 3, 19).

The<sup>2</sup> word सहचरित 'accompanying' denotes (here) that which resembles something else, because only two (things) that resemble each other are (mentioned) in company with each other ; (for) when we say *e. g.* 'Rāma and Lakshmaṇa', it is likewise nothing but their mutual resemblance which makes (us mention the two together) ; and besides the rule is that only (things or words) resembling each other should be spoken of together and that they only should be put down together (in a rule). This much we are given to understand in the Bhāṣhya<sup>3</sup> on the rule P. II., 3, 8; for there the opinion that the Ablative case would by the rule P. II., 3, 10 have to be employed after परि (also) where the latter might convey any one of the meanings 'about' etc. (assigned to it in P. I., 4, 90) is refuted in the following words : 'Although the (*Karmappravachanīya*) परि (which occurs in P. II., 3, 10) is

1. See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 3, 19: विपराम्यां जैः । उपसर्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । परा जयति सेनेति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । यद्यपि तावदयं पराशब्दो दृष्टापचार उपसर्गानुपसर्गश्चायं खलु विशब्दोऽदृष्टापचार उपसर्ग एव तस्यास्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपसर्गात् । तद्यथास्य गोद्वितीयेनार्थे इति गौरिवोपादीयते नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति ॥

2. अस्या लोकासिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति । सहेति ॥ सहगमनं सहप्रयोगादिरूपमित्यर्थः ॥ P.

3. See Bhāṣhya on P. II., 3, 8: कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं परि । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरमनु । किं प्रयोजनम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ मा भूतामिति । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तमी [२. ३. ४३] इति सप्तमी । पञ्चम्यप्राप्तिभिः [२. ३. १०] इति पञ्चमी ॥ तत्रायमव्यर्थः ।



not restricted<sup>1</sup> to the one meaning ("away from," but is employed) both in this and in other senses, yet the word अय, (together with which it is put down in P. II., 3, 10), is certainly, where it is used as *Karmapravachanīya*, restricted to the one meaning "away from;"<sup>2</sup> (such being the case), by what other (परि) can the latter be accompanied (in P. II., 3, 10) except by that (परि) which conveys the sense "away from"? (If in ordinary life somebody were to say) "I want the fellow of this ox," only an ox would be brought to him, not a horse, nor a donkey; and the case is similar (in grammar).' From this (passage of the Bhāṣya) we learn namely that only (words) that resemble each other are put down together (in a rule).

When (Pāṇini) in the rule VIII., 3, 43 employs (the expression) कृत्वोऽर्थे 'in the sense of "so many times", this shows that the present (Paribhāṣhā) is not universally valid; otherwise the circumstance that (चतुः in that rule) must convey the meaning 'four times', would (in accordance with the present Paribhāṣhā) have resulted already from the fact that it is accompanied (in that rule by द्विः and त्रिः which can only mean 'twice' and 'three times').<sup>3</sup> Accordingly (the term इट्) in P. I., 1, 6

अप्रतेरिति न वक्तव्यम् ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् ॥ एकल तावदुक्तम् । अप्रतेरिति ॥ इतरत्नाणि । यद्यपि तावदयं परिदृष्टापचारो वर्जने चावर्जने चायं स्वल्पपक्षब्दोऽदृष्टापचारो वर्जनार्थ एव तस्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदतो वर्जनार्थान् । तद्यथास्य गोद्वितीयेनार्थ इति गौरवान्नायते नाशो न गर्दभः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यदि सामान्येन कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीयेति लक्षणं क्रियते तदा वृक्षं परि विद्योतत इत्यत्र विशेषविहितत्वात्पञ्चम्याङ्परिभिरिति पञ्चमी प्राप्नोति साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रतीत्यत्र च साधुनिपुणाभ्यामिति परत्वात्सप्तमी प्राप्नोति तत्राप्रतेरिति वक्तव्यं भवतीति मत्वाह प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिष्विति । ततश्च पुनर्द्वितीयाविधानात्पूर्वोक्तदोषानवतारः ॥ शिष्टे स्यटम् ॥

1. दृष्टापचारः, दृष्टव्यभिचारः, अनियतार्थक इति यावत्. Bhairavamis'ra.

2. P. I., 4, 88.

3. See Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 22.

denotes (contrary to the present Paribhāshā) the *augment* (and not the root) इद् although it is accompanied by roots. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

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1. अन्यत् i.e. उद्द्योतादौ P.
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### PARIBHĀSHĀ CIV.

One might say that अनङ्, (which) by P. VII., 1, 75 (before certain case-terminations is substituted for the final of अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि etc.), ought not (by that rule) to have been (substituted) in प्रियसक्थना ब्राह्मणेन because here the base (प्रियसक्थि) is not neuter (but masculine.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshā says therefore :

P. CIV : (Wherever in a rule a qualifying term might be connected) both with something that is read (in the rule) and also with something else suggested (e. g. by the heading-rule of the chapter in which the former rule occurs), its connection with that which is read (in the rule) is

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1. नपुंसकस्य is valid in P. VII., 1, 75 from P. VII., 1, 72 ; and अस्थि etc. in P. VII., 1, 75 denote by Par. XXIX. not merely अस्थि etc. by themselves, but also any bases that end in अस्थि etc. The meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 might therefore seem to be, that 'अनङ् is substituted for the final of neuter bases ending in अस्थि etc.', and according to this interpretation it ought not to be substituted for the final of the *masculine* base प्रियसक्थि.

stronger (than its connection with what is suggested *e. g.* by such heading-rule);<sup>1</sup>

i. *e.*, it is connected with that which is read<sup>2</sup> (in the rule), not with that which is suggested by, or in other words, is supplied *e. g.* from, (the heading-rule of) the chapter (in which the former rule occurs), *viz.* because the fact that a word is actually read (in a rule) carries more weight with it than *e. g.* the circumstance that a word is supplied from a heading-rule.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the (term नपुंसक 'neuter' gender' (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75) qualifies there (the words) अस्थि etc. (which we actually read in the rule, and does) not (qualify the term) भङ्गस्य (which is supplied in P. VII., 1, 75 from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1).<sup>4</sup> In those rules<sup>5</sup> however that teach (the substitution of) शि, शी, लुक्, (or the insertion of) नुम्, (नपुंसक) can qualify only (the term) भङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule (VI., 4, 1) because in them nothing is actually put down (that could be qualified by it).

1. नपुंसकस्य which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75, might qualify either the words अस्थि etc. which are actually read in the rule, or the term भङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1; such being the case, we must, in accordance with the present Paribhāṣhā, make it qualify अस्थि etc., and the meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 becomes therefore this, that 'अनङ्' is substituted for the final of bases ending in the neuter अस्थि etc.' According to this interpretation अनङ् has been correctly substituted in प्रियसक्थना ब्राह्मणेन.

2. श्रुतत्वं साक्षादुच्चारितत्वं न्यतराकाङ्क्षारूपस्थानप्रमाणलब्धत्वं च । अनुमितत्वं तूभयाकाङ्क्षारूपप्रकरणप्राप्तत्वं । P.—See below गृह्यमाणस्य शलन्तस्य.

3. भुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षादिति न्यायैनेति भावः ॥ P.

4. Cf. also Schol. on P. VII., 2, 99.

5. *E. g.* in P. VII., 1, 20; 73 etc.

It is on account of (the existence of) this<sup>1</sup> (Paribhāṣhā) that (Pāṇini) has not worded his rule VII., 1, 79 (वा नपुंसकस्य 'वा शौ'; for there नपुंसकस्य has been employed (by him) in order that (it may qualify the reduplicated participles ending with शतृ) which is put down<sup>2</sup> (in VII., 1, 78 and must necessarily be supplied from it in P. VII., 1, 79, but not the term अङ्ग supplied from P. VI., 4, 1, and that नुम्) may (accordingly) be (optionally inserted) in a base that ends with a (reduplicated) neuter participle ending in शतृ, (but not in a neuter base that ends with a redupl. participle in शतृ which is not neuter; e. g. नुम्) shall not be (optionally inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् when conveying the sense of बहवो ददतो येषु; but it shall be (inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the masculine base बहुददत् when the latter is employed in the sense of बहूनि ददन्ति येषु.—The above we find in the Bhāṣhya<sup>3</sup> on P. VII., 1, 23.

1. अत एव i.e. एतद्वचनसत्त्वादेव. P.—Had Pāṇini worded the rule VII., 1, 79, 'वा शौ,' the meaning of that rule would have been अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तः शब्दोऽन्तो यस्याङ्गस्य तस्य शौ परे वा नुम्, and we should accordingly have formed the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् (बहवो ददतो येषु) बहुददति or बहुददन्ति, which would have been wrong. See below.

2. शतृ is not actually put down in P. VII., 1, 79 but it must necessarily be supplied from the preceding rule to make the rule VII., I, 79 complete.

3. See Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 23: इदं विचार्यते । शिशिलुमुग्निभिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं वा स्यादर्थग्रहणं वेति । कश्चाल विशेषः । शिशिलुमुग्निभिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधः । शिशिलुमुग्निभिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । बहुलपुः । बहुलपू । बहुलपव इति । अस्तु तर्ह्यर्थग्रहणम् । यद्यर्थग्रहणं प्रियसक्त्वा ब्राह्मणेनेत्यलानङ्गं प्राप्नोति । अस्तु तर्हि शब्दग्रहणमेव । ननु चोक्तं शिशिलुमुग्निभिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेध इति । सिद्धं तु प्रकृतार्थविशेषणत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रकृतस्वार्थो विशेष्यते । किं च प्रकृतम् । अङ्गम् । अङ्गस्य शिशिलुमुग्निभ्यो भवन्ति नपुंसके वर्तमानस्य । कथं प्रियसक्त्वा ब्राह्मणेन ।

Some however give another example (for this Paribhāshā. When the question should arise as to whether by P. VIII., 4, 46 र्, should only *cause* the doubling of a consonant contained in the Pratyāhāra यर्, or should also itself by that rule be doubled after ह्, they say) that it can (by P. VIII., 4, 46) only be the *cause* (of the doubling of a consonant) but cannot itself be doubled (by that rule), because (so far as it *causes* the doubling) it is actually read (in P. VIII., 4, 46), whereas it would be doubled only because it is suggested to us by (the Pratyāhāra) यर् in which it is contained.<sup>1</sup> This (however) is incorrect; for (what is here supposed to result from this Paribhāshā) results (in

अस्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणम् । अस्यादिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम् । नन्वेनेनासंदिग्धेनार्थग्रहणेन भवितव्यं न हि नपुंसकं नाम शब्दोऽस्ति । किं तद्युच्यतेऽस्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणमिति । अत्राप्यर्थग्रहणमेव । अवैतावान्संदेहः । क्व प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यते क्व गृह्यमाणस्येति । शिशीलुप्रुभिषिषु प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यतेऽस्यादिषु गृह्यमाणस्य ॥

The Paribhāshā itself I have found nowhere in the Mahābhāshya.

1. P. VIII., 4, 46 teaches that a consonant contained in the Pratyāhāra यर् (i. e. य्, व्, र्, ल् etc.) may optionally be doubled after र् or ह् when these are preceded by a vowel. Now there arises in such instances as महाह् the question whether by the above rule र्, which is contained in the Pratyāhāra यर्, should be doubled after ह्. This question is answered in the negative and it is stated that by the present Paribhāshā र् can only cause the doubling of a following consonant (as e. g. अर्क, अर्क) but cannot itself be doubled after ह्. Nāgojibhaṭṭa evidently quotes in the above Siradeva, who has the Paribhāshā श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रौतः संबन्धो बलीयान्, on which he comments thus : तेनाचौ रहाभ्यां द्वे इत्यत्र रहाभ्यामिति साक्षाच्छ्रुतेन निमित्तभावेन यरन्तर्भावादनुमितं कार्यत्वं बाध्यते । . . . . अयं च लौकिकन्यायकृद्बोध्यः । तथा च पठन्ति । साक्षाच्छ्रुटेनानुमितं बाध्यते प्रत्यक्षानुमितयोः प्रत्यक्षत्वं बलीय इति । . . . .

reality) from the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.<sup>1</sup>  
More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. See above pag. 322.—Bhairavamis'ra: तक्रकौण्डिन्येति । ननु येन-  
नाप्राप्तिन्यायनिरूपणावसरे तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायोऽनवकाशविषयो विधेयविषयक्षेत्युक्तम् (See  
above pag. 327) । अत्र तु तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन सिद्धेरित्युच्यते । एतदुक्तविषयं नि-  
मित्तत्वस्याविर्भेदत्वादिति चेत् । न । तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायस्थलीयो यो न्यायो युक्तिरनवकाश-  
त्वरूपा तथा सिद्धेरित्यर्थात् । यत्रयत्र रेफस्य निमित्तत्वं तत्र सर्वत्र वाक्यान्तरेण कार्यित्वस्य  
प्रसक्त्या निमित्तत्वमनवकाशमिति तेन न्यायेन तद्वीत्येवार्थात् ॥

2. अन्यत्र i. e. उद्द्योतादौ. P.

### PARIBHĀṢHĀ CV.

(P. VI., 2, 2 teaches that in a Tatpurusha-compound the first member retains its original accent, provided it would stand in the Instrumental case, if the compound were dissolved; P. II., 4, 77, that the Aorist affix सिच् is dropped after पा in the Parasmaipada). Now one might say that the accent taught in the former rule should be (assigned by that rule also) e. g. (to परम) in परमकारकेण (where the latter conveys the sense of) परमेण कारकेण;<sup>1</sup> and that by the latter rule (सिच्) should be dropped after पा also when it, in consequence of the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 45) of भा (for ऐ), stands for वै 'to dry'.<sup>2</sup> (The author of the Paribhāṣhās) says therefore :

1. परमेणेति । अत्र परिनिष्ठितविभक्त्या विशेषणं विशेष्येण [२.१.५७] इति समानाधिकरणसमासः । अत्र तृतीयासमाससत्त्वात्तत्प्रयुक्तस्तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीया [६.२.२] इति स्वरः स्यादिति भावः ॥ Ohitprabhā.

2. I. e. that the Aor. Par. of वै 'to dry' should by P. II., 4, 77 likewise be अपात्, just as it is अपात् of पा 'to drink.'

P. CV : (Whenever<sup>1</sup> a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original,<sup>2</sup> and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.<sup>3</sup>

1. भन्न लक्षणं च प्रतिपदं चेति द्वन्द्वं कृतोक्तशब्देन वा तृतीयासमासः । द्वन्द्वान्ते श्रूयमाणत्वात्प्रत्येकं संबन्धः । लक्षणशब्देन च सामान्यलक्षणमत्र प्रतिपदोक्तसमभिव्याहारादिति बोध्यम् । तदाह लक्षणेनेत्यर्थे इति । एकदेशस्येति भावः ॥ P.

2. *E. g.* पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes only the original पा 'to drink', but not the form पा of पै 'to dry,' because the latter results from a rule viz. from P. VI., 1, 45. (Si. Kau. II., pag. 96).—सखि in P. VII., 1, 92 denotes only the original word सखि 'a friend,' but not the साख of भतिसखि (i. e. सखीमतिक्रान्त), because the latter साख results from P. I., 2, 48. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 113).

3. *E. g.* The Tṛitiyā-tatpuruṣhas in P. VI., 2, 2 can be only the Tatpuruṣhas formed by P. II., 1, 30 in which the term तृतीया has been employed by Pāṇini, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 1, 57.—The *Dik-samāṣas* in P. I., 1, 28 can be only the compounds formed by P. II., 2, 26 in which the term दिक् actually occurs, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 2, 24. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 128).—The compounds commencing with महत् spoken of in P. VI., 3, 46 would by

(लक्षण in लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः) means '(resulting) from a rule' or '(formed) by a general rule.' (Accordingly such a term as 'Instrumental' Tatpuruṣha-compound in P. VI., 2, 2, can denote only those compounds the formation of which is taught in P. II., 1, 30, because in that rule the individual term तृतीया 'Instrumental' has been actually employed by Pāṇini; and the term ण in P. II., 4, 77 can denote only the root ण 'to drink.') For (Instrumental Tatpuruṣha) compounds etc., formed (by rules like P. II., 1, 30 etc.) in which the individual terms 'Instrumental' etc. have been employed (by Pāṇini), are *pratipadokta*; and they alone are denoted (by the expressions 'Instrumental' Tatpuruṣhas etc. in P. VI., 2, 2 etc.), because they present themselves to us at once (when we hear the words 'Instrumental Tatpuruṣhas' etc.), while such other (compounds as परमकारकेण, being formed by general rules like P. II., 1, 57,) present themselves to us later. (Similarly, when we hear the term ण,) the form ण of पै does not present itself to us until (पै), after the ap-

the present Paribhāṣhā be only those compounds that are formed by P. II., 1, 61 (सन्महत् etc.) had Pāṇini not employed the term समानाधिकरण in the rule VI., 3, 46. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 388.)—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 574; 579 (P. VI., 2, 57 and II., 1, 63); 581 (P. VI., 2, 68 and II., 1, 54) etc.

See also the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 13; I., 1, 20; I., 1, 28; and on many other rules. The Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 2, 2 runs thus: तत्पुरुषे विभक्ति-प्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधः । तत्पुरुषे विभक्तिप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । परमं कारकं परमकारकम् । परमेण कारकेण परमकारकेण । परमे कारके परमकारक इति । सिद्धं तु लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति प्रतिपदं यो द्वितीयासप्तमीतृतीयासमासस्तस्य ग्रहणं लक्षणीकश्चायम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: विशेषणसमासो न प्रथमान्तानामेव भवत्यपि तु द्वितीयाद्यन्तानामपीति भावः ॥ लक्षणीक इति । विभक्तिविशेषमनुपादाय सामान्यलक्षणेनायं समासो विहित इत्यर्थः ॥



plication (to it) of the rule (P. VI., 1, 45, has been changed to १), whereas १ 'to drink' presents itself to us at once. For it is this very circumstance (that one thing presents itself to us at once when we hear a particular term, and that another thing does not present itself till later), which gives rise to the present Paribhāshā.<sup>1</sup>

This (Paribhāshā is applicable) also to (terms) denoting single letters, for it has been made use of in the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 15 (to prove that the term ओत् in that rule denotes only an original ओ).<sup>2</sup> How the contrary opinion, that this (Paribhāshā has) no (concern) with (terms) denoting single letters, (which is supposed to be) proved by the fact that (Pāṇini) has employed<sup>3</sup> the word उपदेशे in the rule VI., 1, 45, has in the S'abdendu-s'ekhara on the very rule (P. VI., 1, 45) been shown to be faulty, may be ascertained from that (work).—The circumstance that (Pāṇini) in VIII., 2, 71 (has qualified भुवः) by the expression महाव्याहृते: 'when it is the great mystical word (भुवः):'<sup>4</sup>, shows that

1. तथा च लौकिकलावगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः. P.

2. ओत् in P. I., 1, 15 denotes only the final ओ of Nipātas like अहो etc. that originally end in ओ, but it does not denote e. g. the ओ of अदो in अदोभवत् (i. e. अनदोऽदोऽभवत्, see P. I., 4, 61) because the latter stands for original अम्.

See Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 15: ओतश्चिप्रतिषेधः । ओदन्तस्य निपातस्य च्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनदोऽदोऽभवत् अदोभवत् । तिरोभवत् । न वक्तव्यम् । लक्षणप्रतिषेधोक्तयोः प्रतिषेधोक्तस्येत्येवं भविष्यति ॥

3. I. e. that Pāṇini has stated that आ is substituted for the final of a root which 'in an original enunciation' i. e. 'originally' ends in ए, ऐ, or ओ.

4. Pāṇini has employed the word महाव्याहृते: in order to prevent the application of the rule VIII., 2, 71 e. g. to the Nom. Plur. भुवः of भू. If

this (Paribhāshā) is not universally valid. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

the present Paribhāshā were universally valid, महाव्याहृते: would be superfluous, because in that case भुवः would by the Paribhāshā denote only the original mystical word भुवः, not also *e. g.* the Nom. Plur. भुवः of भू.

1. भस्म्यन्न *i. e.* शेखरादी. Chitprabhā.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CVI.

Now one might say that, (if) then (the preceding Paribhāshā were adopted, दा in P. I., 1, 20 ought not to denote the दा which by P. VI., 1, 45 stands for original दे or दो, and that accordingly) neither देङ् nor the root दो ought to be termed पु, although their (final vowel) is changed to आ; that similarly (मा in P. VIII., 4, 17 ought not to denote the मा which) by the same substitution of आ (for ए stands for original मे, and that) ण् ought (therefore) not by P. VIII., 4, 17 to be substituted (for the न् of नि) *e. g.* in the Periphr. Fut. of प्र-नि+मेङ्; and that (गा in P. VI., 4, 66 ought not to denote the गा which) by the substitution of आ (for ऐ stands for original गै, and that) ई ought (accordingly) not by P. VI., 4, 66 to be substituted for (the final of) गै. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CVI: The terms गा, मा, or दा, when they are employed (in grammar, denote) both (the original roots गा, मा, दा, and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा, दा).

. The fact that दैप् has an indicatory प् attached to it, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā); for the (indicatory प् has been

attached to दै) in order that both (दाप् and दैप्) may be denoted by (the दाप् of) अदाप् (in P. I., 1, 20, and that the latter as well as the former may be excluded from that rule. If) on the other hand (the present Paribhāshā did not exist), it would have been useless to attach an indicatory प् (to दै) for the sake of including the latter in the exception (अदाप्); for in that case (दै) could (in accordance with Par. CV.,) not have been denoted (by the दा) in दाभा पु (and could therefore not possibly have been termed पु by that rule), because (दा is not the original form of दै, but) results from a rule (of grammar).<sup>1</sup> The (indicatory प् of दैप्) proves then (the correctness of part<sup>2</sup> of this Paribhāshā) and by doing so it indicates (the existence of) the whole Paribhāshā. And this (Paribhāshā) which supersedes<sup>3</sup> (not only) Par. CV., (but also) Par. LXXXI. and XC., is found in the Bhāshya<sup>4</sup> on the rule P. I., 1, 20.—(गति) in the rule P. II., 4, 77 should in accordance with the Bhāshya<sup>5</sup> be taken to denote

1. If the Paribhāshā did not exist, दा in दाभा पु would by the preceding Paribhāshā denote only the original दा, but not दै; it would consequently have been superfluous to attach a प् to दै for the sake of preventing its being termed पु by दाभा पु in P. I., 1, 20.

2. Viz. of that portion of it which relates to दा.

3. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तपरिभाषानन्तरमस्या उल्लेखेन तदपवादत्वमेवैति भ्रमस्य तदनित्यत्वादेव सिद्धे वैफल्यस्य च निरासायाह । इयं चेति । अत्रैवोल्लेखस्तु ज्ञापकानुरोधादशोकवन्निकान्यायात्सर्वान्त औचित्याच्चेति भावः ॥ वाचिकेति । वाध्यसामान्यचिन्तया येननाप्राप्तिन्यायदिति भावः ॥ P.

4. See Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 20: दोष एवैतस्याः परिभाषाया लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति गामादाग्रहणेऽप्यत्रोपेक्ष इति ॥

5 See Bhāshya on P. II., 4, 77: गापोर्ग्रहण इण्विबन्त्योर्ग्रहणम् । गापोर्ग्रहण इण्विबन्त्योर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इणो यो गाशब्दः पिबतेयैः पाशब्द इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भून् । अगासीन्नटः । अपासीन्नमिति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । इण्यग्रहणे ताव-

only that गा which is substituted for (the root) इण्. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

द्वार्त्ते निर्देशादेव व्यक्तं लुग्निकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति । पाग्रहणे चापि वार्त्तमुक्तमेतत्सर्वत्रैव पाग्रहणेऽलुग्निकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति ॥

1. लक्ष्यानुरोधादर्थवत्यरिभाषानया न बाध्यते । अत एव दाग्रहणे दाशब्दस्य घुसंज्ञायां दाग्रहणेन न ग्रहणम् । साहचर्यपरिभाषाया अपि न बाधः । तेन क्लानामश्च [3.2.2] इत्यत्र साहचर्यान्माङ्गुलीरेव ग्रहणं न मा मान इत्यस्येष्ट्याह । अन्यत्रेति । उद्गोतादावित्यर्थः ॥. Chitprabhā.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS CVII. AND CVIII.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (P. I., 1, 1 'वृद्धिरादैच्' teaches that 'आत्, *i. e.* आ, and ऐच्, *i. e.* ऐ and औ, are termed Vṛiddhi,') the term *Vṛiddhi* ought (by that rule) to denote the collection (of vowels आ+ऐ+औ. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CVII : What is stated (in grammar of several things) must be understood (to have been stated thereby) of each of them separately ;<sup>1</sup>

just as in (the sentence) 'let Devadatta and the others be fed' the feeding (is enjoined of every individual denoted by the words 'Devadatta and the others').<sup>2</sup>

Now one might say that, (when P. I., 1, 7 'ह्रस्वोऽनन्तराः संयोगः' teaches that 'consonants unseparated by vowels are termed Sam-

1. *Vṛiddhi* denotes therefore each of the vowels आ, ऐ, औ by itself.

2. The Paribhāshā is consequently *Lokanyāya-siddhā*.

yoga,' or when he teaches that ' words compounded are termed Samāsa,' or when he in VI., 1, 5 'उभे अभ्यस्तम्' teaches that 'both the reduplicative syllable and the root are termed Abhyasta'), the terms *Samyoga*, *Samāsa*, and *Abhyasta* ought likewise in accordance (with the preceding Paribhāshā) to denote, (the first) each (of such consonants) by itself, (the second each of the words compounded, and the last the reduplicative syllable by itself and also the root by itself. The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CVIII : Sometimes (it) also (happens that what is stated in grammar of several things, must be understood to have been stated thereby) of all of them collectively ;<sup>1</sup>

just as e. g. (the sentence) 'the kings being desirous of gold, the Gārgyas should be fined a hundred', (enjoins that all the Gārgyas together, not that every Gārgya) should be fined (a hundred).<sup>2</sup> The one or the other (of these two Paribhāshās is adopted) according as the various forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, require the adoption of one or the other).<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Samyoga* denotes accordingly the collection of consonants unseparated by vowels etc.

1. This Paribhāshā is therefore likewise *Lokanyāya-siddhā*.

3. See the Bhāshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 1 (below); on I., 1, 7; and on several other rules.

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Extract from the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> on P. I., 1, 1 :

प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । समुदा-  
ये मा भूतामिति । अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः । अन्यत्र सहव-  
चनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्रसङ्गः । यत्वेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं क-  
रोति तत्र सहग्रहणं तद्यथा सह सुपा [२.१.४] उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति  
[६.१.५] । प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः । प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमा-  
प्तिर्दृश्यते तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति । न चोच्यते  
प्रत्येकमिति प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते । ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टा-  
न्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्डयन्तामर्थि-  
नश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति । न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति । सत्येत-  
स्मिन्दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियत इहापि प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम् ।  
अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवतीहापि नार्थः प्रत्येक-  
मिति वचनेन ॥

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa: उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति । अत्र सहग्रहणं वार्तिककारस्य  
कर्तव्यत्वेन स्थितं भाष्यकारस्तूभेग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं स्थापयिष्यति ॥ प्रत्यवयवं चेति । अत्र वाक्य-  
शब्देन वाक्यार्थः फलमुच्यते । तच्च देवदत्तादीनां भोजनम् । तस्य चैतदेव रूपं यत्प्रत्येकपरि-  
समाप्त्या संपद्यतेऽज्ञादनादिरूपत्वान्नृप्तिफलत्वाच्च भोजनस्य । नाट्यक्रिया तु समुदाये समाप्यते  
गीतादिक्रियासमुदायरूपत्वात्तस्याः । संयोगसंज्ञा तन्वर्थत्वात्समुदाये प्रवर्तते । वृद्धिसंज्ञा तु  
लभ्ये पृथगादैर्चा दर्शनान्मालादीनां च [६.२.८] इति लिङ्गाच्च प्रत्येकं व्यवतिष्ठते ॥ गर्गाः  
शतं दण्डयन्तामिति । अत्र ज्ञातस्थेऽस्तितमस्यात्प्राधान्यमप्रादानस्थानप्राप्ता गर्गा गुणकर्म न  
च गुणभेदेन प्रधानस्य भेद इति ज्ञातदण्डनं समूहे परिसमाप्यते ॥ अर्थिनश्चेति ज्ञानस्य प्रा-  
धान्यं प्रतिपाद्यते दण्डपरायां हि चोदनायां ज्ञानस्य प्राधान्यमतो वाक्यादवगम्यते ॥ अथ  
तत्रान्तरेणेति । न्यायादन्वर्थत्वाच्च समाससंज्ञायाः समुदाये परिसमाप्ते सिद्धायां योगविभा-  
गार्थं तत्र सहग्रहणं स्थितमिति तत्रान्तरेणेत्युक्तम् ॥

## PARIBHÂSHÂ CIX.

(ई and ऋ) in P. I., 4, 3 (may either be some individual ई and ऋ, or they may represent any and every ई and ऋ); now one might say that, if on the former alternative they were pronounced (in P. I., 4, 3) with a particular accent, a differently accented (ई or ऋ) would not be termed (*nadî* by that rule), for the rule P. I., 1, 69 (according to which a vowel contained in the Pratyâhâra अण् denotes also all vowels homogeneous with it) would not be applicable to the *long* (vowels ई and ऋ) put down (in P. I., 4, 3), because the latter are *not* contained in (the Pratyâhâra) अण्.<sup>1</sup> (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CIX : (When the same letters have different qualities, these different) qualities do not render them different (letters).<sup>2</sup>

*I. e.* A (particular) quality which without a special effort<sup>3</sup> is

1. *I. e.* when ई and ऋ in P. I., 4, 3 represent every ई and ऋ, then the term *nadî* is assigned to *udâtta* ई and ऋ, *anudâtta* ई and ऋ etc. ; but when ई and ऋ in P. I., 4, 3 are *e. g.* *udâtta* ई and ऋ, then *anudâtta* ई and ऋ cannot be termed *nadî* by that rule.

2. *E. g.* The ई which is pronounced as *udâtta*, is not regarded as different from the ई pronounced as *anudâtta* or *svarita* ; nor is the nasalized ई regarded as different from the unnasalized ई. *Udâtta* ई denotes therefore also *anudâtta* ई and *svarita* ई, unnasalized ई also nasalized ई, and *vice versa*.

3. A quality is assigned to a letter *without a special effort*, when it is assigned to it in accordance with the ordinary rules of grammar ; but where it has been assigned to it against the ordinary rules of the language, there it is assigned to it by a special effort, and in that case a letter so qualified is meant to denote only that particular letter and not also the same letter differently qualified. See below.

assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced,<sup>1</sup> does not render (that letter) different, or in other words, is not assigned (to it) for the purpose (of distinguishing it, from letters differently qualified). The circumstance that (Pāṇini) employs the (separate) word उदात्तः<sup>2</sup> e. g. in (the rule) VII., 1, 75,<sup>3</sup> indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhāshā; for, if the Paribhāshā did not exist, the word उदात्तः would be superfluous), because (in that case the object for which उदात्तः has been employed in P. VII., 1, 75 etc.) might have been attained by simply pronouncing (the initial अ of) अनङ् etc. as *udātta*. From our explanation 'a quality assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced' it follows, that when in (rules like) P. IV., 2, 44, VI., 1, 169 etc. (a particular quality) is assigned (to a letter) by means of such separate words as *udātta* etc., (the qualities denoted by the latter) are intended (to distinguish letters so qualified from letters differently qualified). When (Pāṇini) in I., 1, 18, where the non-nasal (उ) should have been put down (as substitute for the non-nasal ङ), by a special effort puts down the nasal (ऊँ), his doing so shows that (ऊँ) is meant (to denote only the nasal ऊँ, not also the non-nasal उ); and when he e. g. in VII., 1, 85 puts down the non-nasal (आ), while the nasal (आँ) should have been put down (as substitute) for original (ऋ), it follows (similarly) that that (non-nasal आ) is meant (to denote only the non-nasal आ, and

1. I. e. the quality must be actually pronounced while the letter is being pronounced, which would be the case e. g. if ई or ऊ in P. I., 4, 3 were pronounced as *udātta*; but it must not be assigned to the letter by separate words such as उदात्त etc.

2. *Scil.* in order to show that the vowel अ् of the substitute अन् is always to be *udātta*.

3. See also P. VII., 1, 98.



not also nasal अँ).<sup>1</sup> This is the reason why we have said above 'without a special effort.'

And one cannot object that, as अस्थि etc. (in P. VII., 1, 75) are by the *Phit-sūtra* II., 3 *ādyudātta*, and as the substitute अन् for their original final (*anudātta* vowel) should therefore likewise have been pronounced as *anudātta*, the actual pronunciation of it (in P. VII., 1, 75) as *udātta* would (because it would have required a special effort) sufficiently have shown (that only the *udātta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.), just as (the nasal अँ in P. I., 1, 18 has been said to show that only that अँ is allowed to be substituted for उ); and that accordingly the (employment of the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) cannot be said to indicate (the existence of the present *Paribhāshā*)<sup>2</sup>; for as (अन् is not only substituted for *anudātta* इ, but) is, in the case of (compounds) like परमास्थि which are *antodātta*, substituted also for *udātta* (इ, the actual pronunciation of it in P. VII., 1, 75 as *udātta* would not have required a special effort and) could (therefore) not have shown (that only the *udātta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.).

Passages in the *Bhāshya* such as (we find on P. VII., 2, 99, I., 1, 56, VI., 3, 52 and 78,) 'that चतसृ shall be put down as *ādyudātta*, the substitute वस as *ādyudātta*, that पद etc. are put down as *antodātta*, and स as *udātta*,' imply according to Kaiyaṣa and others that, when

1. According to what will be stated below, the present *Paribhāshā* would not be applicable at all in P. I., 1, 18 and VII., 1, 85 because अँ and आ are taught in those rules. Bhairavamisra remarks therefore: इदं संप्रदायमतेन वस्तुतस्तु विधेयान्विषये वक्ष्यमाणैव रीतिर्बोद्ध्या.

2. *I. e.* The fact that the pronunciation of अन् as *udātta* would require a special effort, would prevent the *udātta* अन् from denoting also *anudātta* अन्, and the separate word उदात्तः would serve no purpose after having indicated the existence of this *Paribhāshā*.

the words of Pāṇini's grammar are read *without* accents, the occasional pronunciation of (a term *with*) a particular accent *is* meant to distinguish (that term so accentuated from the same term differently accentuated;<sup>1</sup> and the same scholars maintain) that (the author of the) Bhāṣhya makes (the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) indicate (the existence of the present Paribhāshā only) on the alternative that (all the words of Pāṇini's grammar) are read with the three accents.

Others however, (and they are right,) say: '(The words) निपातनम् (निपात्यते etc. which occur in the above-mentioned passages of the Bhāṣhya, do not mean simply that a certain form *is put down* in a rule, but they) mean that a form is put down which (according to the ordinary rules of the language) should have been formed differently; (to put down something) in this manner requires a special effort, from which it follows that (when) a particular accent (has been so put down), it is meant to render (the term so accentuated different from the same term differently accentuated). When (चतसृ in तिसृचतसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is (then) made *ādyudātta*, while तिसृचतसृ as a Dvandva-compound should have been put down as *antodātta*, and when (वच, पद and स) are differently accentuated from what they should have been as substitutes for (हन्, पाद, and सह), it follows that (चतसृ in P. VII., 2, 99) is meant to denote (only the *ādyudātta* चतसृ, वच only the *ādyudātta* वच etc.). There is nothing to prove

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1. In other words, Kaiyaṭa etc. consider that the present Paribhāshā must not be adopted in case the words of Pāṇini's grammar are (as a rule) read without accents. See below pag. 499, note 3. Cf. P. नन्वेवमपि निपातनस्थले यत्नविशेषाभावाच्चतसरीत्यादिभाष्यासंगतिरत आह | चतेति || नन्वेवं ज्ञापकपरभाष्यासंगति स्तत्ताप्युक्तरीत्या तदुच्चारणस्य विवक्षार्थसंभवादत आह | तैस्येयेति ||

that all (the words of) Pāṇini's grammar have been left by him unaccented, (though) occasionally a word may have been given by him without any accents, as *e. g.* ऐशक<sup>1</sup> in the rule P. VI., 4, 174. Although those who study the *Angas* read them certainly, as one does the *Brāhmaṇas*, without distinguishing the three accents, yet they know from the explanation (of the learned) where an *udatta* etc. has been put down, just as they know from it that (a letter) is *anundāsika* etc.<sup>2</sup>

Where a letter is *taught* (in a rule), there it does in consequence of the prohibition अग्रप्रायः (in P. I., 1, 69) not denote (also) the homogeneous letters which it (otherwise) would denote by the present *Paribhāṣā*;<sup>3</sup> for this reason it is not the nasal ँ which *e. g.* in घटवत् has (been substituted) for the म् of (the affix) मनुप्,<sup>4</sup> (and) it is for the same reason that (Pāṇini) has put down तद्वान् in the rule IV., 4, 125. (If) on the other hand (a letter which is taught in a rule did likewise denote also those letters that differ from it only in quality, then the substitute for the म् of मनुप् ought to have been nasal ँ, and in that case the final व् of तद्वान् would) by the rule प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्<sup>4</sup> have been changed necessarily to the nasal (न् before ँत्).

On the alternative however that (a letter is regarded) as the

1. *Sci.* which is either *ādyudatta* when formed by P. IV., 1, 168, or *antodatta* when formed by P. IV., 2, 132.

2. See above pag. 105.

3. The ँ, the substitution of which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 9, denotes only the *niranunāsika* ँ, not also the *anunāsika* ँ; if it did denote the latter, the latter ought to have been substituted for the nasal म् of मनुप् in the formation of घटवत् from घट + मनुप्.

4. See *Si. Kau. I.*, pag. 60.

representative of all (the individual letters) of its kind,<sup>1</sup> the present (maxim) must be considered unnecessary ; (and) when<sup>2</sup> *e. g.* (in P. I., 4, 3) ई and ऊ are (so) put down as representatives of all long (ई's an ऊ's, the term *nadī*) cannot (by that rule) be assigned (to any letters) that should not be (termed *nadī*). More hereof elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

1. See above pag. 494 note 1.

2. See Rāghavendrāchārya: ननु जातिपक्षे यू इत्यनेन ह्रस्वयोरपि नदीसंज्ञा स्यादित्यादिजतिस्तत्रापि सत्त्वादित्यत आह । यू इति ॥

3. अन्यत्वेति । अ इ उणसूत्रस्य भाष्यप्रदीपोद्घोतादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhā.

See Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 1: उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तं भेदका अभेदका इति । किं गु-  
नरत्नं न्याय्यम् । अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम् । कुत एतत् । यदयमस्थिदन्त्रिसक्यध्वगाम-  
नकुदात्त इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति तदज्ञापयस्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि भेदका गु-  
णाः स्युर्दुदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत् । यदि तर्ह्यभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्स्व-  
रितादेः स्वरितान्ताच्च प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति तद्यथा  
शुक्लमालभेत कृष्णमालभेत तत्र यः शुक्ल आलम्ब्य कृष्णमालभेत न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं  
भवति ॥

Kaiyāṭa:..... उदात्तमेवेति । तस्माद्गुणरहितस्योच्चारणाभावान्नान्तर्रीयकत्वादु-  
च्चार्यमाणोऽपि गुणः प्रयत्नमन्तरेण न विवक्षित इत्यर्थः । यद्येवं कथमन्यलोक्तमुदात्तनिपा-  
तनं करिष्यत इति यावता तत्राप्यविवक्षा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तत्रापि स्थानेऽन्तरतमव-  
चनानादादेशस्य यः स्वरः प्राप्तस्तस्मिन्नुच्चारयितव्य उदात्तोच्चारणं प्रयत्नेन विवक्षार्थं विज्ञायते ।  
एवमनुनासिकस्य प्रयत्नाधिक्येनोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमेव । उज्रः ऊँ इति यथा । अन्ये लाहुः ।  
एकश्रुत्या सूत्राणि पठन्त इति क्वचिदुदात्तोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमिति ॥

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CX.

One might say that, although in सर्वनामन्, as put down in P. I., 1, 27, (the initial न् of नामन्) has (contrary to P. VIII., 4, 3) not been changed to ण्, yet in the ordinary language the form with ण् ought to be (considered) the correct form. (The author of the Paribhāṣhās) says therefore :

P. CX: When forms (which are contrary to the ordinary rules of grammar) are put down (in a rule, those ordinary rules) are superseded thereby altogether;<sup>1</sup>

for (those forms) are so put down, while (by the ordinary rules of grammar which apply in their formation,) they should necessarily have been formed differently.<sup>2</sup> It should be understood that, although the word *पुराण* which is put down in P. IV., 3, 105, should (by this Paribhāshā) have superseded (the rule P. IV., 3, 23 which would teach the formation of) the word *पुरातन*, it has not done so, because the latter is (put down) among (the words) *पृषोदर* etc. (in P. VI., 3, 109); according to others *पुराण* belongs to (the words) *पृषोदर* etc. as well as *पुरातन*. This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>3</sup> on the rule P. I., 1, 27. To say that (the ordinary rules of grammar) are not necessarily superseded by the fact that forms (contrary to them) are put down (in a rule),<sup>4</sup> is contrary to the Bhāshya.

1. When *सर्वनामन्* is in P. I., 1, 27 put down with dental न्, while the latter according to P. VIII., 4, 3 should have been changed to ण्, this shows that the rule P. VIII., 4, 3 is not to be applied in the case of *सर्वनामन्*. The word *निपातन* has been explained above pag. 497.

2. P. तथा च येननाप्राप्तिमूलकत्वमस्या इति भावः. See above pag. 321.

3. See Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 27: इह सर्वनामानिति पूर्वपदास्तंज्ञायामगः [८. ४. ३] इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति । तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वाभावः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वं न भविष्यति । किमेतन्निपातनं नाम । अथ कः प्रतिषेधो नाम । अविशेषेण किंचिदुक्त्वा विशेषेण नेत्युच्यते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । निपातनमध्येवंजातीयकमेव । अविशेषेण णत्वमुक्त्वा विशेषेण निपातनं क्रियते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । ननु च निपातनाच्चाणत्वं स्याद्यथाप्राप्तं च णत्वम् । .... बाधकान्येव हि निपातनानि भवन्ति ॥

4. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 525.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXI.

One might say that, as (*e. g.* in the formation of the 3. Plur. of the Red. Perf. Par. of) उख् where this root is reduplicated (*i. e.* changed to उखुक्), the (rule P. VII., 4, 59 by which) the vowel of a reduplicative syllable is shortened, cannot be applied before (the change of उखुक् to उ+उख् and उख्), because (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable) is short already, it would have to be applied after (उखुक्) has by P. VII., 4, 60 been changed (to उ+उख्) and this (to उख्) by P. VI., 1, 101, (the result of which would be उखुः, instead of the correct form उखुः.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXI: The rules of grammar are like the rain (in this that they are) applied (both where they produce a change and where they do not, just as the rain falls upon that which already is full of water as well as upon that which is empty).

When accordingly the rule P. VII., 4, 59 has been applied to (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable of उखुक्), although (that vowel) is short already, it cannot be applied again (after उखुक् has been changed to उख्), for there is a maxim that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once. This<sup>2</sup> is expressed in the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 2, 9 in the words 'surely (we can say that) a rule may effect what

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 45.

2. P. इयं च शब्दान्तरेण भाष्यारूढेत्याह | तदुक्तमिति । दृष्टान्तेन लौकसिद्धत्वं मस्या दर्शितम् ॥

See Bhāshya on P. I., 2, 9: कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत् । तद्यथा पर्जन्यो यावदूनं पूर्णं च सर्वमभिवर्धति ॥ The same words occur in the Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 127.

is effected (already), resembling therein the rain (which falls upon that which is filled with water as well as upon that which is empty)', i. e. that it e. g. may make a vowel short though the latter be short already.

Nor can one object that there is nothing to prove (the correctness of the maxim) that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once; for while (in the absence of that maxim) we might have formed (all the three forms सँस्कृती or संस्कृती, सँस्कृती or संस्कृती, and सँस्कृती or संस्कृती without the rule P. VIII., 3, 5, viz. the first) with one स् by dropping (the स् of सम्+स्कृती) in accordance with (the rule) समो वा लोपमेके, (the second) with two स् by doubling (the स् of स्कृती in सँस्कृती or संस्कृती by P. VIII., 4, 47, and the third) with three स् by again doubling (the first स् of स्कृती in सँस्कृती or संस्कृती) by the same rule, the very (circumstance that Pāṇini has given the) rule VIII., 3, 5 proves (the existence of that maxim;<sup>1</sup> it is) besides (proved by the fact) that it has been distinctly stated in the Bhāṣya<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1,

1. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 66. When the maxim is adopted, we are not allowed to apply the rule P. VIII., 4, 47 twice, and we cannot account for the three forms सँस्कृती, संस्कृती, and सँस्कृती, without the rule P. VIII., 3, 5. By the rule समो वा लोपमेके we obtain सँस्कृती, by P. VIII., 3, 5 संस्कृती, and by P. VIII., 4, 47 सँस्कृती.

2. See the Bhāṣya on P. VI., 1, 108: कार्यकृतत्वाद्वा | अथवा सकृत्कृतं पूर्वत्वमिति कृत्वा पुनर्न भविष्यति तद्यथा वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्निनादधातेति सकृदाभाय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति ||

In the Bhāṣya on P. VII., 2, 1 the maxim has not been distinctly stated, but the author of the Bhāṣya must have adopted it, because (in the formation of अवोदाम् etc). he allows the rule which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi to apply only once; he states that Vṛiddhi is substituted first for the अ of वह्, that subsequently ओ is substituted for that Vṛiddhi by P. VI., 3, 112, and that afterwards Vṛiddhi cannot be

108, VII., 2, 1 etc.; (and) from the Bhāṣya<sup>1</sup> on P. VII., 2, 1 we learn that, so far as this (maxim is concerned), a change which a form may undergo does not render the latter a different form. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

again substituted for ओ, notwithstanding, as we may add, that the original form might be considered to have become a different form by the substitution of ओ.

1. ननु लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायस्य प्रामाणिकत्वेऽपि प्रकृते विकारकृतलक्ष्यभेदादप्राप्त-  
वृत्तदोषस्तदवस्थ एवात आह । अनेति । लक्ष्य इति प्रोक्तन्याय इत्यर्थः ॥ विकारकृत इति  
पाठः । विकारागमकृत इत्यपाठ आगमकृतलक्ष्यभेदाङ्गीकारात्तद्भाष्यात्तदलभाच्च ॥ भाष्या-  
दिति । तत्र ह्युदबोढामित्यादावोलात्परत्वाद्वदव्रज [७.२.३] इति वृद्धौ वर्णपदसामर्थ्येनौत्वे-  
नेष्टं साधितम् (See P. VI., 3, 112) । अन्यथा पुनर्वृद्ध्यापत्त्या भाष्यासंगतिः स्पष्टैव ॥  
P.—Rūghavendra reads विकारागमकृतः and explains: आगमेति । तेन सर्वेषा-  
मित्यत्र सुटि कृते न पुनः सुट् । भूयादित्यादौ तु स्थानिभेदात्पुनःपुनर्लोपः । एवं चाल-  
लक्ष्यपदेन साक्षात्कार्यभागेव गृह्यत इति तत्त्वम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र i. e. उद्गोतादौ, P. ; शब्दरत्नादौ, Chitprabhā.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXII.

(P. VII., 2, 44 enjoins the optional addition of the augment इट् to *ārdhadhātuka* affixes commencing with one of the letters contained in the Pratyāhāra वल्, after roots characterized by an indicative ऊ; and P. VII., 2, 59 prohibits the addition of इट् to *ārdhadhātuka* affixes commencing with स्, after the roots स्यन्दू etc., in the absence of the *Ātmanepada*-terminations. Such being the case,) one might say that e. g. in (the formation of) the Simple Fut. Par. of the root स्यन्दू, (characterized by the Anubandha ऊ), इट् ought (by the former rule) to be optionally prefixed (to the affix स्य), because (the rule P. VII., 2, 44 which enjoins



its optional addition) is *antaranga* in regard to P. VII., 2, 59 which prohibits इट्, the latter rule being *bahiranga* because (the taking effect of it) depends on the absence of any reasons for the Âtmanepada-terminations.<sup>1</sup> (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXII : Surely<sup>2</sup> prohibitory rules possess greater force;

*viz.* greater force even<sup>3</sup> than (rules which are) *antaranga*<sup>4</sup> (in regard to them) or than (rules) on which their own existence is dependent, (*i. e.* rules in the absence of which they themselves would not have been given.<sup>5</sup> What results from this Paribhâshâ so far as the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 is concerned, cannot be said to result already from the employment of the word चतुर्थ्यः in that rule, for) चतुर्थ्यः has been added (to वृद्धयः) simply for the sake of clearness; and herewith it agrees, when that word is in the Bhâshya rejected as superfluous.—As then (by this Paribhâshâ a prohibitory rule possesses greater force even than a rule

1. P. सकेति । सकारादित्वरूपो यो विशेषस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः । ननु तत्रापि (*i. e.* in P. VII., 2, 44) वृद्धादित्वापेक्षत्वेन समत्वमत आह । आत्मन इति । इति केचित् ॥ वस्तुतस्तु °तीत्यादावात्मनेपदानिमित्तत्वाभावादिमिति तत्र वृद्धय इति पाठः । तत्र पूर्वनिमित्तकत्वस्योभयत्र तुल्यत्वादाह °वात्मनेपदेति । तथा चाधिकनिमित्तत्वेनात्र तत्त्वं बोध्यम् ॥

Bhairavamis'ra : एतच्चात्मनेपक्षमन्तरङ्गमिति प्राचीनरीत्या ॥ See above pag. 228.

2. P. चो ह्यर्थे । स चात्र हेतौ प्रसिद्धत्वाचकः । स चानुपदमेव व्यक्तीभविष्यति ॥ See below.

3. अन्तरिति । अन्तरङ्गादुपजीव्याच्चेत्यर्थः । अपिः परादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ P.

4. Accordingly the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 supersedes in the above example the *antaranga* rule P. VII., 2, 44.

5. *E. g.* P. I., 1, 10 supersedes P. I., 1, 9 entirely, although it would not have been given if P. I., 1, 9 had not been given, or in other words, although it owes its existence to the fact that P. I., 1, 9 has been given. See below.

on which its own existence is dependent,) such terms as *savarṇa* etc. cannot be optionally assigned where (a rule) prohibiting them may be applicable.<sup>1</sup> (If the Paribhāshā) on the other hand (did not convey the above meaning), it would, as has been fully shown in the Manjūshā,<sup>2</sup> be difficult to say why those (terms) should not be optionally assigned (where a rule prohibiting them might be applicable); for the rule that enjoins them would, in accordance with the doctrine of the Mimāṃsakas, possess greater force (than the prohibitory rule) because the latter owes its existence to the former, which on that account ought not to be entirely superseded (by the latter). Owing to the fact (however, that such a rule is superseded entirely by a prohibitory rule) the rule P. I., 1, 32 really serves a purpose<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding (the existence of the prohibitory rule) P. I., 1, 31.—What<sup>4</sup> proves the validity of this (Paribhāshā), is the circumstance that (prohibitory rules) are applied for the purpose of preventing the taking effect of rules which enjoin (that which is prohibited by the former.) It is found in the Bhāṣya<sup>5</sup> on P. I., 1, 63 and III., 1, 30.

1. I. e. One cannot say *e. g.* that a vowel and a consonant are *savarṇa* by P. I., 1, 9 and at the same time *not savarṇa* by P. I., 1, 10, or in other words, that they are *optionally savarṇa*; for P. I., 1, 10 supercedes by the present Paribhāshā P. I., 1, 9 entirely.

2. मन्त्रूपायां नञ्वादे. P.

3. Were the prohibitory rule P. I., 1, 31 to supersede P. I., 1, 27 only *optionally*, then the rule P. I., 1, 32 would be superfluous. P. adds : न च नियमार्थं तदिति वाच्यं विधिनियमसंभवे विधेरेव व्यायस्वादिति भावः ॥

4. इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्धन्यायमूलिकेत्याह । विध्युन्मूलनायेति । प्राप्तस्य विधे-निवर्तनायेत्यर्थः । एतेन येननाप्राप्तन्यायेन विधिज्ञास्त्रस्य निषेधज्ञास्त्रेण वाच्य इति दर्शितम् । लोकेऽपि यस्योन्मूलनाय यस्य प्रसक्तिर्भवति ततस्तस्य बलवत्त्वं कंसात्कृष्णस्येव ॥. Bhaī-ravamis'ra.

5. Bhāṣya on P. I., 1, 63 : प्रतिषेधाक्ष बलीयांसो भवन्ति ; on P. III., 1, 30 एवमध्यभयोः सावकाशयोः प्रतिषेधस्य बलीयस्त्वात्प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति. .

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXIII.

One might say that the term *Pratyaya* which implies that that which is termed so, conveys a meaning, ought properly not to be applied to those (affixes) which convey no meaning whatever.<sup>1</sup> (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXIII : Pratyayas or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned (in grammar), convey the meaning of the (bases) to which they (are added).

As we hold (not only that a Pratyaya conveys a meaning, but hold) likewise<sup>2</sup> that that the meaning of which is conveyed by the base (to which it is added), too may be termed a Pratyaya, it cannot be improper to apply the term Pratyaya to the latter (*i. e.* to affixes which convey no meaning of their own). स्वार्थे (in this Paribhāshā) means, that they convey the meaning of their bases.<sup>3</sup> What<sup>4</sup> gives rise to the present (Paribhāshā) is this: when (Pāṇini) adopts so long a technical term (as प्रत्यय), his doing so shows, that (what is denoted by that term) must, (in accordance with the etymological meaning of the latter, necessarily convey) a meaning;<sup>5</sup> and as no other (meaning) can be conveyed (by the

1. Such as क् in P. V., 4, 28.

2. Viz. in accordance with the Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 1: प्रत्यय इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लक्ष्यः । कुत एतत् । लक्ष्यर्थे हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तन्न महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनमन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः । यदि प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययोऽविकादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति न हि ते किञ्चित्प्रत्याययन्ति । एवं तर्हि प्रत्याय्यत इति प्रत्ययः । एवमपि सनादीनां न प्राप्नोति । एवं तद्युभयसाधनोऽयं कर्तृसाधनः कर्मसाधनश्च ॥

3. *I. e.* स्व stands in the sense of स्वार्थे.

4. अस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वेमाह । महती ॥ P.

5. See also above pag. 95 and note 1.

affixes spoken of in this Paribhāshā, they must convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added). This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya on P. III., 2, 4 and other rules.<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Viz.* P. III., 3, 19 ; III., 4, 9 etc.
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## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXIV.

P. CXIV : From (a rule which we have obtained by) taking part (of a rule) as a separate rule, we (are allowed to) derive (only) such results as may be desirable.

*I. e.* we (are allowed to) derive (from such a rule) only such results as may be desirable, but we must not derive (from it) any results that may be undesirable ; for, and this proves (the correctness of this Paribhāshā), the new rule obtained in such a manner is shown to be not universally valid by the fact that there exists a second rule which teaches the same (thing) as the (new rule).<sup>1</sup>

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1. *E. g.* If the new rule अय्यम्, which we obtain by taking अय्यम् of P. II., 1, 6 as a separate rule (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 321), were universally valid, Pāṇini's rule II., 1, 6 would be superfluous ; the existence of Pāṇini's rule II., 1, 6 shows that the new rule अय्यम् is not universally valid, and we are accordingly allowed to derive from the latter only such results as may be desirable.
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## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXV.

P. CXV: (In the employment) of synonyms the question as to their shortness or length is not taken into consideration.<sup>1</sup>

This is shown by the fact that in some rules अन्यतरस्याम् has been employed (by Pāṇini), in others विभाषा, and again in others वा.<sup>2</sup>

1. Elsewhere it is taken into consideration and shorter terms are employed in preference to longer ones. See Par. CXXII.

2. If the shortness or length of these synonyms had been taken into consideration by Pāṇini, he would everywhere have employed वा instead of अन्यतरस्याम् and विभाषा.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXVI.

P. CXVI: What is established by a Jnâpaka, is not universally (true).

I. e. When we are left to infer something which should have been distinctly stated, this is done to show that (what is inferred so) is not universally true; accordingly the import (of this Paribhâshâ) is this that we are not to derive from a Paribhâshâ which is established by a Jnâpaka, any results that may be undesirable. This<sup>1</sup> is suggested also in the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 1 and elsewhere. The (word) Jnâpaka denotes here

1. Ohitprabhâ: नन्वियं न भाष्यसंमता तत्र क्वाप्यदर्शनादित्यतो भाष्यसंमतत्वमाह । भाष्येऽतीति । क्वाप्सूत्रादौ । तत्र हि प्रतिपदिकग्रहण इति परिभाषा सप्रयोजनानां व्याख्या-य ततोऽतिप्रसङ्गेषु दर्शितेषु प्रतिविधेयं दोषेभ्यस्तुक्त्या ध्वनितम् ॥ See above Par. LXXI.

by implication also a Nyāya or maxim from ordinary life. When some (rules) such as P. I., 1, 56 have been actually given (by Pāṇini), although they are established by Jnāpakas and Nyāyas, they must be understood (to have been given by him) for the purpose of informing us that other rules<sup>1</sup> (which are similarly established but have not been actually given by him) are not universally valid ; (in the case namely of the above-mentioned rule P. I., 1, 56, what has been stated by Pāṇini in the words) स्थानिवदादेशः, is established by the general maxim according to which one who takes the place of somebody else takes upon himself also the functions of the latter ; and the (restriction) अनन्विधौ of the same (rule) is established by a Jnāpaka.<sup>2</sup>

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.1 अन्येषाम् *i. e.* परिभाषार्थानाम्. P.

2. *Viz.* by the employment in P. II., 4, 36 of ल्यप् which would be superfluous if the restriction अनन्विधौ did not exist. See the Bhāṣhya on P. I., 1, 56, and also above Par. LIV.

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### PARIBHĀṢHĀ CXVII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in the case of द्रोष्वा or द्रोदा the substitution (by P. VIII., 2, 33) of ष् (or ढ् for ळ् and the subsequent operations by which द्रोष्वा or द्रोदा are formed out of द्रोह्+ता) are (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* (in regard to the doubling of द्रोष्वा or द्रोदा by P. VIII., 1, 4,—in other words, that, as both द्रोष्वा and द्रोदा are in regard to P. VIII., 1, 4 still equivalent to द्रोह्+ता), one would (in case द्रोष्वा or द्रोदा should have to be doubled by P. VIII., 1, 4, really) have to double (द्रोह्+ता, and that when द्रोह्+ता should thus have been changed to द्रोह्+ता द्रोह्+ता,) one would have the option of changing one (द्रोह्+ता) to द्रोष्वा and

the other to द्रोदा (by P. VIII., 2, 33 etc.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXVII : (An operation) which by P. VIII., 2, 1 would (have to) be (considered as) *asiddha* (in regard to an operation taught in a preceding rule), is (contrary to P. VIII., 2, 1) *not* (considered *asiddha*, when the preceding rule teaches) that something is doubled.<sup>2</sup>

It is characteristic of this (Paribhāshā) that it is applicable in the case of any rule which may occur in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar ; (in reality) however it (is applied) only, where different forms might result, in case (the rule which teaches the doubling were to take effect) *before* or *after* (the taking place of the operation taught in the three last chapters of Pāṇini's grammar ; and) it has (accordingly) *e. g.* in (the formation of) कृष्णद्धि (from कृष्णर्ध्+धि) no concern (with the substitution of द् for ध् taught in P. VIII., 4, 53), *viz.* because there arises no difference of form, whether the doubling (taught in P. VIII., 4, 46) takes place before or after the substitution by P. VIII., 4, 53 of द् (for the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि).<sup>3</sup> More hereof elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

1. The result hereof would be द्रोग्धाद्रोदा or द्रोदाद्रोग्धा, as well as द्रोग्धा-द्रोग्धा and द्रोदाद्रोदा.

2. यत्पूर्वासाक्षीयं शास्त्रं तत्रादित्व इत्युपतिष्ठत इत्यर्थः. P.

3. In other words, because the result is the same in the end, whether the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि or the द् of कृष्णद्धि is doubled by P. VIII., 4, 46. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 42.

4. अन्यत्र *i. e.* द्रोहरादौ. P.—The Paribhāshā is *anītya* ; see Si. Kau. II., pag. 115.

This (Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on the rule P. VIII., 1, 1.

1. See Bhāshya on P. VIII., 1, 1: यदि तर्हि स्थाने द्विवचनं राजारामा वा-  
ग्वाक् पदस्येति नलोपादीनि न सिध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रभार्यं द्विवचनं क्रियतां नलोपादीनी-  
ति किमल कर्तव्यम् । परस्वान्नलोपादीनि । पूर्वनासिद्धे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च ना-  
स्ति संप्रभारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्वनासिद्धायमद्विवचन इति वक्ष्यामि । तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम् । किं  
प्रयोजनम् । विभाषिताः प्रयोजयन्ति । द्रोग्भाद्रोग्भा द्रोदाद्रोदेति ॥. See also the Bhā-  
shya on P. VI., 1, 9.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CXVIII.

One might say that, instead of saying *e. g.* गोष्वश्वेषु च स्वामी or  
(गवामश्वानां च स्वामी 'possessing cattle and horses'), one ought to be  
allowed to say also गोष्वश्वानां च स्वामी, because (स्वामिन्) governs by  
the rule P. II., 3, 39 both the Genitive and the Locative case.  
(The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXVIII : When one form has been employed,  
a second or third (different) form cannot be em-  
ployed (in the same sense).<sup>1</sup>

This maxim is applicable in cases where the employment  
of another form might create the impression of its being em-  
ployed in a different sense.<sup>2</sup> More hereof elsewhere. The

1. If then in the above phrase we employ गो in the Locative, we  
must employ अश्व too in the Locative ; and if we employ the Genit. of  
गो, we must likewise employ the Genit. of अश्व.

See P. : यतोऽत इति शेषः । यत एकस्या भाकृतेः स्वरूपस्य प्रयोगश्चरितः कृतोऽतो  
द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च नेत्यर्थः । चक्षुर्भ्यादिसमुच्चायकः ॥

2. अस्ति चान्न गोष्वश्वानां चेत्युक्तेऽश्वानां स्वामी गोषु तिष्ठतीत्यर्थोन्तरस्य तादृशी  
प्रतिपत्तिरिति भावः । तथा च लोकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिरालोचयमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम् ॥  
तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति । उद्घोषनादावेत्यर्थः ॥. P.



(Paribhāshā) is found in the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on the rule P. III., 1, 40.

1. See Bhāshya on P. III., 1, 40: छिट्परार्थे वा । छिट्परार्थे तर्हि कृञोऽनु-  
प्रयोगवचनं क्रियते । छिट्परस्त्वैवानुप्रयोगो यथा स्यादन्यपरस्य मा भूदिति । . . . एतदपि  
नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकस्या आकृतेश्चरितः प्रयोगो द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च न भविष्यति ।  
तद्यथा । गोषु स्वाम्यश्वेषु चेति । न हि भवति गोषु चाश्वानां च स्वामीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वेदलोकप्रसिद्धोऽयं न्यायः । . . . . तस्माद्योऽर्थो यथा शब्दाकृत्या प्र-  
तिपादयितुमुपक्रान्तस्तथैवासौ निर्वाक्षो न तन्न्यथा शब्दाकृत्येत्यर्थः ॥ एवं हि प्रतिपत्तिज्ञा-  
प्यं भवति ॥ See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 1, 1.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CXIX.

(When) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Red. Perf. Par. of व्यष्  
(this root has been reduplicated or, in other words, changed to  
व्यव्यष्, two rules are applicable to this व्यव्यष्, viz. P. VI., 1, 17  
which teaches the substitution of Samprasāraṇa in the redupli-  
cative syllable, and P. VII., 4, 60 which teaches the elision of the  
consonant ष् of the same syllable; now) one might say that (in  
this case P. VII., 4, 60 ought to take effect first) because it fol-  
lows upon (the rule VI., 1, 17, and that) when the ष् of the re-  
duplicative syllable has accordingly been elided, Samprasāraṇa  
ought (by P. VI., 1, 17) to be substituted for the (remaining) ष्  
(of the same syllable).<sup>1</sup> The author of the Paribhāshās) says  
therefore :

P. CXIX: A (substitution of) Samprasāraṇa and  
the operation dependent on it possess greater  
force (than other operations which are simul-  
taneously applicable).<sup>2</sup>

1. The result hereof would be उव्याष् instead of विव्याष्.

2. Accordingly Samprasāraṇa is by P. VI., 1, 17 and P. VI., 1, 37

The (operation) dependent on (Samprasâraṇa spoken of in this Paribhāshā) is the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of Samprasâraṇa alone for Samprasâraṇa and any vowel by which it may be followed.—In reality (however) this (Paribhāshā) is, as appears from the Bhāshya<sup>1</sup> on P. VI., 1, 17, superfluous, because the (substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यव्यब्, in preference to the elision of that consonant,) results from the circumstance that the word उभयेषाम् which is employed in the rule P. VI., 1, 17, conveys the meaning that (in the reduplicative syllable) of both (वच् etc. and ग्रह् etc. the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa *only* shall take place; and from the Bhāshya on the same (rule) we see that whatever else (is supposed) to result (from this Paribhāshā), can likewise be accounted

substituted for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यव्यब् in preference to the elision of that consonant by P. VII., 4, 60 (*i. e.* व्यव्यब् becomes वि-अव्यब्), and subsequently this Samprasâraṇa इ is by P. VI., 1, 108 substituted for इ itself and the following अ (*i. e.* वि अ व्यब् is changed to विव्यब्).

1. See Bhāshya on P. VI., 1, 17 : इदं तर्ह्युभयेषां ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् । उभयेषामभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणमेव यथा स्याददन्त्यप्राप्तेति तन्मा भूदिति । किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति ह-  
ल्लादिः शेषः । अभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं हल्लादिः शेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेनेति वक्ष्यति स पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो  
न पठितव्यो भवति ॥ अभ्याससंप्रसारणं हल्लादिः शेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेन ..... विव्याभ । विव्यभि-  
थ । अभ्याससंप्रसारणं भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वा ।  
संप्रसारणाश्रयबलीयस्त्वाददन्त्यत्वापि । न वा वक्तव्यः । किं कारणम् । संप्रसारणाश्रयस्य ब-  
लीयस्त्वाददन्त्यत्वापि । संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । अन्यत्वापि  
नावश्यकमिहैव वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । प्रयोजनं रमाक्लोपेयकृपणः । रम् । मृष्टः । मृ-  
ष्टवान् । संप्रसारणं च प्राप्नोति रम्भावश्च । परत्वादम्भावः स्यात् । संप्रसारणं बलीयो भव-  
तीति वक्तव्यं संप्रसारणं यथा स्यात् (P. VI., 1, 16 and VI., 4, 47) । ..... नैतानि  
सन्ति प्रयोजनानि । यत्तावदुच्यते रमितीदमिह संप्रसारणं रम्भावः क्रियतां संप्रसारणमिति  
किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादम्भावो नित्यं संप्रसारणमित्यादि ॥

for without it. Nor<sup>1</sup> (does the rejection of this Paribhāshā entail) any fault in the case of (rules) like P. VI., 1, 31, for the Locatives संश्लोः etc. (of those rules do not convey the sense 'when सन् and चक् follow', but they convey the meaning) 'where (सन् etc.) may be added (at some time or other)'. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 190. — See Bhairavamis'ra : ननु शिवातोणिज-  
न्ताङ्गुलि चङि द्वित्वे वृद्ध्याथोरन्तरङ्गत्वात्संप्रसारणात्पूर्वं प्रवृत्तावशूशवदित्यस्यासिद्धिरत आ-  
ह । गो चेति । एवं च द्वित्वात्पाक् संप्रसारणे ततो णिचि चङि वृद्ध्यावादेशे गो चङि  
[७.४.१] इति ह्रस्वेऽस्य सिद्धिरिति भावः ॥ If the meaning of संश्लोः were  
संश्लोः परयोः, Samprasāraṇa would be *bahiranga* in regard to the Vṛiddhi  
etc. caused by णिच्.

2. अन्यत् । उद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः । वस्तुतोऽभ्यासविकारेषु बाध्यबाधकभावाभावेनेष्टानुरो-  
धेन कार्यप्रवृत्त्येष्टसिद्ध्या व्यभादौ न दोष इत्यपि बोध्यम् । P. See Par. LXVI.

### PARIBHĀSHĀS CXX., 1—3.

(Some grammarians adopt the two following Paribhāshās):

P. CXX., 1 : A derivative denotes sometimes the original (from which it is derived).

This, (they say), accounts for the fact that the term क्त्वा in P. I., 3, 30 denotes (the root) क्त्वे<sup>1</sup>

P. CXX., 2 : (Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something originally enun-  
ciated (in a grammatical treatise), and also some-  
thing else that occurs in the ordinary language,

1. सिद्धिरिति । तथा च निरुद्धयत इत्यादावात्मनैपदसिद्धिः ॥ P.

it should be taken to denote only that which is originally enunciated (in a grammatical treatise).

Accordingly, (they say, the expression 'a root commencing with द्') in P. VIII., 2, 32 denotes only such roots (commencing with द्) as are originally enunciated (in the Dhātu-pāṭha)<sup>1</sup>.

But all this is incorrect; for there is nothing to prove<sup>2</sup> (the existence of) these two (Paribhāshās), and they have not been given in the Bhāshya; (on the contrary) the first (Paribhāshā) is (distinctly) refuted by (the statement of the author of) the Bhāshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 16, 'that a derivative does not denote the original (from which it is derived).'<sup>3</sup> (The ह्) <sup>4</sup> *e. g.* (which has been employed) in P. I., 3, 30 (is not the derivative of ह् derived from the latter by P. VI., 1, 45, but) is a grammatical fiction (chosen by Pāṇini) to represent (the root) ह्. Others (however say that ह् in P. I., 3, 30 can represent only the derivative ह् and) that the Ātmanepada-terminations (are accordingly by P. I., 3, 30 substituted after ह्) only where आ is substituted (for the final of the latter), because it has been clearly stated in the Bhāshya on the rule P. I., 1, 20, that (a term employed

1. *I. e.* it denotes *e. g.* दुह्, but not दामलिह्; see Si. Kau. I., pag. 146.

2. निर्मूलत्वात् *i. e.* ज्ञापकशून्यत्वात्. Bhairavamis'ra.

3. Explained by Kaiyaṭa: प्रकृत्या विकृतिर्गृह्यते स्थानिवद्भावात् तु विकृत्या प्रकृतिर्भिन्नरूपत्वादिति भावः ॥

4. Chitprabha: नन्वेवं निसमुपविभ्यो ह् इत्यादौ ह् इति विकृतिग्रहणेन प्रकृतेरग्रहणात्स्मादात्मनेपदानुपपत्तिरित्यत आह । निसमुपेति ॥ सौत्रेति । अशितित्यस्य प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधत्वेऽपि शित्यरत्वयोग्यस्यैव तेन तद्विधानात्प्रकृते न लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वमात्रस्य भवतीति भावः । कृतात्त्वस्यानुकरणत्वमनभ्युपेत्य लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वासंभवे सौत्रत्वकल्पनम् ॥ वस्तुतस्तत्र युक्तं कृतात्त्वस्थानुकरणसंभवादित्याह । आत्त्वविषय इति ॥ तत्र हेतुमाह । प्रयोगस्थानामिति ॥

to represent something) can represent only what in the actual language is (uniform with it).

And as regards the latter (of these two Paribhāshās), it has been adopted neither by the author of the Sūtras nor by the author of the Vārttikas, for both actually employ the word उपदेश 'original enunciation' in many (rules).<sup>1</sup> Nor has it been adopted by (the author of) the Bhāshya, for there is (a passage in) the Bhāshya on P. I., 1, 22 which runs thus:—'wherever here in grammar terms are employed that contain Anubandhas, they are meant to denote wordforms which possess those Anubandhas';<sup>2</sup> now the wordform (which is meant to be denoted by a particular term) cannot be ascertained without reference to the actual language; and as then in the actual language wordforms that contain Anubandhas do not occur, we must (in order to ascertain what wordforms may be meant to be denoted by terms containing Anubandhas) have recourse to another language, viz. to the original enunciation (of the grammatical treatises)'; from this passage it is clear that (a term) denotes something (originally enunciated in a grammatical treatise only) when there is nothing in the ordinary language which could be denoted by it. (And the above passage from) the Bhāshya (must not be misunderstood to have reference only to terms) that contain Anubandhas, (for the author of the Bhāshya does not intend to restrict his statement to such terms only, but mentions them particularly) because (the terms तर्प् etc.) of which he

1. See P. I., 3, 2; VI., 1, 45; VI., 4, 62 etc. The employment of the word उपदेश would have been superfluous if the Paribhāshā had been adopted.

2. यत्तास्येतदिति । यत्तास्येतद्रूपमनुबन्धयुक्तं तत्तल्लसंज्ञेत्यार्थः । एवं चोपदेश एव संज्ञादि प्रयोगे तु स्थानिवद्भावेनेति तदिति बोध्यम् ॥ P.

speaks (happen to be such terms).<sup>1</sup>—The term ददि in P. VIII., 2, 32 (in the case of which the second Paribhāshā was supposed to be applicable) denotes *by implication* ‘(roots) which in an original enunciation commence with द्,’ and consequently there can arise no fault (from the application of P. VIII., 2, 32, even when that Paribhāshā is not adopted). More hercof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

(Some grammarians have said) :

‘One might say<sup>3</sup> that the several Vikaraṇas which are added (to roots) because the latter belong to particular classes, should be (added also to the Parasmai. Frequentative bases of those roots, and that accordingly *e. g.* the Vikaraṇa इयन् should be added) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of गृन्, and (अम्) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्; that similarly (when it might be forbidden to add the augment इट् to affixes after particular roots,) इट् should not be allowed to be (prefixed to affixes after the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of the same roots, and that it should accordingly not be) added *e. g.* after the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्, because its addition after this root is forbidden by P. VII., 2, 10. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXX., 3 : (Of operations which concern primitive roots there are) five (that do) not (take place) in case (those roots) are followed by यङ्लुक्;<sup>4</sup> they are: (a) and (b,) an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which<sup>5</sup> (the primitive root) is put down

1. See also the Bhāṣhya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

2. अन्यत् *i. e.* उद्गोतादौ. P.

3. See above Par. XCIII., 9.

4. Or, in other words, that do not concern the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of those roots.

5. यदिनि यत्नेत्यर्थेऽप्ययं यद्वा यच्छब्दस्वरूपं यत्नेत्यस्य सर्वत्र संबन्धः. P.

with (the termination) ति, or with (the Vikaraṇa) ञप्; (c) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which (the primitive root) is put down with an Anubandha or Anubandhas (attached to it), as well as (an operation) which is stated (to concern generally all primitive roots) that have a particular Anubandha or particular Anubandhas (attached to them); (d) (an operation) that may concern a whole class (or group of primitive roots ; and) (e) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which the word एकाच् 'monosyllabic' has been employed.<sup>1</sup>

Examples are (suggested for (a) by P. VIII., 4, 17 where इन्, या and ञ are put down as) इन्ति, याति, वाति ; (for (b) by) P. VII., 2, 49 where (भृ is put down as) भर ; (for (c) by) P. VI., 4, 63 (where दा has the Anubandha ङ् attached to it), and (by) P. I., 3, 12 (which concerns generally all *anuddāttet* and *nīt* roots ; for (d) by) P. III., 1, 69 (which teaches the addition of इयन् to the roots of the *divāddi* class ; and for (e) by) P. VII., 2, 10 (एकाच् उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात्).

(Contrary<sup>2</sup> to this Paribhāshā a root) is reduplicated (before

1. For numerous examples see Si. Kau. II., pag. 211-219, where this Paribhāshā has been frequently applied by Bhaṭṭojidikshita. See also Si. Kau. II., pag. 354.

2. नन्वेवं तत्र द्वित्वादिकं न स्यादत आह । द्वित्वमिति ॥ सनाद्यन्ता इत्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानादाह । भूयादेति ॥ इति च धातुत्वं चेति पाठः ॥ गुणो यङि । अन्यथाभ्यासाभावेन तदानर्थस्य स्पष्टमेव । आदिना दीर्घोऽङ्कित इत्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥ निषेधेति । एतत्परिभाषाबोध्यनिषेधेत्यर्थः ॥ अनित्यत्वस्य फलान्तरमाह । तेनेति । एतदनित्यत्वेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अपिरुक्तफलादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ अत एव । एतदनित्यत्वादेव ॥ किंचिदित्यस्य सर्वज्ञानवयः । तथा च कैषाचिदेव तन्नाप्रवृत्तिर्न तु सर्वेषामिति भावः ॥ P.

यङ्लुक्, notwithstanding that the word एकाच् has been employed in P. VI., 1, 1 and is valid in P. VI., 1, 9, and a Par. Frequent. base) is termed *Dhātu* by P. III., 1, 32, or, (in case that rule be rejected,) by P. I., 3, 1, (notwithstanding that both those rules concern whole classes of roots); for (the existence of rules) like P. VII., 4, 82, (that teach changes of the reduplicative syllable of a root before यङ्लुक्, proves that a root is reduplicated before यङ्लुक्, and) renders (so) the prohibition (contained in this Paribhāshā) not universally valid. On this account (has P. VIII., 2, 37 taken effect) *e. g.* in (the formation of) अजर्षाः (where the ग् of गृच्) has (by it) been changed to ण्, although (that rule does contain the word एकाच्); and it is for the same reason that Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 14 reads (the third Pāda of this Paribhāshā) यत्नेकाङ्ग्रहणं किञ्चित् (or, in other words, states that the above-mentioned operations only *sometimes* do not take place before यङ्लुक्).

(The existence of) this (Paribhāshā) is indicated by the word एकाच्: in the rule P. VII., 2, 10 the employment of which proves (that at any rate) part (of the Paribhāshā must have been adopted by Pāṇini; did the Paribhāshā) on the other hand (not exist), then एकाच्: (in P. VII., 2, 10) would clearly be superfluous, because (the roots) which in the original enunciation are not monosyllabic, are all *udātta*.<sup>1</sup>

All this (can) likewise not (be admitted to be correct), for (the above Paribhāshā) has not been given in the Bhāshya, and the word एकाच्: (in P. VII., 2, 10 which was supposed to indi-

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1. As all primitive roots which in the original enunciation contain more than one vowel are *udātta*, they are excluded from P. VII., 2, 10 already by the words उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् of that rule; एकाच्: is consequently superfluous unless it is admitted to indicate that P. VII., 2, 10 shall have no concern with the Par. Frequent. bases of roots.



cate the existence of it, because it would otherwise be superfluous,) is necessary (in that rule) to exclude (from it) वध, (the substitute for हन्). Nor can one object that, as the original (हन्) is monosyllabic in the original enunciation, (its substitute) वध may (likewise be regarded as) monosyllabic, (and that it therefore cannot be excluded from P. VII., 2, 10 by the word एकाचः); for when it is possible (for the expression एकाच उपदेशे in P. VII., 2, 10) to denote something which is actually enunciated as monosyllabic, (that expression) cannot, so far as regards the (prohibition of इट् taught in that rule), be taken to denote something which, (though it is itself actually enunciated as dissyllabic or polysyllabic), is substituted for something else which is enunciated as monosyllabic; besides (the words उपदेश एकाच्) denote that which in *any and every* original enunciation is monosyllabic. Moreover the word एकाचः (of P. VII., 2, 10 is necessary) for the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11;) it is (namely) for (the validity of एकाचः) in P. VII., 2, 11, that (the addition of) इट् is not by that rule forbidden in (the formation of) जागरितवान् etc., notwithstanding that (जागृ) in the original enunciation does end with one of the vowels (contained in the Pratyâhâra) उक्. उपदेशे 'in the original enunciation', however, is valid in the latter rule in order that that rule may forbid the addition of इट् in the formation of forms like स्तौर्त्वि (from स्तु) etc. All this is clear from the Bhâshya etc.<sup>1</sup>

Now one might say : ' When in the Bhâshya, in order to account for the presence of इट् *c. g.* in the Future of the Âtmane. Frequent. base of भिद् (वेभिदिता), in (the formation of) which Lopa is substituted for the य (of वेभिद्य,<sup>2</sup> P. VII., 2, 10) is interpreted

1. See the Scholiasts on P. VII., 2, 10 and 11.

2. By P. VI., 4, 48 and 49.

to mean that “(इद् is not prefixed to an Ārdhadhātuka) after a base which is actually monosyllabic and is in the original enunciation *anudatta*,” that interpretation is objected to on the ground that it would necessitate the formation of an additional rule by which to account for the absence of इद् in Desideratives like बिभित्सन्ति.<sup>1</sup> No similar objection<sup>2</sup> having been raised (in the Bhāshya) on the score of *Parasmai*. Frequent. bases, it follows that after the latter इद् must be added, (and it follows moreover that, as this addition of इद् in the *Parasmai*. Frequent. has not in the Bhāshya been accounted for in any way, the author of the Bhāshya must be supposed to have accounted for it by means of the above Paribhāshā. Nor can one object that the addition of इद् in the *Parasmai*. Frequent. is accounted for in the Bhāshya by the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10,) for the way in which the discussion is opened and ended (in the Bhāshya)<sup>3</sup> shows that that passage of the Bhāshya has reference (only to the Ātmane.) not to the *Parasmai*. Frequent. base; besides if it had reference to (both the Ātmane. and) the *Parasmai*. Frequent. bases, (the Bhāshya,—while it does show a way in which we can dispense with the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 and yet account for the presence of इद्) after the Ātmane. Frequent. base, viz. by the *Sthānivattva* of Lopa,—would be defective in not showing similarly how the presence of इद् can be accounted for in the *Parasmai*. Frequent. (when the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 is rejected).’

1. *Scil.* the base (बिभिद्) of which is likewise not monosyllabic.

2. Such as यङ्लुकीट्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः.

3. *Viz.* the discussion is opened thus: किं पुनः कारणमेवं विज्ञायत उपदेशोऽनुदात्तादेकाच्: श्रूयमाणादिति । यङ्लोपार्थम् । यङ्लोपे मा भूदिति ।, and it ends thus: भकारेण व्यवहितत्वाच्च भविष्यति । ननु च लोपे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । स्थानि-  
वद्वावाह्यवधानमेव ।

All this would however be futile; for as in the ordinary language those forms of the Parasmai. Frequent. in which इट् might be prefixed (to Ârdhadrhâtuka affixes) are not used, and as in the Veda all rules are optional,<sup>1</sup> (the author of the Bhâshya) can (even when he, as we maintain, did not adopt the above Paribhâshâ) not (justly) be blamed for not having objected (to the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10) on the score of Parasmai. Frequent. bases. (Had the author of the Bhâshya) on the other hand (been really of opinion that एकाच्: in P. VII., 2, 10 is intended to show that that rule has no concern with the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of roots, and had he thus adopted at least a portion of the Paribhâshâ), then he would have had no reason for asking, why एकाच्: has been employed (in P. VII., 2, 10), nor for answering that it is meant to exclude जामृ from the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11) and वच् from the rule under discussion.

Now one might say: '(When P. VII., 2, 10 teaches that an Ârdhadrhâtuka shall not receive इट्), Ârdhadrhâtuka necessarily postulates a *Dhātu* or root, and the term एकाच् 'monosyllabic' (of that rule) qualifies accordingly the root; (in other words, P. VII., 2, 10 teaches, that इट् is not prefixed to an Ârdhadrhâtuka after a monosyllabic root). Such being the case, forms like विभिस्तति (do fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because) the latter portion (of the base विभिद्) which is termed root, [just as we have seen<sup>2</sup> from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9 that (when भस् by reduplication is changed to भस्+भस्) it is only the latter भस् that can be called the root भस्], is monosyllabic,—and the above passage from the Bhâshya (concerning forms like विभिस्तति) is consequently incorrect.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Par. XXXV.

2. See above Par. XCIII., 9; pag. 447.

3. एवं चैकदेश्यकृतेन नोक्तार्थे साधकत्वमुक्तभाष्यस्येति भावः ॥ P.

But this would likewise be wrong; for there is nothing to prove that (e. g. an Ārdhadhātuka) does postulate (a root), and that (एकाच् 'monosyllabic' in P. VII., 2, 10) must be taken to qualify (the root so) postulated. (Nor would it be correct to say that, even when एकाच् should qualify the Anga or base,<sup>1</sup> विभिन्सति would still fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because the latter i. e. radical portion of विभिद् is called Anga; for) the term *Anga* or base is applicable only to the *whole* reduplicated form-(विभिद्; this is clear from the Bhāṣhya<sup>2</sup> on P. VI., 1, 1 and has been considered in the S'abdendus'ekhara towards the end of the chapter which treats of the roots of the eighth class. The term *Dhātu* or root, however, is applicable only to the latter i. e. radical portion (of a reduplicated form); it is for this reason that, when in the Bhāṣhya<sup>3</sup> (the words धातेरेकाच्) in P. VIII., 2, 37 are not considered as coordinate, but are explained to mean 'of the monosyllabic portion of a root,' (the author of) the Bhāṣhya, to prove the necessity of this interpretation, chooses the example (गर्दम्), गर्ध्, and does not choose as an example the more common word अजयीः.<sup>4</sup>

The absence, however, of (the Vikaraṇas) भम् इयन् etc. in

1. Viz. because P. VII., 2, 10 stands in the Angādhikāra.

2. See Bhāṣhya on P. VI., 1, 1: ननु चैकैकमत्राङ्गम् । समुदाये या वाक्य-परिसमाप्तिस्तयाङ्गसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।; and Kaiyata: एकैवाङ्गसंज्ञा समुदायस्य न पृथग-वयवयोः समुदायस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययात्.

3. See Bhāṣhya on P. VIII., 2, 32: धातेरिति नैषा दादिसमानाभिकरणष-ष्टौ दादेर्धातेरिति । का तर्हि । अवयवयोगैषा षष्ठी धातेर्यो दादिरवयव इति । सा चावश्य-मवयवयोगा षष्ठी विज्ञेयोत्तरार्था । किं प्रयोजनम् । एकाचो वशो भष् द्वषन्तस्य स्मृतेरितिहासि यथा स्यात् । गर्दभयतेरप्रत्ययः । गर्ध्विति ॥

4. Viz. he does not give the example अजयीः (from गृन्), because the last syllable of this word is not a portion of a root, but is itself a root.

(Parasmai. Frequent. forms like) भजर्षाः, वेभिर्वाति etc. is<sup>1</sup> accounted for (by the fact that) by (the rule) चर्करीति च which we read in the *ad-ādi* (chapter of the Gāṇa-pāṭha, all Parasmai. Frequent. bases follow the rule of roots of the second class), from which it follows that there can be no occasion for the addition to a Parasmai. Frequent. base of the Vikaraṇas of any other class. And when (in Parasmai. Frequent. forms) that may be found in the Veda, certain other operations (which would have to take place in the case of primitive roots) have likewise not taken place, this should be explained by the circumstance that (those forms) are Vedic; in the ordinary language such (forms as would necessitate the adoption of the above Paribhāshā) do not occur. And when (a primitive root) is put down (in a rule) e. g. with (the termination) ति or (the Vikaraṇa ञ्), the fact of its having been so put down conveys as little any particular meaning as the fact that e. g. भू has been put down as भवति in the rule P. VII., 4, 73. More hereof elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

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1. *Scil.* without the above Paribhāshā.

2. अन्यत्वेति । एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तादिति सूत्रे शोखरादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhā.

### PARIBHĀSHĀ CXXI.

One might say that, (instead of making the two rules VII., 1, 61 रधिजभोरचि and 62 नेट्यलिटि रधेः, Pāṇini) should have made the (three) rules जभोऽचि, रधेश्च, and नेट्यलिटि, because (in doing so) he would not have been obliged to employ रधि twice. (The author of the Paribhāshās) says therefore :

P. CXXI: To make two rules instead of one is more cumbrous than (to make only one rule,

even in case the formation of only one rule should necessitate the employment of) a greater number of words or of longer words (than that of two rules).

The cumbrousness is apparent from the fact that (the formation of two rules) would oblige us to ascertain the meaning of either rule separately.<sup>1</sup> Many however say that this (Paribhāṣhā) has not been adopted in the Bhāṣhya,<sup>2</sup> and that it is contrary to the Bhāṣhya on<sup>3</sup> the rule P. VII., 1, 12; there namely it has been shown that the letter इ of the substitute इन (in P. VII., 1, 12) may be dispensed with just because we can make of the one rule (P. VII., 3, 105 आङि चापः) the two rules (आङि च and आपः).<sup>4</sup>

1. योगविभागे सति वाक्यार्थबोधसिद्धयेऽभिक्रवाक्यसंपादकतिङन्तस्याप्यभिक्रस्य कल्पनायां प्रतिपत्तिगौरवमिति भावः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.

2. तदनुक्तत्वादिति भावः ॥ P.

3. See Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 1, 12: किमर्थमिनादेश उच्यते न नादेश एवोच्येत | का रूपसिद्धिः | वृक्षेण ब्रक्षेण | एत्त्वे योगविभागः करिष्यते | कथम् | इदमस्ति | बहुवचने श्रुत्येत् [७.३.१०३] | भोसि च [१०४] | तत आङि च (first portion of 105) | आङि च परतोऽन एत्त्वं भवति | वृक्षेण ब्रक्षेण | तत आपः (second portion of 105) | संबुद्धौ च [१०६] | आप आङि च भोसि चेति ॥

4. द्वौ रविग्रहणं (viz. in P. VII., 1, 61 and 62) त्वेकयोगनिर्दिष्टानां कचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते [प० १८] इति परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वस्य सूचनाय । Bhairavamis'ra.

## PARIBHĀSHĀ CXXII.

P. CXXII: Grammarians rejoice over the saving of (even)<sup>1</sup> the length of half a short vowel as much as over the birth of a son.

(The existence of) this (Paribhāshā) is suggested in the Bhāshya<sup>2</sup> on the S'ivasūtras 3 and 4. As regards this (Paribhāshā), it has been suggested in the Bhāshya on the rules P. I., 2, 27, 41 etc., that the question raised is generally only, whether in a rule which is made up of several words, a word can be saved, but not, whether a Mātrā (or half a Mātrā) can be economized. For when the question is raised (in the Bhāshya) as to what difference it would make if (the term) इल् were employed in the latter rule (P. I., 2, 41) instead of (the term) अल्, (this question) is answered by stating that there would be no difference so far as the (greater or) smaller number of words might be concerned, because (इल् would necessitate the employment of) three words, and (अल् would) likewise (necessitate the employment of) three words; (if we namely were to read इल् in P. I., 2, 41) we should have इल् in that rule, and should be obliged to employ अण् and इञ् in the rule P. II., 4, 58 (but might omit इल् in P. VI., 1, 68; and if we, on the other hand, were to read) अल् (in P. I., 2, 41), we should have this अल्, should be obliged to retain इल् in P. VI., 1, 68, but might in P. II., 4, 58 employ the one word अपृक्तस्य instead of (the two terms) अण् and इञ्.

1. अर्धमात्रालापवेनापि पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते किमुताधिकलापवेनेत्यर्थः । P.

2. तत्र ङीच इमित्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानार्थिकाराधोकारौ यदि स्यातां तर्हि तावेव लापवादय-  
मुपदिशेदित्युक्तम् । ताभ्यामुपदिष्टाभ्यां दीर्घानयोरपि प्रदेशेषु ग्रहणं सिध्यति । नन्वेवं मा-  
त्रिकयोरेव गुणसंज्ञा स्यात्तत्परत्वादिति चेत् । न । तत्र दीर्घयोरेव स्वरूपेण निर्देशादिति कैय-  
टः । एवमपि तत्र ह्रस्वपाठेऽर्धमात्रालापवं भवतीति तदाकृतम् ॥ P.

We have said (above that the question raised is) *generally* (whether a word be saved, because sometimes the question whether a Mātrā or half a Mātrā be economized, is raised as well. The author of) the Bhāṣhya<sup>1</sup> namely on the S'ivasūtra ॐ makes the following statement: 'when (Pāṇini, in order to denote इ and उ,) employs in the rule VI., 4, 77 the term खोः, where (इ and उ) have been changed into the corresponding semivowels, while he might have employed the (shorter term) इणः (formed by means of the ण् of the first S'ivasūtra अ इ उण्, his doing so shows that) the term इण् is never formed by means of the ण् of the first (Sūtra अ इ उण्, but is always formed with the ण् of the sixth Sūtra ॐ; for खोः), formed by the change of इ and उ to य् and व् and the addition of the (necessary) case-termination, contains 3½ Mātrās, whereas the term इण् with its termination (i. e. इणः) would contain (only) 3 Mātrās.'<sup>2</sup> Moreover Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhāṣhya on P. VII., 3, 71, according to which 'शिति should have been employed (in that rule instead of इयनि), because (the employment of शिति in VII., 3, 71) would *besides* have rendered the employment of शिति in P. VII., 3, 75 unnecessary,' by saying, that शिति does *not only* contain fewer Mātrās<sup>3</sup> (than इयनि), but would besides render the employment of शिति in P. VII., 3, 75 unnecessary.<sup>4</sup>

1. See above pag. 5.

2. पदच्छेदाभिप्रायेणैदम् । अत एवोक्तं निभक्तिनिर्देश इति । संहितायां तु सार्धमात्राद्वयमेवेति बोध्यम् ॥ P.

3. Viz. half a Mātrā less.

4. I. e. If Pāṇini had employed शिति instead of इयनि, he would have economized not only half a Mātrā, but also a whole word, because he would not have been obliged to repeat शिति in VII., 3, 75.













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